



ANTIQUITY in her RESEARCHES discovers the GENIUS of ANCIENT TIMES.

Published by John Jones N^o 90 Bride Street Dublin.

ANTIQUITIES

OF

Ireland

BY

Edward Ledwich LL.D.

Member of many Learned

SOCIETIES,

Second Edition.



Dublin

Printed by JOHN JONES, N^o 90, Bride Street.

1804

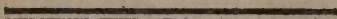
THE
ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.



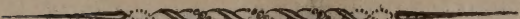
TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Collection of Miscellaneous Antiquities.



BY
EDWARD LEDWICH, L. L. D.

AND
MEMBER OF MANY LEARNED SOCIETIES.



Dublin :

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN JONES, 90, BRIDE-STREET.



1804.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN
EARL OF UPPER OSSORY,

AND
BARON GOWRAN OF GOWRAN,
IN IRELAND:
AND IN ENGLAND
BARON UPPER OSSORY OF AMPHILL,

AND
Lord Lieutenant of the County of Bedford,
A JUDGE AND A PATRON OF LEARNING AND THE POLITE ARTS,

This Work
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE public sentiment in favour of the first Edition of these Essays, expressed in the respectable literary Journals at the time of their publication, encouraged the Author to prepare a second with considerable additions and corrections. Most of the additions have already appeared in the works of the different learned Societies, of which he has the honour to be a member.

That on the origin of Saxon and Gothic architecture, requires perhaps some apology for its introduction here; though the subject seems to be not unconnected with the beautiful specimens of these styles, still remaining in this kingdom.

The history of Kilkenny, is an attempt to trace the beginning and progress of an Irish city of some celebrity; and contains, probably, some memorials that may interest curiosity. Was this plan generally adopted, materials would be collected, valuable to future historians and antiquaries.

The few topographical antiquities at the end, were printed and published before the Author undertook to complete Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, of which that amiable and excellent antiquary lived to write but seven pages.

PREFACE.

The view of society and manners in ancient Ireland is, with little variation, the same as that of the most polished nations of modern Europe in remote periods. England, the bulwark of the civilized world, can behold without emotion, or *mauvaise honte*, her mental and political degradation at the arrival of the Romans, and smile with contempt at the flattering fables of Geoffry of Monmouth. Scotland, celebrated for talents and accomplishments, and rivalling her illustrious sister in her glorious career, assumes no pride from bardic tales, or the pages of Hector Boethius. No longer is the wild romance of Geoffry Keating, the heraldic registry of the Irish nation : its learning, its valour, and fame, are recorded in the more durable monuments of true history. When Hibernians compare their present with their former condition ; their just and equal laws with those that were uncertain and capricious ; the happy security of peace with the miseries of barbarous manners, their hearts must overflow with gratitude to the Author of such blessings : nor will they deny their obligations to the fostering care of Britain, the happy instrument for conferring them.

In a work, embracing such a variety of topics, errors will be found ; the learned and candid can best estimate the difficulty of avoiding them, and the degree of indulgence they are entitled to. The Author declines hacknied apologies ; in their place he begs leave to conclude with a line of an eminent poet :

“ *En adsum ! et veniam confessus, crimina, posco.*”

SUBSCRIBERS.

HIS EXCELLENCY PHILIP YORKE, EARL HARDWICKE, LORD LIEUTENANT
GENERAL, AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND, 2 copies.

A.

RIGHT Honourable Lord Avonmore,
Lord Chief Baron of the Court of
Exchequer, M. R. I. A.
Hon. and Rev. Dean of Ardagh.
Hon. and Rev. Wm. Annesly, Dean of
Down.
Wm. Annesly, Esq.
Brigadier Gen. Affleck.
Henry Alcock, Esq. Mayor of Water-
ford, Wilton, Enniscorthy.
W. Congreve Alcock, Esq. M.P. Waterford.
Christopher Allen, Esq. Mayor of Cork.
Rev. Doctor Austin, Mitchelstown.
Rev. Gilbert Austin, M.R.I.A. Woodville.
Jn. Warnerford Armstrong, Esq. Kilmore.
Henry Adams, Esq. Youghall.
William Henry Armstrong, Esq.
Doctor Robert Anderson, Edinburgh.
Mr. Wm. Andrews.
Mr. Archer, Bookseller, 20 Copies.

B.

Rev. Dean Butson, Waterford.
Lieut. Gen. Blakeney.
Hon. P. B. Blaquiére.

W. H. B. Bowen, Esq. Tahmon.
Rev. E. Bayly.
William Brownlow, Esq.
Rev. Hill Benson, Blessington.
John Baldwin, Esq.
William Ball, Esq. M.R.I.A.
Charles C. Blayney, Esq. Newry.
Michael Butler, Esq. Ganyhandon.
Cornelius Bolton, Esq.
Binden Blood, Esq. M.R.I.A.
Ralph Cole Bowen, Esq. Limerick.
Robert S. Ball, Esq. Cove.
Beresford Burston, Esq.
Robert Burton, Esq.
James Bolger, Esq. Rofs.
Richard Bolger, Esq. Ballime.
Captain Brabazon, Royal Navy.
Ezekiel Davis Boyd, Esq. Ballycastle.
Hugh Boyle, Esq. Dungiven.
Francis Batterby, Esq. Hightown.
James Byrne, Esq. Carrick on Suir.
James Berrill, Esq. New Grange.
Philip Brabazon, Esq. Cartown.
Wogan Browne, Esq.
Mr. Edward Browne.

S U B S C R I B E R S.

—Blake, Esq.
 Henry Brook, Esq.
 William Baker, Esq. Lismaeue.
 Daniel Backhouse, Esq.
 Mr. Archibald Bell.
 Mr. John Bowden.
 Mr. Thomas Bird.
 Mr. John Brooke, Bookfeller, 12 Copies.
 Mr. T. Bradbury.
 Mr. Robert Bradshaw, Belfast.
 Mr. Richard St. George Boylan.
 Mr. John Bently.
 Mr. Busteed, Bookfeller, Tralee, 3 Cop.
 Mr. Jos. Butterworth, Law-Bookfeller,
 London, 25 Copies.
 Mr. Bennet, Bookfeller, Kilkenny, 6 Cop.
 Mr. Barry, Bookfeller, Limerick, 8 Cop.
 Mr. Boyd, Bookfeller, Rofs, 40 Copies.
 Mr. Bull, Bookfeller, Waterford. 5 Cop.
 Mr. Robert Burnside, Bookfeller.

C

Right Rev. Lord Archbishop of Cashel,
 M. R. I. A.
 Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Cloyne,
 M. R. I. A.
 Lord Viscount Charleville, F. R. S.
 M. R. I. A. and M. R. I.
 Brigadier Gen. the Earl of Cork and
 Orrery.
 Earl Castlestewart.
 Earl Caledon.
 Rt. Hon. Lord Clements.
 Rt. Hon. the Commissioners of His
 Majesty's Revenue, 3 Copies.

Sir Charles Coote, Bart.
 Sir James Chatterton, Bart.
 Alderman John Carleton.
 Rev. Mark Chartres, Ferns.
 Rev. Adam Clarke, Manchester, 2 Cop.
 Robert Shapland Carew, Esq. Castle-
 boro.
 George Carr, Esq.
 Michael Cox, Esq. Castletown.
 Edward Cronyn, Esq. Newtown.
 Thomas Christmas, Esq. Whitefield.
 Thomas Concannon, Esq. M. D.
 Dundalk.
 William Colvill, Esq.
 Capt. Calder, 21st Light Dragoons.
 John Cash, Esq.
 Michael Clarke, Esq. M. D. Rofs.
 James Cahill, Esq. do.
 Langrishe Cavenagh, Esq. do.
 Anthony Cliffe, Esq. do.
 James Cleland, Esq. Newtownards.
 Michael Clarke, Esq. Bride-street.
 Jonathan Chetwood, Esq. Woodbrooke.
 Edward Cooke, Esq. Kiltiernan Castle.
 Trevor Corry, Esq. Newry.
 Gilbert Conry, Esq. Elphin.
 Hon. George Cavendish, Treasury.
 John Coffart, Esq.
 James Cowley, Esq.
 James Crofton, Esq. Treasury.
 Roger Cashen, Esq. Waterford.
 George Codd, Esq.
 William Collier, Esq.
 George Cuppaidge, Esq.
 Mr. John Crawford.

Mr.

S U B S C R I B E R S.

Mr. James Crawford.
 Mr. Ben. Chambers.
 Mr. Richard Clifford.
 Mr. John Cunningham, Drogheda.
 Mr. John Cooke, Bookfeller, 4 Cop.
 Miss Cavanagh, Kilkenny.
 Messrs. M'Corkel and Co. Bookfellers,
 London-Derry.

D

Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Dromore,
 M. R. I. A.
 Right Hon. Dublin Society.
 Rev. Richard Dickson, Limerick.
 Dublin Library Society.
 Major Dunn, 7th Dragoon Guards.
 Arthur Dunn, Esq.
 James E. Davis, Esq.
 Robert Dillon, Esq.
 Stephen Dickson, Esq.
 Jeremiah D'Olier, Esq.
 Robert Day, Jun. Esq.
 James Doyle, Esq. M. D. Rofs.
 Samuel Drapes, Esq. do.
 Edward Devereux, Esq. do.
 John Drake, Jun. Esq. do.
 Geo. Robt. Daniel, Esq.
 George Gilbert Daniel, Esq.
 Michael Dwyer, Esq.
 Philip Donagh, Esq. Newtown.
 Mr. Thomas Daly.
 Mr. John Dunn.
 Mr. Thomas W. Doolittle.
 Mr. Edward Dudley, Roscrea.
 Mr. John S. Dudley, Youghall.
 Mr. Neal Dodd, Youghall.

Mr. Moses Dawson, Carrickfergus.
 Mr. Paul Deighan, Mathematician.
 Mr. Robert Dunn.
 Mr. Joseph Dunn, Corbally.
 Mr. B. Dugdale, Bookfeller, 6 Copies.
 Mr. Thomas Dornin.

E

Rev. Wm. Eastwood, Rector of Killan.
 Charles Echlin, Esq. M. R. I. A. Echlinville.
 Christopher Elmore, Esq. Youghall.
 Geo. Farmer Ellis, Esq. Mill-lodge.
 Samuel Elly, Jun. Esq. Rofs.
 H. Ellsmere, Esq. Ballytweedy.
 Wm. C. Emerson, Esq.
 Michael Evelyn, Esq.
 Mr. Wm. George Eades.
 Mr. Anthony Edwards, Bookfeller, Cork,
 4 Copies.
 Mr. Robert Evory, Bookfeller, Cork,
 4 Copies.

F

Rev. Robert Fowler, Archdeacon of
 Dublin.
 Countess of Farnham.
 Right Hon. John Foster.
 Right Hon. Lady Ferrard.
 Hon. Judge Finucane.
 Rev. Joseph Fairtlough, Drogheda.
 Charles W. Flint, Esq. Dublin Castle.
 Town Major Fox, Belfast.
 Edw. Fitzpatrick, Esq. Mayor of Galway.
 Captain Robert Frazier, Waterford.
 Captain James Fitzgerald, Limerick.
 Michael Fitzgerald, Esq. A. B. M. R. I. A.
 Ennis.

Mr.

S U B S C R I B E R S.

John Fuller, Esq.
 Thos. Francis, Esq.
 Charles Fouace, Esq. Tyrrell's Pass.
 Robert Fivey, Esq. Portadown.
 Charles French, Esq.
 Christopher Fortescue, Esq.
 Thos. Cousins Foulke, Esq.
 Thos. Fitzgerald, Esq.
 Robert Fitzgerald, Esq.
 Bryan Fitzhenry, Esq. Rofs.
 Anthony French, Esq. do.
 John Fallan, Esq. Dundalk.
 Samuel Fitzpatrick, Esq.
 Pierce Edward Forrestall, Esq.
 Henry Folliott, Esq.
 Richard Foote, Esq. Millfort.
 Mr. James B. Ferguson,
 Mr. John Frazier.
 Mr. Fitzpatrick, Bookseller, 6 Copies.

G

Rev. Wm. Galway, Limerick.
 Rev. James Gordon, Boro, Enniscorthy.
 Rev. William Glascott, Pilltown.
 James Gandon, Esq. M. R. I. A.
 Standish Grady, Esq. Lodge, Limerick.
 Andrew Grier, Esq. Liverpool.
 Roger Green, Esq. Youghall.
 George Grace, Esq. Barrister, Clonmel.
 Fade Goff, Esq. Rofs.
 George Glascott, Esq. Fruithill.
 Wm. Gaven, Esq.
 Thos. Griffith, Esq.
 Wm. Griffith, Esq. Ballytivnan.
 Simon Graves, Esq.
 Robt. Grant, Esq.

Wm. Gamble Galway, Esq.
 Molfeworth Green, Esq.
 Thomas Green, Esq.
 James Griffith, Esq.
 Harding Giffard, Esq.
 Richard Gregory, Esq. F. A. S.
 John Knox Grogan, Esq.
 John Grattan, Esq. Surgeon.
 Mr. John Gore.
 Mr. A. R. Guitton.
 Mr. Richard Gallagher.
 Mr. Robt. Getty, Belfast.
 Mr. James Grimshaw, Whitehouse.
 Mr. Samuel Gatchell.
 Mr. Thomas Griffin.
 Mr. Robert Grant.
 Mr. John Gaskin.
 Mr. Thos. Gorman, Bookfeller, Clonmel,
 12 Copies.
 Messrs. Gilbert and Hodges, Bookfellers,
 2 Copies.
 Mr. John Gray, Sligo, Bookfeller.
 Messrs. M'Gregor and Co. Bookfellers,
 Waterford, 4 Copies.
 Mr. Gordon, Bookfeller, Newry, 5 Cop.

H

Right Hon. Lord Hartland.
 Right Hon. Henry Hutton, Lord Mayor
 of the City of Dublin.
 Brigadier General Hart.
 Sir Robert Hodson, Bart.
 Rev. Robt. Higginbotham, 2 Copies.
 Rev. Thomas Handcock, Rofs.
 Rev. Robt. Hawkshaw, do.
 Rev. J. Isaac Harrison, A. M. Naas.

James

SUBSCRIBERS.

Lieut. Col. Hamilton.
 James Hopkins, Esq. A. B. T. C. D.
 Mathew Handcock, Esq.
 Vere D. Hunt, Esq. Cappa.
 Wm. Harris, Esq. Waterford.
 Samuel Handy, Esq. Bracca Castle.
 Thomas Heron, Esq.
 Wm. Hartford, Esq. Grange.
 Adam Hunter, Esq. Coleraine.
 Wakefield Hogg, Esq.
 Ephraim Hewit, Esq.
 Wm. Howard Holland, Esq.
 Meade Hobson, Esq. Muckridge-house.
 John Hartly, Esq.
 Wm. Hoare Hume, Esq. M. P. Co. Wicklow.
 Robt. Hall, Esq. John's-hill.
 J. Hamilton, Esq. M. D. Gorey.
 Wm. Holmes, Esq. Drogheda.
 George Hargrove, Esq. Limerick.
 Mr. Luke Hackett.
 Mr. Wm. Harding.
 Mr. Andrew Hamilton.
 Mr. Hynes.
 Mr. Wm. Hart.
 Mr. Halpin, Bookseller, 6 Copies.
 Mr. Hazard, Bookseller, Bath, 7 Copies.
 Mr. Henhall, Bookseller, 7 Copies.
 Mr. Holland, Bookseller, Drogheda, 7 cop.

I

Rev. Mr. Johnson, Mt. Pelier Hill.
 Rev. Wm. Elliott, Trim.
 Lieut. Col. Jephson, 17th Lt. Dragoons.
 Weldon Jordan, Esq. Cashel.

Thomas Jones, Jun. Esq. Rofs.
 Ebenezer Jacob, Esq. Wexford.
 Thomas Jones, Esq.
 Miss Penelope L. Johnson, Glynn, Larne.
 Mr. Matthias Joyce.
 Mr. Jackson, Bookseller, 3 Copies.
 Mr. James Johnson, Bookseller, Youghall,
 20 Copies.
 Mr. Wm. Jones, Bookseller.

K

Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Killala,
 M. R. I. A.
 Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Killaloe.
 Rev. John Kenedy, Feathard.
 Rev. Arthur Keilly, Belleview.
 Michael Keane, Esq. Clifton.
 Edward Keough, Esq. Rofs.
 Edward Kavanagh, Esq. ditto.
 George Keough, Jun. Esq. ditto.
 Walter Kavanagh, Esq. ditto.
 Henry Kellet, Esq.
 Francis King, Esq. Co. Wexford.
 Alexander Knox, Esq. M. R. I. A.
 Wm. A. Kellet, Esq. Cork.
 John Keilly, Esq. Rofs.
 James Kearny, Esq. Waterford.
 Mr. John Kerr.
 Mr. Adam Keith.
 Mr. Nicholas Kelly, Bookseller.
 Master Hall Kirchoffer.
 Mr. Wm. Kidd, Bookseller, Mullingar,
 7 Copies.
 Mr. Martin Keene, Bookseller, 2 Copies.

b

His

S U B S C R I B E R S.

L

His Grace the Duke of Leinster.
 Peter Latouche, Esq.
 George Latouche, Esq.
 John Latouche, Esq. M. P. City of Dublin.
 John David Latouche, Esq.
 Robert Latouche, Esq. M. P.
 Michael Lancton, Esq. Kilkenny.
 Wm. Thomas Locke, Esq. New Castle,
 Co. Limerick.
 Mrs. Lawrenson, Rosebrooke.
 John Ladaveze, Esq.
 Joseph Lefanu, Esq.
 John Lawson, Esq. Rofs.
 Adam Loftus Lynn, Esq.
 Wm. Augustus Le Hunt, Esq. Artramont.
 Thomas Leland, Esq.
 Rev. John Lombard.
 Robert Lyons, Esq.
 Mr. Michael Landers, Capoquin.
 Mrs. Catharine Matilda Lawson, Kilkenny
 Miss Hanna S. Lawson.

M

Countess of Mazareene.
 Lieut. General Myers.
 Sir John Macartney, Bart.
 Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.
 Rev. Westropp Morony, Limerick.
 Rev. James Marshall, Waterford.
 Rev. Samuel Murphy.
 Rev. Samuel Morris, Glebe Lodge,
 Dungannon.
 Rev. John Montgomery, Wexford.
 Ninian Mahaffy, Esq.
 Andrew Thos. Montgomery, Esq.

Hon. Robert Moore.
 Peter Murphy, Esq. Drogheda.
 John M'Grath, Esq. Rofs.
 Rev. Hodgson Madden.
 Rev. Hugh Montgomery, Grey Abbey.
 Rev. Charles Moore, Rector of Moira.
 Rev. Dr. Magee, F. T. C. D. M. R. I. A.
 Alexander Murray, Esq. Mount-Murray.
 William M'Kay, Esq.
 Colonel Maxwell, Bird's Town, L. derry.
 Robert Marshall, Esq.
 Lewis Morgan, Esq.
 William M'Guire, Esq. Rostrevor.
 Alexander Marsden, Esq. Dublin Castle.
 M. R. I. A.
 William Moore, Esq.
 Samuel Matthews, Esq. Mayor of Kil-
 kenny, Bonnet's-town.
 James Magrath, Jun. Esq. Rofs.
 Theobald M'Kenna, Esq.
 Alexander M'Minn, Esq. Herdstown.
 Philip Meredith, Esq. Queen's County.
 John French Madden, Esq. Galway.
 Stephen Moore, Esq. Barn.
 Michael M'Cormick, Esq. Rofs.
 James Malone, Esq.
 Francis Mercer, Esq.
 Joseph Manley, Jun. Esq. Tullamore.
 Andrew Moller, Esq.
 John Murray, Esq.
 Mrs. M'Ginnis.
 Mr. Thomas Myles.
 Mr. Thomas M'Gill.
 Mr. William Maguire.
 Mr. Archibald M'Donald.

Mr.

S U B S C R I B E R S.

Mr. Martin.
 Mr. Maxwell M'Cann.
 Mr. Minnett.
 Mr. John M'Allister.
 Mr. Richard Edward Mercier, Bookseller
 to Trinity College, Dublin, 10 copies.
 Mr. Neary Mahon, Bookseller, 6 copies.
 Messrs. Mundel and Sons, Edinburgh,
 25 copies.
 Mr. William Magee, Bookseller, Belfast,
 12 copies.
 Mr. Robert Marchbank, 7 Copies.
 Mr. P. Moore, Bookseller, 2 Copies.

N

Sir John Newport, Bart. Waterford,
 M. R. I. A.
 Major Neynoe, 34th Regiment.
 Major Nugent, Westmeath Militia.
 John Nowlan, Esq. Killinnee.
 William Newport, Esq. Belmont.
 William North, Esq. Newry.
 Henry Nappier, Esq. Rofs.
 Thomas Needham, Esq. Banker.
 Oliver Nugent, Esq. Bob's Grove.
 Lorenzo Nickson, Esq. Chapel-Izod,
 Kilkenny.
 Mr. Abraham Newland.
 Mr. J. Nuttal, Printer, Duke-st. Liverpool,
 6 copies.

O

Hon. Judge Osborne.
 Rev. William B. Odell, Limerick.
 Rev. Jer. O'Shaughnessy. P. P.
 Major E. O'Brien, County Clare.
 Thomas Osbery, Esq.
 James Ormsby, Esq. Youghall.

Thomas O'Kearney, Esq. Newcastle.
 John Orr, Esq. Newry.
 Daniel O'Connell, Esq.
 Samuel O'Malley, Esq.
 Mr. Michael Dease O'Reilly.
 Mr. Thomas Oldham.
 Mr. O'Flaherty, T. C. D.
 Mr. Edward O'Reilly.
 Mr. Edward O'Connery, Kilmoyler.
 Mr. Maurice O'Connery, ditto.
 Messrs. Ogle and Co. Booksellers,
 Edinburgh, 25 copies.

P

Hon. and Rev. John Pomeroy.
 Major Wm. Caulfabon Purdon, Tinerarra
 Caulfabon.
 Rev. Charles Palmer.
 Henry Palmer, Esq.
 John Pollock, Esq.
 William Pemberton, Esq.
 William Percival, Esq. Wexford.
 Abraham Prim, Esq.
 Miss Prim, Killerea.
 Matthew Poole, Esq. M. D. Waterford.
 Robert Paul, Esq. John's-Hill,
 Patrick Power, Esq. Tindhalla.
 James Pike, Esq.
 William Poe, Jun. Esq. Donnybrook.
 Hugh Power, Esq. Ring.
 Robert Page, Esq. Dundalk.
 Henry Purdon, Esq. Armagh.
 Mr. William Parks.
 Mr. John Paliffer, Tullamore.
 Mrs. Angelica Plunkett.
 Mr. Joseph Parks, Bookseller, Dundalk,
 3 copies.

Rev.

SUBSCRIBERS.

R

Rev. Dean of Raphoe, M. R. I. A.
 Rev. George Rogers, Rector of Clonmal-
 lon, and Chancellor of Dromore.
 Rev. Dr. Ryan.
 Rev. P. Roe, Kilkenny.
 Rev. Richard Radcliffe, Rofs.
 Rev. John Travers Radcliffe, Wilfon's
 Hospital, Mullingar.
 Col. Richardson.
 Wm. Ridgeway, Esq.
 Joseph Ridgeway, Esq.
 William Robinson, Esq.
 Armstrong Ryves, Esq.
 Jonathan Bruce Roberts, Esq. Charleville.
 Matthew Read, Esq. Oughterard.
 Richard Read, Esq. Hutton-read.
 Richard Ronayne, Esq. Youghall.
 Francis Reynolds, Esq. Kilkenny.
 Robert Rogers, Esq. Rofs.
 John Rochfort, Esq. County Carlow.
 Bryan Roche, Esq.
 George Read, Esq.
 Mr. Hugh Reilly, Castleroach.
 Mr. Hugh Reilly, Dublin.
 Mr. Daniel Ryan.
 Mrs. Ray.
 Messrs. Ramfey and Birney, Bookfellers,
 Waterford, 12 copies.

S

Viscount Somerton, Archbishop of Dublin.
 Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Smith, Bart. Master
 of the Rolls.
 Lady St. George.
 Rt. Hon. Sir John Stewart, Bart. M. P.
 Captain Omagh Cavalry.

Sir Marcus Somerville, Bart. M. P.
 M. R. I. A.
 Rev. Jas. Symes, Ballyarthur, M. R. I. A.
 Rev. William Sutton, Longrainge.
 Charles H. Sirr, Esq. Town Major.
 Arthur Stanley, Esq. Captain Merchants'
 Infantry.
 Solomon Speer, Esq.
 Leonard Speer, Esq.
 Hayward St. Leger, Esq. Sidney-place,
 Cork.
 Graves Chamney Swan, Esq.
 Peter Sinnott, Esq. Rock Lodge.
 Richard Sparrow, Esq. Clonmell.
 ——— Swan, Esq.
 Theophilus Swift, Esq.
 Roger Sweetman, Esq.
 William Sharman, Esq. Moira Castle.
 Walter Sweetman, Esq.
 A. Seton, Esq.
 Thomas Sinclair, Esq.
 Richard Steele, Esq.
 George Steele, Esq.
 John Small, Esq.
 Dr. Sempill.
 Mr. John Stewart,
 Mr. John Short.
 Mr. William Sterling.
 Mr. Robert Sharland, Hillsborough.
 Mr. Martin Scott.
 Mr. Saunders.
 Mr. William Scott.
 Mr. Shea, Bookfeller, 3 copies.
 Mr. Stockdale, Printer, 3 copies.
 Mr. Wm. Sheppard, Bookfeller, Bristol,
 6 Copies.

Rev,

SUBSCRIBERS.

T

Rev. Archdeacon Trail, Lisburn.
 Rev. William Tew.
 Rev. Horatio Townsend.
 William Taylor, Esq. Dublin Castle.
 Nicholas Power Trench, Esq. Galway.
 William Thompson, Esq.
 John Taylor, Esq.
 C. Taylor, Esq.
 Frederick Trench, Esq. Haywood, Queen's
 County.
 Charles Trench, Esq.
 Alderman Charles Thorp.
 Most Rev. Dr. Troy.
 John Tarleton, Esq. Liverpool.
 Mr. James Tallan, Dundalk.
 Mr. Robert Thompson.
 Mr. William Taggart.

U

Earl of Upper Ossory.
 Rev. Hemsworth Usher, A. M. Toarhouse.
 Arthur Usher, Esq. Youghall.

V

Rev. James Verschoyle, Dean of St.
 Patrick.
 Travers Hartley Vaughan, Esq.
 Edward Verdon, Esq.

W

Rt. Hon. Wm. Wickham, Dublin Castle.
 Rev. Richard Woodward.

Rev. Chamberlen Walker, Rosconnel.
 Richard Waller, Esq. Castle Waller,
 M. R. I. A.
 Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A.
 St. Valeri.
 Samuel Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A. Cuf-
 tom House.
 Lieut. Col. Weldon, Royal Queen's
 County Militia.
 James Wemys, Esq. Kilkenny.
 Robert Way, Esq. Kilkenny.
 Robert Weir, Esq.
 John Ward, Esq. Ros.
 Lieut. Robert White, Royal Marines.
 Benjamin Waton, Esq. Lime Park.
 William Baily Wallace, Esq.
 Henry Woodward, Esq.
 George Wade, Esq.
 Robert Warren, Esq.
 H. S. Willock, Esq. Rathfryland.
 William Walsh, Esq. Stadalt.
 James Whitestone, Esq.
 Captain Wilson, Liberty Rangers.
 Mr. Samuel Wolfey, Belfast.
 Mr. William Wright.
 Mr. Robert Walsh, Belfast.
 Mr. Edward Wolfenden.
 Mr. Robert Wilson.
 Mr. P. Wogan, Book-seller, 3 copies.
 Mr. Andrew Watson, Book-seller,
 Limerick 8 copies.
 Messrs. Watson and Co. Book-sellers,
 Dublin, 2 copies.

The following is the Character
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND,

On its first Publication, extracted from the following very respectable Reviews.

“WE have thus taken a survey of Mr. LEDWICH's Essays on the Antiquities of Ireland. Instead of relying on etymology, like many of his predecessors, he has had recourse, when possible, to written authorities, which he first examines separately and then compares with each other. His present work exhibits abundant marks of learning and industry.”—*Analytical Review for May 1792.*

“The Antiquities of Ireland have been long neglected, or treated with strong prejudices for fable and visionary etymologies. It is with peculiar pleasure that we at length see a rational and learned work on this subject. Upon the whole we have not perused any antiquarian work with more pleasure and instruction.” *Critical Review for August 1792, and Appendix.*

“When we meet with a professed antiquary, who is at the same time a man of general learning, cultivated taste, liberality of sentiment, and a correct and elegant writer (instances of which in such happy union are not very common) we accompany him in his literary and scientific excursions with care and peculiar satisfaction. Such a man, such a writer is Mr. LEDWICH; whose entertaining and instructive performance we now, without farther preamble or ceremony, but with sincere pleasure, introduce to the acquaintance of our readers.

“Thus have we endeavoured to give our readers a view of a performance in which we find much to commend and little to disapprove. If in an instance or two we might hesitate or be inclined to object, our intention is overcome by the good sense, the learning, the judgment, the diligence, the accuracy and the liberality which pervade the whole. We consider the public as indebted to this author for so instructive and useful a production, which we trust, will have its effect, in concurrence with other aids, towards the destruction of bigotry, superstition, and false science, with all their idle fancies, and childish chimæras, and thus contribute to the advancement of solid learning, rational religion and virtue. The value of the Volume is still greatly enhanced by the Engravings, exact and beautiful, with which it is attended.”—*Monthly Review for May and June 1793.*

JOHN JONES has on hands a few Sets of the following very Scarce and Valuable Works, so frequently referred to, by Doctor Ledwich in his ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

	£. s. d.		
Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicus, by Gen. Vallancey, 4 Vols. bound,	2	16	10h
Vindication of Ancient Irish History with 12 Plates, by do. in Boards	-	0	9 9
Monasticon Hibernicum, by the Rev. Mervyn Archdal, Quarto, Boards	1	7	1
Campbell's Strictures on Ecclesiastical History	-	-	0 7 7

CONTENTS

OF THE

ESSAYS.

I.	<i>On the Romantic History of Ireland</i>	—	—	Page	I
II.	<i>Ancient Notices respecting Ireland, and of its Name</i>	—	—		12
III.	<i>Of the Colonization of Ireland</i>	—	—		21
IV.	<i>Of the Druids, and their Religion</i>	—	—		32
V.	<i>Of the Pagan State of Ireland, and its Remains</i>	—	—		42
VI.	<i>Of the Introduction of Christianity, and of St. Patrick</i>	—	—		54
VII.	<i>Anecdotes of early Christianity in Ireland</i>	—	—		70
VIII.	<i>Origin and Progress of Monachism in Ireland</i>	—	—		88
IX.	<i>Of the Irish Culdees, and Antiquities of Monaincha</i>	—	—		102
X.	<i>State of the Irish Church in the Eleventh Century, and after</i>	—	—		121
XI.	<i>Of the Stone-roofed Churches, and Cormac's Chapel</i>	—	—		138
XII.	<i>Of the Round Towers in Ireland</i>	—	—		155
XIII.	<i>History and Antiquities of Glendaloch</i>	—	—		171
XIV.	<i>Observations on Saxon and Gothic Architecture</i>	—	—		187
XV.	<i>Of ancient Irish Coins</i>	—	—		211
XVI.	<i>Observations on the Harp, and ancient Irish Music</i>	—	—		228
XVII.	<i>Of ancient Irish Musical Instruments</i>	—	—		242
XVIII.	<i>Of the ancient Irish Dress</i>	—	—		259
XIX.	<i>The Military Antiquities of Ireland</i>	—	—		277
XX.	<i>Political Constitution and Laws of the ancient Irish</i>	—	—		301
XXI.	<i>On the Ogham Characters and Alphabetic Elements of the ancient Irish</i>	—	—		322
					XXII

CONTENTS OF THE ESSAYS.

XXII.	<i>A Review of Irish Literature in the middle Ages</i>	—	347
XXIII.	<i>Giraldus Cambrensis illustrated</i>	—	365
XXIV.	<i>History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny</i>	—	382
XXV.	<i>Appendix of Records to Irishtown and Kilkenny</i>	—	498
XXVI.	<i>Abbey and Church of Aghaboe</i>	—	509
XXVII.	<i>Abbey of Athassel</i>	—	516
XXVIII.	<i>Abbey of Devenish</i>	—	517
XXIX.	<i>Chapel at Holy-Cross</i>	—	518
XXX.	<i>Abbey of Knockmoy</i>	—	520
XXXI.	<i>Old Leighlin</i>	—	522
XXXII.	<i>Miscellaneous Antiquities</i>	—	524



THE

ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

ON THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF IRELAND.

WHEN we review the remote histories of England, Scotland and Ireland, and find names and facts delivered with unhesitating confidence and chronological accuracy, it seems, at first sight, an unreasonable degree of scepticism to withhold our assent from them, or question their authenticity: but minuter enquiry satisfactorily evinces them to be but spacious delusions, and some of the numberless vagaries of the human mind.

The want of literary memorials created an impenetrable obscurity, which every attempt to deduce the origin of nations, or detail early events, was unable to penetrate or dispel. How then were national honour and high-born ancestry, the love of which is most conspicuous and prominent in rude people, to be supported? The answer is by poetic tales and bardic inventions; and hence we find the wild and naked German (1) sang the praises of his great progenitor, Tuisco; the Highlander of Scotland the exploits of Cuchullin, and the Hibernian the wonderful peregrinations of Milesius. Bardic fictions and unfounded traditions are the oral records of every barbarous nation.

As soon as society, by the aid of regular government and the use of letters, emerged from rudeness to an imperfect civilization, a new species of historic composition

(1) *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ & annalium genus est, &c. Tacit. Germ.*

fiction appeared, made (2) up of popular tales and genuine facts, so ingeniously interwoven as not only to resemble but to pass for true history. This was the origin of romantic history, and of the Iliad, the Thebaid, the Argonautics and similar productions. These works flattered general prejudices by embodying and identifying truth and fiction, so that it (3) became a difficult task for subsequent writers to separate the one from the other. It was not without some struggle that people relinquished popular fables, the delight of their youth, and the constant themes of garrulous old age, however they vanished in the superior illumination of learning and criticism: wherever they are still retained, that people may be pronounced credulous and ignorant. What has been advanced will receive confirmation from examining the origin of romantic history in Ireland.

Ireland in the sixth and succeeding centuries possessed a literary reputation, which is proved by indisputable evidence. But her political constitution, municipal laws, and the prevailing studies of the times were but ill calculated to advance letters or improve civility. It cannot therefore be doubted, but that romantic history was a favourite subject, and much cultivated by a people thus circumstanced. But of this no monument exists antecedent to the (4) age of Nennius, A. D. 830. That it was much earlier must appear from his having consulted the most skilful Irish Antiquaries; who told him the fable of Pharaoh's son-in-law, his expulsion from Egypt, his travels through Africa and Spain, and from thence to Ireland. Nennius's judgment of this fiction is decisive, when he (5) declares, that there was no sure history of the origin of the Irish. A learned and very (6) ingenious writer has carefully examined and fully confuted the notion of the Hispanian extraction of the Irish; had he turned his thoughts to the origin of the fable, nothing more could have been said, at once to subvert it, and set the foolish fiction for ever at rest. The following hints are offered, in some sort, to supply their omission.

Spain, the (7) centre of oriental fabling, always enjoyed a celebrity above that of any European country; the Irish therefore esteemed it a matter of the greatest importance

(2) *Milesius cyclicus*, sic dictus, quoniam cyclum partim mythicum, partim historicum scripserat, ita ut veresimilitudinem & ad probilitatis historię legem exigeret ea, quę a poetis, seu antiquis scriptoribus essent narrata. Heyne, de fontibus Diodori, p. 67. Edit. Bipont. See also Salmas. Plin. Exercit. in Solin. p. 846. where much curious learning may be found on the original poetic and historic compositions of the Greeks.

(3) Quo quidem consilio nihil poterat esse ineptius, nihil ad ipsas historias perniciosius. Heyne, sup.

(4) I am obliged to speak of this author's work as authentic, because others have done so, though I think it the patched production of various writers, or one of the supposititious performances of the middle ages.

(5) Nulla tamen certa historia originis Scotorum reperitur. Nenn. p. 102. Ed. Bertram.

(6) Macpherson's Introduction to the Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland.

(7) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, V. 1. Diss. 1.

importance to exhibit a clear deduction of their ancestors from thence, and which their native writers, in every age, have zealously inculcated. When the Arabians entered Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, (observe Nennius lived in the ninth) with the revival of Greek literature they introduced a knowledge of the sciences and arts before but little studied, and in many parts of western Europe not known. From the earliest period they cultivated magic; they extolled their intimate acquaintance with the occult qualities of bodies; their skill in metallurgy, in optics, in vitrification, and in precious stones and medicine supported their high pretensions, and astonished and confounded the incredulous. Nor were they less distinguished for a vein of romantic fiction: here they displayed an exuberance of fancy in the creation of imaginary beings, in the wildness and variety of their adventures, and in the extravagance of their fables, all springing from their modes of thinking and their peculiar philosophy. A brilliancy of thought and pomp of expression at once captivated and delighted the reader.

The pleasing contagion quickly diffused itself through every people: the genial warmth of oriental fiction enlivened their songs: the monotonous and dismal tales of blood and slaughter were succeeded by more amusing and sprightly relations, by the heroic achievements of gallantry, or the bland occupations of love; all these worked up with Arabian inventions and Arabian philosophy are visible, as we shall see, not only in our civil history but in our hagiography.

The (8) Armoric and Welsh bards very early attained eminence in romantic fabling; the Irish, who symbolized with them in every article of religion, soon adopted the same taste, as did the Cornish poets. The connection between the Armoric Britons, the Cornish, the Welsh and Irish was for many ages intimate, so that a fondness for romantic history was soon propagated here: even the numerous resort of foreigners to our celebrated schools facilitated the introduction of this species of writing. A few proofs are necessary to establish what is now delivered.

Our mythologists (9) inform us that three Spanish fishermen arrived here before the flood, and soon after that awful event, the Fomoragh or Africans (10) subdued the Isle, or others from the continent of Africa frequently visited it, and that it was finally colonized by (11) Milesius, a Spaniard. Nennius relates that these Spaniards in their voyage saw a tower of glass, which endeavouring to take, they were drowned in the attempt. This tower is a sure mark of an oriental fancy, and
fimilar

(8) Warton, *supra*.

(9) Keating, p. 18-46.

(10) Keating, p. 11.

(11) Pinkerton has the following curious note. "Nennius knew nothing of Milesius, but only mentions *Miles quidam Hispanus*, a certain Spanish soldier. Of this *Miles* the Irish made Milesius, as of Julius Cæsar they made Cælara, Noah's niece. Hist. of Scotland, V. 2. p. 6.

similar to the tower of glass, said to be built (12) by Ptolemy, and Boyardo's wall of glass made by an African magician, and the pillars of Hercules erected on magical looking glasses.

The Milesians, when they landed in Ireland, had various (13) battles with the Tuatha de Danans, a nation of enchanter and magicians, whom they at length subdued by superior skill and bravery.

In our Legends the same spirit of romantic fiction abounds. No one (14) but a virgin could use the magic girdle of St. Colman. St. Cuthbert's zone cures many diseases. An Irish priest complains to St. Gerald, that a huge rock impeded the navigation of a river, immediately the Saint throws a (15) wonderful stone on it, and it splits into pieces. At another time he puts the same stone into the mouth of a dead man and he revives. St. Kieran, St. Fechin and St. Ænd are as safely conveyed over rivers, lakes, and the ocean on stones as in ships. The mystical power of stones declares the oriental complexion of our spiritual romances.

Some of our fictions are of a later date. Thus St. Patrick, a personage who (16) never existed but in legendary story, is born in Taburnia in Cornwall; his mother (17) is (18) Concheffa, a Frenchwoman of Tours: others make him a native of Airmuir or Armorica. From this region he and his sister Lupita are carried away by Irish pirates. He goes to Rome, and on his return preaches in Cornwall: Fingar also and other Irish Saints travel to Armorica. "The people of Cornwall, says Camden, have always borne such veneration to Irish Saints, who retired there, that almost all their towns have been consecrated to their memory."

In a (19) council held by St. Patrick, all the unconverted Irish are baptized, and so violent a religious paroxysm seizes them, that thirty thousand, divided into three bodies, begin a pilgrimage with the Saint's benediction to Rome and Jerusalem, and other parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. Here is a fiction calculated to countenance the Crusades, and not earlier than the eleventh century, or it may refer to the seventy thousand persons who took a voyage to Palestine, A. D. 1062, and who were either killed or made prisoners. It is remarkable that the learned Jesuit, Bollandus, from a (20) critical and judicious examination (well worth perusal) dates the fabrication of our Legends about the eleventh century.

Many

(12) Warton, sup. sect. 15.

(13) Keating, p. 55.

(14) Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 246.

(15) Colgan, p. 730. p. 600.

(16) See this proved hereafter.

(17) Usser. Primord. p. 819.

(18) Usser. sup.

(19) Usser. sup. p. 952.

(20) Vix ullas enim Sanctorum Hibernicorum vitas habemus in manibus, quas possumus credere sexcentis annis vetustiores esse. Act. Sanct. ad 16 Martie, p. 581. Bollandus died in 1665.

Many of the bardic figments are still more recent. The (21) Milesians in a starry night of winter discovered Ireland from the tower of Brigantia in Galicia by the help of a telescope. Roger Bacon (22) affirms, that Julius Cæsar before he invaded Britain, viewed with a telescope her shores and harbours. He died in the thirteenth century.

In (23) Ossian's combat of Osgar and Illan, a beautiful damsel complains, that Illan, eldest son of the king of Spain, pursued her, and threatened wounds and destruction to the Fians: "wherever he goes, adds she, to the east or west, or to the four quarters of the world, his sharp-edged weapon makes every foe yield the victory." The words—four quarters of the world—evinced this poem to have been written in the fifteenth century. Numberless other figments are of the same date. The fifteenth century is noted for literary impostures and supposititious authors. The Berosus, Manetho, Megasthenes and Cato of Annianus of Viterbo, the Tuscan inscriptions of Inghiramius, and Boethius's Scottish history are the productions of this period, and their fabulous character well known. At this time, says (24) a learned writer, men began to be inquisitive into matters of antiquity, and therefore some who had more learning and better inventions than others, set themselves to work to gratify this curiosity. The success of their impostures was so great, that it became no easy matter to undeceive the public, and convince them they were but forgeries. Trithemius, an ecclesiastic of learning in this age, gave a plausible list of ideal French princes from their departure from Troy, which he declared was taken from an ancient author, named Hunibald. Frederic, Elector of Saxony, writ to Trithemius, requesting Hunibald might be sent to him. Trithemius had no way to screen his forgery, or evade compliance but by saying, the MS. was not in his possession, having changed his residence from Hirschau to Wurtzburg, so that it was fairly (25) concluded—*que cet auteur pretendu est de la propre fabrique de Tritheme.*

Emancipated at length from the bondage of ignorance, credulity and superstition by the cultivation of learning, the human mind acquired a firm tone and power of discrimination to which it had been long a stranger. The evanescent meteors of romantic history lost all their charms; truth and authentic records were the guiding stars of every enlightened historian and antiquary; nor is it undeserving notice, that the northern writers, whose annals are clouded with fables, were among the
C
foremost

(21) Keating, p. 44.

(22) Warton, sup.

(23) Trans. of the Royal Irish Acad. V. 1. p. 74.

(24) Stillingfleet's Brit. churches, pref.

(25) Recueil de div. pieces, par Leibnitz, Clarke, &c. T. 2. p. 287.

foremost in this laudable career. Bartholine (26) desires his reader to use much caution in perusing the Icelandic chronicles, and in separating the true from the false; and not to be imposed on by the words—*fornum bokum* or old books—or *fornum fogum* or poetic fictions—

Loccenius, a celebrated lawyer and antiquary of Upsal in Sweden, (27) declares the ancient Swedish history to be so uncertain, that, not to mislead the reader, he would place no dates in his margin antecedent to the age of St. Eric, A. D. 1150, nor was any historical relation to be depended on before the introduction of Christianity in the reign of Bero or Biorn, A. D. 816. These acknowledgments while they upbraided our pertinacity in defending palpable fictions, produced some good effects. Some it emboldened totally to reject our fables; others with a timorous and trembling hesitancy relinquished some of them, and weakly endeavoured to defend others.

Great care and critical sagacity, according to (28) O'Flaherty, are to be exercised in the choice of Irish MSS. Some are plainly apocryphal, or inventions for amusement; some to flatter the pride and ambition of Patrons are filled with hyperbolical and incredible narrations: however, adds he, undoubted truths may be drawn from them, as tradition and the consent of antiquaries allow.—This writer in another (29) work tells us, that as to *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, who gave the name of *Scotia* to Ireland, the Irish when they embraced christianity and became conversant with sacred writ, thought it glorious to their country to have their ancestors derived by a mother from the Egyptian Pharaoh, and to have had familiar conversation with Moses and the Israelites.—Here O'Flaherty sees the childish absurdity of Irish fables, but fears to offend popular prejudices.

Very different is the language of two eminent Prelates. Doctor Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin in 1674, a man of talents, family, and by no means a bigot, observes, that (30) among our Annalists and writers who merit little regard are those vernacular authors whom Colgan calls the Four Masters: for they were illiterate

(26) *Plurima itaque cautela in libris veteribus Islandicis utendum est, & veræ historiæ a falsis magna-circumspectione discernendæ, &c.* Barthol. de contemp. mort. p. 199.

(27) *Valde lubrica & incerta, & proinde ne lectori imponerem, placuit nullam potius quam incertam ad oram annalium attexere.* Locc. Antiq. Suco-Goth. p. 421. Stiernhook, de jure Sueon. p. 4.

(28) *De codicum Hibernicorum delectu nunc maxima est habenda cura & acre judicium O'Flah. Ogyg. præloq. p. 34—35.* And Stanihurst, *Hæc quidem fœmnia fabularum aniculæ fortassis admirationem, Abderæ alicui applausum, intelligentibus vero risum moveat.* De reb. Heb. p. 18—19.

(29) *Ogyg. vind. p. 55.*

(30) *Inter annales vel auctores fide dignos locum non merentur nonnulli nostri vernaculi Scriptores (quorum aliquos Colganus quatuor Magistros appellat) erant enim homines illiterati, &c.* Primat. Dublin. p. 42.

terate and so devoted to party that but little of truth can be collected or inferred from their performances. Nor is there any relying on Keating who follows them, for he expressly treats of the genealogies of the Irish, deducing them in distinct generations from Adam. Many things he introduces from Bardic poems, filled with stories of giants. What valuable information can be had from such writers, I profess myself ignorant.

Doctor O'Brien, titular Bishop of Cloyne, author of an Irish dictionary and a man of letters, delivers (31) his sentiments with equal boldness and candour. "Parsons in his remains of Japhet seems but too well inclined to favour the antiquities of Ireland, without considering, that nothing could be of greater prejudice or discredit to them than asserting those fabulous genealogies, and the stories of the travels of the supposed leaders and chiefs of their ancient colonies, such as have been rejected with just contempt by all learned nations: first invented in Ireland by Bards and Romancers after they came to some knowledge of both sacred and profane history. The real and true antiquities of Ireland are not to be derived from any other sources than our authentic annals; such as those of Tigernach, of Innisfallen, the *Chronicon Scotorum* and a few others, wherein are no fabulous stories, such as those in the book called *leaver Gabbhala*, and others of that kind published in the translation of Keating's history of Ireland, which he never intended for the public; but for the (32) amusement of private families."

But there are two works, much relied on by native writers; these are the (33) *Psalter of Cashel* and *Cormac's glossary*. Lhuyd and Nicolson say, a part of the first is in the Bodleian Library, but I do not recollect any one, who professes to have seen it. Walsb gives this extract from it, which must destroy its credit as an historical record: "That the Picts served in Thrace under one Polycornus, that they fled that country, and roamed up and down at sea till they came to Gaul, and there founded the City of *Pictavia*: that they were forced to leave Gaul and retire to Ireland: that *Trosdan*, a magician, advised the Irish army to bathe in the milk of one hundred and fifty white crumple-horned cows, as a sure antidote against the envenomed arrows of the Britons."

This

(31) Preface to his Dict., p. 40.

(32) It is singular, that the celebrated northern Eddas were compiled with the same intent. "*Nec quidem ipsius auctori, sive Sturlonides ille fuerit sive alius, aliud propositum fuit, ipsomet profitente, quam hanc poetarum antiquorum fisiones, apto ordine connectere & libello animi recreandi gratia complecti.*" Murray, apud Nov. Com. Gotting. t. 4. p. 92.

(33) Walsb's prospect, p. 490.

This is the wonderful Psalter composed by Cormac, Prince of Munster and Bishop of Cashel. Such daring sceptics as Stillingfleet, Innes and Pinkerton condemn it as romantic; but what true Milesian will believe them?

As to Cormac's glossary, Lynch (34) says it was the work of Cairbre Liffechair, A. D. 279. Colgan, as good authority, ascribes it to Cormac Ulfhada, A. D. 257. O'Connor, who published O'Flaherty's Ogygia vindicated in 1775, and was well acquainted with Irish literature, had never seen this glossary, and (35) fears it was lost to the public. However it is said to have been printed in the last century by O'Clery, one of the four Masters, whose characters are impartially exhibited by Archbishop Talbot before. Lynch and Colgan are better informed than later antiquaries, and neither give the composition to Cormac of Cashel, but to others, who lived above six hundred years before Cormac. But even Lynch and Colgan are romancing, when they suppose letters known or common in the third century. Grant that Cormac Mac Cuilenan was author of a glossary in the tenth century, was not this to serve as an interpreter to the precedent Irish language, grown obsolete in his time? This is the common idea of the use of a glossary, and it evinces the fluctuation and corruption of the language. It is now nine hundred years since Cormac writ this pretended glossary; has the Irish tongue suffered no alteration in such a lapse of ages? It must have astonishingly changed, when we are assured by the author of an Irish grammar, that the Irish language of (36) four hundred years back is totally different from the present, in sense and orthography. Let the reader mark the words, *sense* and *orthography*, and draw his conclusion as to the authenticity of this impudent and blundering forgery. I should not have detained the reader so long, were not Cormac's glossary and psalter constantly appealed to as authentic literary monuments. The book of Lecan is another Irish record of equal veracity. From these a new species of romantic fabling has been introduced by the noted author of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, grounded on etymology, similitude of names and religious practices. In certain stages of society there is an almost identity of names and usages in the adoration of the Supreme Being, and as far as clouded reason permitted, an imperfect acknowledgment of his attributes. Are the Irish to be derived from the natives of Easter island in the Pacific ocean, because both erected ponderous structures of stone as temples for their deities? Are the Irish the same people as the Peruvians, because both adored the sun? But is it not making a mockery of the sacred oracles to introduce a Druid prophesying of the advent

(34) Cambrens, Evers. p. 301,

(35) Ogyg. Vind. p. 161.

(36) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 7. p. 332, and before p. 325. And No. 13. p. 115, no words can be stronger.

advent of our Redeemer on the authority of (37) Cormac's glossary. Of the same stamp is a coincidence deduced from the similarity of names. Ith, the son of Breogan, and grandson of Milesius, all romantic personages, is made (38) Ithobaal, and supposed to be alluded to by the prophets. A work containing such positions would have been more properly addressed to a heathen than to a christian and very religious prince.

As to etymology, the other column of the new romantic history of Ireland, take this specimen from the same author. "Milesius was not a proper name but an epithet, being Miles and Milespain, i. e. the hero of the ship. Mil is a champion from the Chaldee Malca, rex. Efs and Spain signify a ship, from the Hebrew efs, lignum, and Speia nauta. Malach in Hebrew and Melach and Melachoir in Irish, signify nauta, in Arabic mullah is a sailor and sufina a ship." Are you not astonished and illuminated, gentle reader, at this wonderful display of oriental literature? From these brilliant etymological evidences can any fact be clearer than that this patriarch being a great naval commander, and of course a great voyager and traveller, preferred the cool and humid charms of Ireland to the heat and aridity of eastern climates. May we not apply what Warburton said of Gale's Court of the Gentiles,—that it would scarcely be believed the man was serious, had he not given us, in his numerous tomes, such lamentable proofs of his being in earnest?

It must occur to every reflecting mind, that pretensions to very high antiquity could only be supported by authentic records, the value of which could never be appreciated while they lay buried in public libraries or private collections, or were only exhibited in detached scraps. "Therefore, (40) says Stillingfleet in 1685, it would tend very much to the clearing of antiquities, if some of these ancient annals and leiger books were printed. For it hath rendered their credit the more suspicious, because they have been so long kept up, when all the old English annals have been carefully published." Innes, in 1729, after describing the manner in which Irish fictions were by the moderns brought into some consistence and shape, (41) observes that the originals are kept out of sight to conceal their deformity and their contradictions to all true history. And he spiritedly adds,—we are now no more in ages of ignorance and credulity. Men have begun long since to measure their belief of remote antiquities by their vouchers.—In 1783, Mr. Edm. Burke
D
declared

(37) Vindic. of the ancient history of Ireland, by the author of the Collect. p. 199.

(38) Vindic. sup. p. 302. & seq.

(39) Vindic. sup. p. 294.

(40) Antiq. of Brit. chur. p. 248—249.

(41) Crit. Ed. V. 1. p. 499.

declared his opinion, that (42) extracts from Irish MSS. only increased curiosity, and the just demand of the public for some entire pieces, and that until this is done, the ancient period of Irish history, which precedes official records, cannot be said to stand on proper authority. In 1786, Mr. Burke (43) says in a letter, "will you have the goodness to pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earnest wish that some of the ancient Irish historical monuments should be published as they stand, with a translation in Latin or English. Until something of this kind is done criticism can have no secure anchorage." The earnest wish of these excellent scholars would have long since have been complied with, could these Irish MSS. have borne the light: part of their contents have already been given, and it is certainly for the honour of the country to suffer them to remain for ever in obscurity.

In 1440, when it was the boast of Britons to be descended from Brutus and his Trojans, and every writer flattered this popular prejudice, John de Wheathamstead, Abbot of St. Alban's, an ecclesiastic of high dignity and superior accomplishments, delivers the following manly and judicious sentiments, which I wish the Irish nation and Irish historians may hereafter adopt. "Some, says (44) he, look upon the story of Brutus as no other than a ridiculous piece of foppery and vanity, to lay claim to nobility of descent, when we cannot ground our pretence on any probable foundation. 'It is virtue alone that gives nobility to any nation, and it is a greatness of mind with an exactness of reason that makes the true gentleman. Let this therefore be allowed the British nation, as a sufficient evidence of their honourable original, that they are courageous and resolute in war, have been superior to all their enemies round, and that they have a natural aversion to servitude.'"

Had the learned Abbot recollected, he would have added these lines of the Roman Satyrift:

Malo pater fit Therfites, dummodo tu sis
Æacidæ similis, Vulcaniaq; arma capeffas,
Quam te Therfiti similem producat Achilles.

To conclude. From this view of the ancient as well as the modern romantic history of Ireland, and the reprobation of both by the most enlightened antiquaries, it may reasonably be asked what objects deserve the attention of the learned
and

(42) Collectan. No. 13. p. 133.

(43) Campbell's Strict, p. 294.

(44) Apud Camden. inhabitants, &c.

and inquisitive? To this I answer with confidence, that there are as many curious and interesting subjects for antiquarian investigation, and supported by authentic records and existing monuments, as are to be found in any country, not the seat of an empire. The colonization of the Isle, the formation of the Irish alphabet, the state of literature from the sixth to the ninth century, our ancient music, round towers, stone-roofed crypts, our coins, laws, with our pagan religion and primitive christianity, all admit proofs and solicit illustration, which they have never received. These and other topics would abundantly exercise the ingenuity and erudition of the philologer, the grammarian, architect, theologian and antiquary. These Essays pretend to no more than to exhibit some new views and new illustrations of the foregoing subjects; supported by plain sense and solid authorities.

Quicquid id est, sylvestre licet videatur acutis
Auribus, et nostro tantum memorabile pago;
Dum mea rusticitas, si non valet arte polita
Carminis, at certe valeat veritate probari.



Some

SOME ANCIENT NOTICES RESPECTING IRELAND, AND OF THE NAME OF THE ISLE.

IN the foregoing Essay the pretensions of the Irish to remote genuine history have been examined, and found destitute of verisimilitude or probability; and yet on the wild tales of bardic fablers their modern antiquaries have engrafted the etymological reveries of Bochart, Sammes, Stukeley and (1) others: thus defending one absurdity by another; a mode of argumentation which supplies a standard for measuring the talents, the judgment and information of such writers.

Bochart was a man of uncommon erudition, but his scheme of proving the eastern colonization of Europe, through the medium of etymology, appeared visionary to his (2) contemporaries: nor was he, in the opinion of an (3) excellent judge, sufficiently skilled in the oriental tongues for the task he had engaged in. That the world was peopled by the sons of Noah, is a fact recorded in holy writ, but the particular countries occupied by each cannot be ascertained at this day. The Jewish Targums, Josephus and the Rabbins, all of whom knew as much of the matter as those who lived before the cataclysm, very confidently supply the obscurity of scripture, and distinctly parcel Europe among the posterity of the grand Patriarch. This was pride and vanity in the Jews, and we must suppose piety in christians, who adopted their ideas. This made Postell, a revivor of oriental learning in the 16th century, derive Irin from (4) Iurin, or the land of the Jews; and Bochart to bring Hibernia from the Phœnician (5) Iber-nae, or the farthest habitation. This hint of the Phœnicians, (who were great navigators and traders) acted as a strong ferment on the intellects of British and Irish antiquaries, and produced the frothy systems in the writers before named, and particularly in the author of the *Collectanea de reb. Hib.* who has completely orientalized our ancient history.

Let

(1) As O'Connor in his *Diff.* and the author of the *Collect.* pass.

(2) Meric Casaubon, alluding to this work, says,—torquendi vocabula, addendo, detrahendo, mutando, transponendo sine ullo aut modo aut ratione certa licentiam sumpserunt, ut quicquid uspiam verborum, non veterum tantum, sed et recentiorum in Germania Gallia, alibi vel remotissimorum, pari ratione Hebraicum fuerit. *De ling. Anglic. vet.* p. 152.

(3) Richardson's *Diff.* on the languages of the East, p. 251.

(4) Warzei *Antiq.* c. 1.

(5) *Geogr. fac. l. 1. c. 60. Ed. Leusden.*

Let us then consider what grounds there are to support the notion of an eastern intercourse with Ireland. Herodotus, who lived about 400 years before our æra, informs (6) us, that Tin and Amber were brought from the northern parts, and he seems to point out Britain and the Baltic, as the places from whence they came. Tin was a metal highly valued, and is mentioned by Moses 1500, and by Homer 900 years (7) B. X. The (8) boots or greaves of the heroes in the latter writer are of shining tin. But it was not from Britain tin was produced, for it was then (9) thinly inhabited by a few wandering Celtes, who were to the Scythians, who succeeded them; what the savages of America are to the Europeans. The Belgæ, part of the Scythian swarm, arrived in Britain (10) about 500 years before the nativity. They first introduced the knowledge and names of metals. From whence then came the tin of which Moses and Homer speak? The answer is from the East, where it abounds in rich mines, and of so superior a quality, that the Malacca tin is at present preferred there to the European. If therefore the Belgæ arrived in Britain but one hundred years before the age of Herodotus, that seems too short a space of time for new colonists to settle, and open sources of commerce: it is probable the Cassiterides were islands on the coast of Spain, where these ancient merchants had depôts of the precious metals, which they collected from the continent: indeed the riches of Spain were (11) so great, that they must be sufficient to satisfy the most avaricious adventurer, without hazarding the dangers of untried seas and inhospitable shores. From the notices in ancient writers, we cannot determine the (12) position of these celebrated isles. Pliny, Solinus, Mela and Dionysius place them opposite Spain, some will have them near Cape Finisterre, others near Cape St. Vincent, but none more northerly than the first. Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius, with all the lights his industry could acquire, and that in the 12th century, leaves their situation problematical. Besides the Sidonian and Phœnician ships were almost (13) round; a form ill adapted for distant navigation. Strabo, as is (14) well observed, allows but little credit to the relations of the Phœnician voyages in remote times; and he blames Eratosthenes for believing them:

E

(6) Προς Σερην ἀναγών, ἀπο τὴν τὴν ὑλίκων φοιτῶν, λόγος ἐστὶ, ὅτε νῆσοις οὐκ κασσιτερίδας. Lib. 3.

(7) Inse Playfaire's chronology.

(8) Τεῦχε δὲ οἱ κνημίδα; αὐτῶν κασσιτεροῖο. Iliad.

(9) Pinkerton's Goths, p. 45. Whitaker's Manchester, V. 1. p. 6—7.

(10) Pinkerton and Whitaker, sup.

(11) Stated by Merula, cosmograph. p. 212.

(12) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. in Solin. p. 278. and Cluverius and Baudrand.

(13) They were called Gauli. Τα φαινικὰ πλοῖα. Hefych. Navigii genus pene rotundum. Festus.

(14) Stillingfleet's true antiquity of London.

them: for it appears by Hanno's voyage (about 150 years after Herodotus) how little they had discovered beyond the pillars of Hercules, for Cerne was no farther beyond them on the African coast than it was from Carthage to them. If the Phœnicians did not visit Britain in remote ages, they had no inducement to come to Ireland.

Leaving the uncertainty of these early navigations, let us attend to facts. About two centuries and a half B. X. the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who then swayed the Egyptian sceptre, was illuminated with bright (15) constellations of learned men. Among these Eratosthenes, his librarian, an excellent geometrician and geographer, was conspicuous. Strabo (16) praises his private collection of maps and books, and he was so well acquainted with the western parts of Europe, that he gives the distance of Ireland from (17) Celtica. This is perhaps the earliest authentic notice that occurs of Ireland. It is evident the names and situation of countries must have been known and ascertained before they could be reduced into a map. The churlish jealousy of Phœnician and Carthaginian traders would not (18) permit them to give information of the countries they frequented, this was to be had from people of more liberal sentiments, and these were the Grecian colonies settled at Syracuse, Rhegium, Tarentum, and along the Italian coast, and particularly from the Phocæan, established at Massylia, or Marseilles 540 years before our æra. These Greeks gave letters to, and introduced (19) not only civility but a high degree of polish and urbanity among the Gauls, and being also a mercantile people opened a commerce with the interior of the country. If we may judge from modern efforts in pursuit of trade, (and the Greeks were inferior to no nation) they probably penetrated to the confines of Britain, about 500 miles, and to the shores of the Baltic, and from thence brought both tin and amber. This supposition is not entirely groundless from what Diodorus Siculus relates, that tin was conveyed from Britain to Gaul in wicker boats, and passing through the country arrived at Narbonne on the Mediterranean in thirty days. The transport of amber was performed in the same manner. These commodities were by the Massylians dispersed among the Greeks, and thus Herodotus derived an imperfect knowledge of the parts from which they came.

About

(15) Besides the Pleades, or seven famed poets, he had Demetrius Phalereus, Epicurus, and many more.

(16) Lib. 2.

(17) Strab. sup. Casaubon says,—Sic et Κελτικὴν ἀπὸς vetustissimos Græcos ea tantum Galliae pars, quam mare Mediterraneum alluit. In Strab. p. 68.

(18) Strab. l. 3.

(19) See Strabo, Plautus, Cicero, &c.

About one hundred years after the age of Herodotus, Tyre was destroyed by Alexander the Great, and the city of Alexandria was founded, and soon became the grand emporium of eastern and western commerce. Thither (20) catapli or fleets sailed from Marseilles, and on their return great fairs were held. A new spring was given to industry; the prospect of gain prompted men to explore distant regions, and to become more intimately acquainted with their productions. With this view (21) Pytheas set out from Marseilles to examine the west and north of Europe, and proceeded as far as Thule, which Forster believes to be the Shetland islands. He described Britain, for Strabo (22) introduces Polybius comparing the accounts of Pytheas, Dicæarchus and Eratosthenes as to the magnitude of Britain.

If Ireland was colonized by an eastern people, had regular government and objects of trade, would antiquity be silent on these heads? They would not. But granting the Phœnicians or Carthaginians visited Ireland, they could form only such factories as the moderns do in remote countries; and we can easily appreciate the knowledge and improvement the one was likely to communicate, and the other to receive from them. Have the savages of America adopted the arts or manners of the English, French or Spaniards settled among them for near two centuries. It is the civilized not the rude who are prone to change. But what is exactly in point is, that (23) the natives contiguous to the Phœnician settlements in Spain are not remarked by Diodorus Siculus or Strabo for an advancement in civilization above their countrymen. Besides the ingenious writer last cited has collected such traits of barbarism in the Irish character, and to a late period, as demonstrate them, before the light of christianity, to be destitute of mental and civil cultivation. The most celebrated nations of the world, at certain times, have been similarly circumstanced. While man continues the same, and while historic records supply certain information to direct our inquiries, Irish antiquaries may exhaust their time and talents in rehearsing the literature and arts of their ancestors, the long catalogue of their Kings, and the splendour of their monarchy,—but in vain, for the learned will say of such writers as Ovid does of a famed poetic personage :

*Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus; hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Our

(20) Du Cange in voce. (21) Forster's north. discoveries, initio!

(22) Lib. 2.

(23) Macpherfon's Introduction.

Our learned Primate Usher, after quoting Orpheus for Ireland not being (24) unknown in his time, exultingly says,—(25) Not even the Roman people can produce such testimony of their antiquity.—Is it an honour to any country, that it was inhabited in very remote ages by roving barbarians with a proper name? Then the various tribes of Tartars and of Indians may claim this distinction, and probably go beyond the Romans and Irish. This ill-judged ebullition of patriotism might pass very well when the Primate writ, (1639) but will be more rigorously examined at this day.

Define blanditias, & verba potentia quondam
Perdere, non ego sum stultus ut ante fui.

The Greeks certainly knew our Isle existed and had inhabitants three centuries before our æra. But the perpetual warfare carried on by the Romans in the east and west made it totally neglected, particularly, as in a political view (26) it could neither serve or injure them. Geography was studied at Rome, and youth learned the science on (27) illuminated maps. Cicero (28) meditated a large work on the subject. When Julius Cæsar was made Consul, he obtained a decree of the Senate for a survey of the (29) empire; but they were Greek artists who undertook it, and after thirty two years labour they delivered their charts and memoirs to the Senate. Balbus (30) seems to have been the person who reduced to proper and intelligible form the mass of materials which had been collected, and M. Vipfanius Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, from the whole had a great map of the Roman empire constructed, and placed in a (31) portico at Rome. Among these documents was a map or topography of Ireland, and to which (32) Pliny refers.

We shall now examine the name of our Isle. No mortal, says (33) Herodotus, can discover whence the name of Europe is derived. This candour in the father of Grecian history has not been imitated by antients or moderns. Plato, his contemporary,

(24) Παρ' δ' ἀρα νῆσον ἀμαρτύνει Ἰερνιδε. Argon. V. 1179. Ed. Eisenbach. Fabricius recounts more than thirty performances under the name of Orpheus. Biblioth. Græc. V. 1. p. 120. Ed. Harles. His Argonautics are a wild unintelligible romance.

(25) Cujusmodi antiquitatis, ne ipse quidem populus Romanus sui nominis testem proferre poterit. Primord. p. 724.

(26) Μὴτε λυκῶν, μετ' ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δύναται. Strab. 4. 2. A principle on which they acted.

(27) Pictos edificere mundos. Propert. Eumen. de restaur. Schol.

(28) Etenim γεογραφικὰ quæ constitueram, magnum opus est. Ad. Attic. 1. 2. ep. 6.

(29) Æthic. Cosmograph. This probably gave the hint to the first William for the compilation of doomday book.

(30) Balbi mensuris—qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum & civitatum formas & mensuras compertæ, in commentarios contulit. Frontin. apud rei agrar. Script. Gesfii, p. 109.

(31) Plin. 1. 3. c. 2.

(32) Lib. 4. c. 16.

(33) Οὐτε οὐδὲν το σῆμα εἶλες τῆτο. Melpom. p. 301.

porary, indulges all the pruriency of imagination in his attempts at etymology; in this pursuit the sublime, the divine Plato dwindles into the dreaming guesser. The Cratylus will ever remain a monument of his weakness. The same may be said of Varro, Philo, Josephus, Origen, Jerome, and many more. Undismayed by the failures of these eminent men, we find this study a favourite one, especially with scholists and alphabetarian scholars; who scarcely able to distinguish the letters of one language from another, will, by the help of vocabularies and lexicons, find out resemblances in words, and thus attempt to prove the Celtic, for instance, to be connected (34) with the speech of every country on the globe.

Very different is the conduct of sound classical writers. Thus the excellent Camden, in a paper (35) read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1604, observes:—that such is the uncertainty of etymology, that arguments drawn from it are of least force, and therefore called by an ancient Grecian, μαρτυρία ἀκρίβεια, as proofs only which put a good face on the matter.—Accordingly when he comes to treat of Ireland in his Britannia, he recites the various names of the Isle as they lie in ancient authors, and justly remarks—that the etymology of these several names has given rise to different opinions, as is natural on so obscure a subject; and he modestly adds, I have no conjecture to propose, unless it may be derived from Hiere, an Irish word, signifying east or westward, whence Eri, or the western country may be deduced. I once thought this a fortunate conjecture.—Though he does not state his reasons why he did not continue to think this a fortunate conjecture, they were perhaps such as these. There is no H as a letter (36) in the Irish language, as being a mere aspirate, though from want of a notation commensurate with the sounds in that tongue, its use is (37) various and multiplied. There is no such word as Ierne, but Iar signifying back or backward, or the west, when the face was turned to the holy land, or the east.

But who gave our Isle the appellation of—Eri?—Could it be the Celtes, its primitive possessors? these were wandering savages, of whom little is recorded, and that little proclaims their ignorance and barbarism. If the names of Europe, Asia and Africa were (38) unknown in the age of Homer, and also (39) the cardinal points; if (40) Eudoxus made the Greeks acquainted with the motions of the celestial

(34) Collec. de reb. Hib. passim.

(35) Hearne's Antiq. discourses, V. 2. p. 90.

(36) O'Brien's Irish Dict. p. 292.

(37) Molloy, Gramm. Lat. Hib. p. 23. who devotes to it a long chapter (4) of ten pages.

(38) Strab. l. 12.

(39) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 1248.

(40) Eudoxum primum hos motus in Græciana translulisse. Senec. nat. quæst. l. 7. c. 3.

lesstial bodies but 360 years B. X. can it be supposed the Celtes were more enlightened? Some described the world with their faces to the north; others with their faces to the west. Dubricius, Bishop of Caerleon, at the close of the 6th century, presided over all the Britons—(41) *dextralis partis Britanniae*.—Usher thinks the Britons, following the Jews, called the south the right hand, but (42) Stillingfleet doubts this. O'Brien (42) shews, that the Irish adopted the Jewish manner in calling the south the right, and further remarks:—that Camden's derivation of the word Eri, the name of Ireland, from the Irish word, Iar, seems absurd for two reasons: 1. because the Irish word, Iar, strictly and properly means only after, in Latin *post* and *postea*, or behind, and does not signify the west, but relatively to the position of persons facing to the east at public prayers. In this position the south is called by the name of the right hand, and the north by that of the left, and thus Iar is to be explained and not otherwise; for if a person turns his face to any other point, Iar is applied to what is behind him. 2. Ireland is not properly to be counted a western country, but relatively to Britain, and the lower parts of Gaul and Germany, but we do not find the natives used it to signify the west; and as to the Irish, it seems contrary to the propriety of language and common sense that they should have formed the name from its western position, which was only relative to others, and not to them who were the inhabitants.—Thus far our Lexicographer. To which may be added, that had Iar a reference to the west, it would have been found in simple or compound words, and in the names of our rivers, mountains, vallies or champaign grounds, which, I believe, it is not.

The earliest notice in Roman writers of the name of Ireland (*Hibernia*) is in Julius Cæsar, and was given, probably, by him or his countrymen, from its supposed coldness: for it was the practice of antiquity, to give appellations to countries and people from their situation, productions, or some peculiarity: witness *Mauritania*, *Cassiterides*, *Lotophagi*, *Hesperia*, *Interamna*, and innumerable other instances. Strabo, who writ long after Cæsar, describes Britain as (44) frigid from its vicinity to the north, and Ireland as scarcely (45) habitable from its coldness. *Hibernia* was then an appellation suitable to such conceptions, and is in the opinion of (46) Ware and Baxter alluded to in this line of Propertius:

Ibernusque Getes, pictoque Britannia curru.

Claudian

(41) *Primord.* p. 80.

(42) *Brit. churches*, p. 203.

(43) *Dic. sup.* in *Deas & Eirin*.

(44) *Lib.* 5.

(45) Ἀθλιωὶ δὲ διὰ ψυχρῆς ἀνεμμενῆς. *Lib.* 2. At a later period, Tacitus says, the sea about the Orkneys was—*pigrum & grave navigantibus*, and that beyond the *Suiones*—*immotum prope*.

(46) *Waræ antiq.* c. 1. Baxter, *Gloss.* in *Ibernica*. There is another reading of the line—*Hibernique Getæ*.

Claudian styles Ireland—*glacialis Ierne*—and this at the end of the 4th century. The other derivations of *Hibernia* we leave to those who are delighted with their own whimsies.

Whether the record compiled by Balbus, and before mentioned, was accessible to the public, or the inquisitive, we are not told: if it was, Strabo and Diodorus Siculus would have been more copious in their account of our Isle and other countries. It would have saved much time and labour to the latter, who assures us he spent (47) thirty years in composing his history: that his predecessors in that walk had lapsed into great errors for want of the personal examination of places: that to remove these, he had travelled over a great part of Europe and Asia, and also had resided at Rome. Accordingly his work, though not free from faults, has much exact and curious information. Nor is it his least praise, that (48) Pliny exempts him from the herd of literary Greek triflers, and in the opinion of the learned (49) Heyne, he has some original remarks on Britain. What he says of Ireland is very remarkable.—(50) The remote northern nations, who border upon Scythia, are ferocious, devouring men, as is reported of the Britons who inhabit Iris.—The first charge will be hereafter considered, but it deserves notice, that he calls the Irish Britons, and justly, as both were descended from the same Celtic stock. Wesseling, the latest editor of Diodorus, acknowledges he cannot account for Ireland (51) being thus named instead *Ierne*, *Iouernia* and *Iernis*. But Diodorus, who had penetrated far into the north of Europe, there first heard, and has happily preserved the genuine name of our Isle: a name almost two thousand years old, and yet unaccountably passed over by all our antiquaries: a name, which removes every (52) difficulty about the country designed by Diodorus.

Iri, or as now written *Eri*, in (53) Irish, is the great Isle. In Teutonic (54) *Er-aii*, contracted into *Eri*, is the farther Isle. It received this appellation from the Teutonic tribes, who then possessed Europe, and has been invariably used by them in every age. Here are the proofs.

A. D.

(47) *Τριακοντα μὲν ἐτη*. Lib. 1. p. 7.

(48) *Apud Græcos, defuit nugari Diodorus*. Plin. præf.

(49) *In iis quæ de Britannia affert Diodorus, nonnulla de suo penu attulisse videri debet*. De font. Diodori, supra.

(50) *Ὡς περ καὶ τῶν Βρετανῶν τὰς κατοικοῦντας τὴν νοτιοδυτικὴν Ἰρίν*. Lib. 5.

(51) *Id in obscura manet, cur Ἰρίν adpellat, quæ cæteris Ἰέρην, Ιουερνία, Ἰέρνις dici solet*. In loco.

(52) Dr. Macpherson's Diff.

(53) O'Brien's Dict. in *Er*. The ancient Irish alphabet had but four vowels; E was not used. O'Brien in *E & A*.

(54) Kilian, Dic. Teuton. in *Er*. Procop. hist. Goth. p. 584. Ed. Grotii.

A. D.

540. Gildas left the school of Iltutus, in Wales, and went to (55) Iris.
 870. In Islands Landnamaboc, one of the (56) oldest Icelandic Sagas, Ireland is named Ir-land. In King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius, Ireland is styled Ireland.
 891. Three Irishmen, says the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, came in a boat from Yr-land.
 918. In the same record under this year our Isle has the same name.
 1048. In the same chronicle, Harold flies to Yr-land.
 1076. Adam of Bremen has the same name.
 1105. Ælnoth, in his life of St. Canute, calls the Irish Iros.
 1141. Odericus Vitalis styles the Irish (57) Irenses, and their country Ire-land.

And in Wormius's Runic literature, the Irish alphabet is called Ira-letur. The identity of Diodorus's Iris with the Iris, Ira, Iros, Irenses, Ire and Ir of the Gothic and Teutonic people, and that traced for above six hundred years, clearly evinces that this Greek author has preserved the genuine and original name of our isle. There are other proofs, no doubt, which have escaped the writer's research. As to the change of Iris into Ierne, whoever is acquainted with the alteration of words by Greek dialects, and the effect of their epenthesis and paragoge, will easily account for the mutation.

If it be asked why this original name has been hitherto unnoticed, the answer seems to be, that antiquaries find it much easier to build systems on conjectures than laboriously enquire after truth and certainty.

(55) Valedicens pio magistro venerandisque condiscipulis Iren perrexit. Usser. primorn. p. 907.

(56) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 14.

(57) Usser. sup. p. 724.



OF THE COLONIZATION OF IRELAND.

THAT the Romans had separate Maps of their whole empire, and even of parts not under their dominion (as was the case of Ireland) has been shewn in the last Essay. Whether Balbus's commentary, containing the names of cities, rivers, promontories and tribes was published, or at what time, we are no where told. It is certain Marinus of Tyre, and Ptolemy, the celebrated astronomer and geographer of Pelusium, obtained information of these, and transmitted it to posterity. Ptolemy flourished A. D. 150; it might therefore be expected, that the names of places in Ireland, which he records, would have been purely Celtic: this our (1) native antiquaries positively deny, unless in a few instances. The country, particularly the maritime parts, was possessed at different times by such various tribes of foreigners, that we need not wonder at the instability and change of names in those distant ages. The Celtes, however, were the majority, and preserved their language. They adopted the religion and manners of these foreigners: a mixt superstition, Celtic and Scythic, sprung up, which both British and Irish writers call, but very improperly, Druidic; for the Druids were the priests of the Celtes. On this distinction, and on this alone rests the true and accurate explanation of the antiquities of Britain and Ireland. To establish this point, it will therefore be necessary to detail with some minuteness the names and progress of the foreign colonies which arrived here.

Camden is explicit that (2) Ireland was originally peopled by Britons, but after, from the revolutions arising in countries, Gauls, Germans and Spaniards were compelled to seek refuge here. Spenser, who published his "View of Ireland," a few years after Camden tells us, (3) Gauls were the first inhabitants of Britain and Ireland: that Gauls from Belgium and Celtica settled in the south, Scythians in the north, and Spaniards in the west of the Ireland; as to the latter, he doubts whether they were Gauls or of some other country. He is correct in making the Gauls or Celtes

G

the

(1) O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 16-17. O'Connor's Diss. p. 167-8.

(2) In Ireland and Wexford.

(3) Pag. 27-32-33. He rejects Irish fictions and the story of Cathelus.

the primæval possessors of Britain and Ireland, but not so when he says the Gauls from Belgium were the same people. In the infancy of antiquarian disquisitions such errors are pardonable. He confirms the Scythic derivation of the Irish by an ample comparison of their customs and manners.

Keating, about 1626, composed his history of Ireland from bardic tales and poetic fictions. Without learning or judgment, he has given a curious work, and the want of it would have been a loss to Irish literature. He countenances a northern colonization; as does Ware in 1654, O'Flaherty in 1685, Stillingfleet about the same time; Innes in 1729, and Pinkerton in 1789. Here then is a system in which so many eminent and able men concur, as must not only remove from it the imputation of caprice or conjecture, but form, in the mind of every reader, a strong prepossession in its favour.

Cæsar (4) informs us, that Gaul was divided between three races of men, the Celtes, Belgæ and Aquitani, who differed in language, manners and laws. He confounds the Celtic and Belgic practices, calling them Druidic, and in this he has been but too closely followed by subsequent writers.

The Celtes having colonized Britain, passed from thence into Ireland. Hear what a man of consummate abilities advances on this subject. (5)—Without recurring, says he, to the authority of story, but rather diligently observing the law and course of nature, I conjecture that whatever is fabled of the Phœnicians, Scythians, Biscayners, &c. of their first inhabiting Ireland, that the places nearest Carrickfergus were first peopled, and that by those who came from the parts of Scotland, opposite thereto.—He thinks, the Britons might come from Holyhead, or St. David's-head, but that the primitive possessors arrived from Scotland, the passage being short, and easily performed in the slightest boats. The almost identity of the Erse and Irish is complete evidence of the fact. The Irish are not descended from the Welsh Britons, because their dialect greatly deviates from the Irish; inasmuch that Lhuyd, (6) Leibnitz and Rowlands acknowledge the Welsh to be but a secondary colony, being (7) Cimbri, Cumri or German Celtes. The original Irish were then Celtes, who about 300 years before our æra were disturbed by the Fir-bolgs, or Belgæ, a branch of the great Scythian swarm.

The

(4) *Hic omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se different. l. i. initio.*

(5) Petty's *polit. Anatomy*, p. 369.

(6) *Hiberni sunt propago antiquorum Britanniae habitatorum, coloniis Celticis, Cimbricisque nonnullis, & ut si dicam, mediis anteriorum, &c. Leibnitz. collect. etymol. t. i. p. 153. And his Diss. Philol. apud Chamberlaynii Orat. Domin. p. 27. Rowland's mona Antiq. Malcolm's tracts, p. 6.*

(7) Pinkerton, *sup.*

The Irish Fir-Bolgs were Belgic men, *virī Belgici*, or Belgæ, from (8) the northern coast of Gaul. They possessed no inconsiderable portion of Britain, before the arrival of the Romans, and by Richard of Cirencester, are (9) said to have come here a little before Cæsar's attempt on Britain. Ptolemy mentions the Menapii and Cauci in Ireland in the middle of the 2d century; they must have come from Belgic Gaul and Germany, for we meet with no trace of them in Britain; Menapia in Wales being (10) founded by the Irish Menapii. This Teutonic people inhabited the sea-coast of Wexford and Waterford, and by the (11) Irish are called Garmans or Germans. Our (12) antiquaries assure us, these Belgic tribes divided Ireland into five provinces, and particularly held Connaught, and gave it Kings to the end of the 3d century. Numberless places were (13) called after them, and many families are derived from them: as the O'Beunachan's of Sligo, the O'Layns in Hymania; the Nials, McLaughlins, and others are of (14) Scandinavian ancestors. Lhuyd puts an end to all doubt as to the power of the Belgæ in this isle, by exhibiting a long list of words, springing from the Teutonic, and by adding:—(15) We have no room for supposing, unless it be in a very few examples, that the Irish have borrowed these words from the English; because they are extant in the old Irish MSS. written before the union of the two nations. And moreover they have several (some hundreds) Teutonic words that are not at all in the English.—

The Picts, another Gothic or Teutonic people, early established themselves (16) here, as they had long before in Scotland. The same may be said of the Scots, both were Scythians and part of the (17) Saxon nation; which, in the middle of the 5th century, as we learn from (18) Stephen of Byzantium, was seated on the Cimbric chersonese. Part of this people settled in Norway, and from thence sent colonies

(8) For the extent of Belgium, see Cæsar, Edit. Marliani, p. 642—3.

(9) Ric. Corin. p. 44. Ed. Bertrami. O'Flah. sup. p. 17.

(10) Rowland's sup. p. 27.

(11) O'Conor's Diff. p. 176. Smith's Waterford, p. 25.

(12) O'Flahert. sup. p. 24. Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 38.

(13) Quin et multa hodie existunt per regnum loca, quibus hæc Belgarum colonia nomina indidit; sicut et familiæ quædam etiamnum hodie ex Belgarum supersunt reliquiis, ut O'Beunachan in Sligoensi comitatu, & O'Layn in Hymania. O'Kelly, descript. Hib. p. 96.

(14) Anecdotes of Olave the Black, p. 28.

(15) At y Kymri. Archæol. Brittan.

(16) Pictos in Hiberniam appulisse, regnante Heremone. Ex ea majoris Germaniæ parte, unde Gothi & Dani oriundi, quæ olim Scythiâ citetior et borealis dicebatur, eos prodiiisse communior est sententia. O'Flah. p. 188, 193. Pinkerton, sup. Whatever relates to the Picts and Scots has been so ably treated by this writer, as to make any detail superfluous.

(17) Scoti, pars Saxonum, Alia Saxonum manus Picti cognominati. Aventin. Ann. Boior. p. 171. Eccard. de orig. Germ. p. 67.

(18) Σαζόνες, ἔθνος οἰκὸν ἐν τῇ Κιμβρικῇ χερσονήσῳ. Buchanan mentions the Albin and Irin Scutes, as do Spenser, sup. p. 28. and Warton, sup. Diff. 1. Johnstone's Lodbrokar Quida, p. 100. Bede also in different places distinguishes them,

colonies to Scotland, where they were called Albin Scutes; some came to Ireland and were named Irin Scutes. Hence Sidonius Apollinaris in the 5th century, speaks of them as a kindred people, who united in pillaging the Roman provinces.

Fuderit et quanquam Scotum & cum Saxone Pictum.

And so does Claudian.

*Scottica nec Pictum tremere, nec litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.*

It is conjectured, that the Scots came to our Isle two or three centuries before the nativity, and as to their (19) name that seems not derived from a city or particular place, or ferocity or eminence in war, but from their (20) original country, Scythia. Usher has (21) shewn, that they were distinguished by this appellation from the 3d to the 12th century, and of course were the dominant people. After the settlement of the Belgæ, Picts and Scots in Ireland, every gale wafted over innumerable hordes of northern rovers, these the Irish called (22) Fomora, from Fomoir, or Finnland. There is an isle in the Baltic on the coast of Holstein named Femera or Femeren, where probably some powerful piratical chief reigned, who united under his command Danish, Swedish, Iutish, Finnish and Norwegian adventurers in predatory voyages, as was common in the middle ages, and which the words of O'Flaherty seem to intimate. In the age of (23) Tacitus, the Finns were mere savages; afterwards Finnland contained six provinces and various tribes, and became, as we see, superior to their neighbours. O'Flaherty relates, that Tuathal, an Irish prince, married Bania the daughter of Scalius, King of Finnland, about A. D. 130. O'Brien (24) remarks that Tuathal, after changed into Tothil, Tohill and Toole, was the same as Totila among the Goths, and that many Gothic names are to be found among the Scots or Irish. And O'Conor, from this marriage, concludes, that a close intercourse was maintained with the nations bordering on the Baltic in the 2d century. However the reigns of Tuathal and Scalius are ante-dated

(19) Cæsar says—*Qui omnes fere nominibus civitatum appellabantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus, eò pervenerunt.* He explains these cities to be residence of families, or clans. Lib. 6. c. 22. Ludolp. *Æthiop.* p. 61. Rau, *de ara Ubior.* p. 51.

(20) Germani inferiores Scythas & Scotos, uno nomine, Scutten appellant: sic Britannos utrosque uno nomine—*Y Scot-dixisse.* Camden.

(21) Primord. p. 728, & seq.

(22) Scalius illum Tuathali socerum regem Fomoir, i. e. Finnland dictum reperio; ex quo Finlandiæ eum fuisse regem intelligo, & illos terrarum septentrionalium incolas (nunc Danos, Suecos, Gothos, Finnos) a nostris antiquitus communis vocabulo, Fomora, i. e. Fomorios nuncupatos. O'Flaher. p. 13, 503.

(23) Finnis mira feritas, fœda paupertas. Germ. c. 46.

(24) Dic voce Dealbach.

dated by some ages. Scalvus (not the Scalius of O'Flaherty, or the Scalbalch of O'Conor) was (25) King of Slavia, and nearly contemporary with (26) Tuathal, about 534, of our æra. Fedlim, son of Tuathal, espoused the daughter of another King of Fomoiré, who was called King of Lochlin. Lochlanicc was another appellation given to these northerners by the Irish, because they inhabited a country (27) full of lakes, which was very applicable to the regions surrounding the Baltic; and hence (28) Lhychlyn in Welsh, and Lochlyn in Irish comprehended Denmark, Sweden and Norway. So famous and respected were the Finns or Fians in Ireland, that the word Finn was used as an honourable (29) addition to the names of our princes. As Fiatach-finn, Fiah Finnoladh, Finn-nachta, &c. The districts seized by the Finns were named Bescna na Fene, and their monstrous stone monuments, (30) Leabthachana Bhfeinne, the beds or tombs of the Fene or Finns, and they had the Bhearla na Fene, or Finnish dialect.

To restrain their cruel recesses and render these pirates useful, the Irish intermarried with them, and of them formed a militia to protect the coasts against their marauding countrymen. This was the body of national forces, celebrated in Irish romantic history under the name of Fionn Eirionn, and led by the great Fin Mac Cumhal, their general. It is (31) pretended that the names of the stations and officers of this Finnish militia are still extant. Among the latter we find Oshen Mac Finn, Fian Mac Fenraffe, Boge Mac Finn, Row Mac Finn, Rogsklaygh Mac Finn. Camden informs us, the tales and songs concerning the giants Finn Mac Huyle and Oshin, Mac Owen, were popular among the Irish in his time. Let every reader appreciate the value of these traditions, and also those in Mr. Macpherson's *Ossian*; so much with certainty may be inferred from them, that of these Fenni, Fene, Phinni and Phœnii, our bards and their followers have made Phœnicians, and all the wild oriental fabling which has disgraced our antiquities. Had they consulted the book of Lecan, their oracle, and the fountain of Irish fictions, they would find the Finns expressly called (32) Feinoice Muirituadh—i. e. Fenians of the northern sea. This evidence must be decisive with those who implicitly rely on this MS.

Another colony of northerners are recognized by our historians under the names of Tuatha de Danans, Danir, Dansfir, or Danes. They came from (33) Denmark.

H

(25) Sax. Gramm. l. 2. Suenon. oper. p. 4.

(26) Pinkerton, V. 2. Table of Kings.

(27) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 496. Strahlenberg's Siberia, p. 35. not. 26. Tooke's Russia.

(28) Lhuyd, *Archæol. Britann.*

(29) O'Flaherty, p. 301, 305.

(30) O'Brien in Leaba, Collect. No. 5. p. 61.

(31) Hammer's chronicle, p. 26, 27.

(32) Vindic. of Irish hist. p. 337.

(33) Collectan. No. 4. p. 492.

mark. O'Flaherty (34) saw no objection to this, but that the name of Dane was not known till the 6th century. However, as he well observes, like those of the Picts and Scots, the name might have been long known among the people of the north before the Romans became acquainted with it. O'Flaherty allows they spoke (35) the German or Teutonic, and inhabited the cities Falia, Gorla, Finnia and Muria in the north of Germany. In the black book (36) of Christ-church, Dublin, the arrival of the Danes here before the age of St. Patrick, is recorded. O'Connor, with that scantiness of information which marks his writings, (37) asserts that the Scandinavian tribes which infested Ireland, were not distinguished by particular names. One is almost tempted to pardon such effrontery and ignorance, when so good a judge as Bishop Nicholson could (38) say, that he once designed to give the Easterlings or Ostmen a chapter, but summing up the evidence, he found they did not deserve such regard. But from the specimen here given, it will be seen that the labour of investigation and not materials were wanting.

The (39) Leathmannice or Lettmanni were another tribe settled here. They came from Letten, Letitia or Lettenland, a part of Livonia. The name of the river running through Dublin is, in Giraldus Cambrensis, Avon Liff; in (40) old records, Avene Liff, and Avon Liffy. Camden will have it to be the Libnius of Ptolemy, but Libnius is (41) the bay of Sligo. Avon Leivi or Lifi is the river of the Leivi, a tribe adjoining the Lettmanni. Dublin in Ptolemy is called Eblana; a true Teutonic name, from Eb-land, as the sea at ebb-tide left uncovered a strand of eight thousand acres; a sight very striking to the northerners. Its Irish name of Baileacleath, or the town of hurdles, is an (42) hybrid compound of Irish and Gallic. Dyflin, Dufle, Dufin, or Dublin, seems derived either from Dufin, (43) a town in Scandinavia, or the Irish Dubh, and the Icelandic lin water, though I incline to the first.

The (44) Martinei were a Belgic tribe, probably from (45) Martiniana in Zealand. O'Flaherty calls them (46) the remains of the Belgæ.

Whether

(34) O'Flaherty, p. 13. Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 2. Venant. Fort. l. 7.

(35) Dannanas in boreali Germania, Faliā, Goriam, Finniā & Muriā urbē incoluisse, Germanice locutos. O'Flaherty, p. 12.

(36) Usser. Primord. sup. Hist. of Dublin, p. 162.

(37) Diff. p. 171.

(38) Irish hist. library, p. 33.

(39) Collectan. No. 4. p. 489. Strahlenberg, sup. p. 25.

(40) Prynne on the 4th Infit. p. 251. Camdeni Epist. p. 80.

(41) Campbell's polit. Survey, p. 251.

(42) Spelman. Gloss. in Claia, Cleia.

(43) Pinkerton on Medals, V. 2. p. 122.

(44) Collect. No. 4. sup.

(45) Kilian. Dic. Teut. in voce.

(46) Martineos e Belgarum reliquiis, sup. p. 16, 195.

Whether the Ostmanni or Ostmen, who ruled in Ireland, were a particular tribe or a general name, has been doubted. Snorro (47) says, they came from Sweden. Giraldus Cambrensis and Nicolson bring them from Norway. Our learned Primate Usher (48) thinks the Estii and Estonii of Crantz; the Ostiæi and Ostiones of the Greeks; the Æstii of Tacitus; the Aisti of Eginhard, and the Estones of Saxo, were the true Ostmen. Murray (49) denies their ever having left the Baltic, or invaded Ireland. This assertion is no proof, especially as remote tribes at this time came to Ireland. There might be an inducement for these Æstii, or the Esthoni-ans adventuring to this Isle, as they spoke a (50) dialect of the Celtic. Besides the foregoing, other northern tribes, as the (51) Gottiac, the Gaill and others arrived and obtained settlements here.

This system of northern colonization has been (52) supported by domestic and other writers, and though these various tribes spoke a language radically the same, yet they had different dialects, which are distinctly noticed. Thus the Belgæ used (53) the Belgaid, or Teutonic; the Fene, the bhearla na Fene; the Gaill, the Gaoileag; the Saxons, the Sagsbhearla; the Scots, the Scotbhearla; and there seems to have been a (54) common language, made up of all, like the lingua Franca, and named Bhearla na Teibidh. Hence the Celtic became the most (55) corrupt of any living language, and it is fortunate that it was not totally annihilated. Dr. O'Brien explains, why it was not. "The (56) northern rovers, says he, always came in small bodies, and when landed, were usually employed by one party of the natives against the other; by thus weakening both they were better able to establish themselves. Besides they carried no women in these expeditions, but procured wives from the natives, whereby they and their children insensibly lost their native language." And this he exemplifies in the case of the English who came over in small parties after the conquest of Ireland. To which may be added, that the Celtes here, lying so much out of the way of invasion, had multiplied so as to be an overmatch for a handful of pirates; and less probability was there of their extermination; for it was extermination that fixed the Saxon tongue in Eng-land.

(47) Johnstone's antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 24.

(48) Syllog. epist. p. 162.

(49) Nov. Comm. Gotting. t. 3. p. 80.

(50) Tac. Germ. c. 45. Brotier's note is: Quod Oestii in extremis Germaniæ finibus positi, linguam Scythico-Celticam, quæ apud Britannos diu viguit, retinerent. See Dithmar, in loco, p. 243.

(51) Collectan. No. 4. p. 491. Ogyg. vind. p. 129—131.

(52) And in the strongest manner by the author of the Collectanea de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 491, 496.

(53) Belgaid, vocatam invenio. O'Flah. p. 14.

(54) O'Flah. p. 63.

(55) Pinkerton, sup.

(56) Dic. pref. p. 42.

land on the ruin of the British. O'Brien candidly admits the coming of these foreign colonies, and (57) Sir Henry Spelman calls the Irish—*Germanorum nepotes*.—

It is a curious fact, that the incursions of these northern rovers, though never intermitted, were less frequent from the 5th to the 9th century. This requires explanation. The operations of these piratical plunderers were no farther known to the Romans than as they disturbed the public repose. In the 3d and subsequent centuries, the great Saxon nation residing on the Cimbric Chersonese, and composed of many nameless tribes, was so troublesome as to make the creation of a Count of the Saxon shore indispensably necessary. Notwithstanding the power and vigilance of the Romans, these barbarians, with their confederates, continued their depredations on Britain till the final departure of the Roman army. The Britons attacked on all sides by ferocious enemies, and having, from long slavery, become indolent and pusillanimous, threw themselves into the arms and under the protection of their most formidable invaders. These new allies were the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, with a motley association of other tribes from the Baltic. A drain was now opened to receive the overflowings of these northern adventurers, and gratify them with spoils not to be found in Ireland, and therefore very little is recorded of them in this Isle antecedent to the end of the 8th century; when excluded by the policy and strength of every country, they again united in large bodies, and commenced their inroads into our Isle. For about 200 years they seem to have poured their swarms into Britain, but when that kingdom assumed some regular government under the Heptarchy, their influx was stopped. A valuable document in (58) Spelman proves their never having relinquished this country, and illustrates the subject in general.

Ina, the 11th West-Saxon King, possessed an extensive sea-coast, open to piratical attempts. Small roving parties had, early in his reign, invaded and harassed his dominions. His British subjects were unfriendly, and so were the Irish. Of a quiet and peaceable disposition, he thought it the wisest course to cement an union of his Saxons with the Britons and Irish by intermarriage, and he himself led the way by espousing Guala, daughter of Cadwallader, King of Wales; this, though an act of bigamy, was sanctioned by his council of Bishops, Earls, and all his people in 714. Besides these particulars, the acts of this council expressly informs us, that the Angles at this time took British wives, as the Britons did Anglian ones of the noble and illustrious blood of the Angles of Germany: that some Angles married Irish

(57) Gloss. p. 174.

(58) Concil. V. 1. p. 220.

Irish women, as almost the whole Irish nation did Germano-Anglic ones; and that the consequence of this connection was, a close confederacy against the Danes and Norwegians, with whom they had already waged some bloody wars.

This predilection in the Irish for Germano-Anglic women was extremely natural, as they considered themselves derived from the same country and stock. From what has been delivered in this Essay there can be no reason to doubt the authenticity of this council, but rather very strong ones to believe it genuine. Spelman suspects it, because in the common English historians, no notice is taken of Ina's marriage with Guala. But it is not difficult to discover the cause of this silence. Our historical composers were Monks, and Ina their peculiar favourite. He and his Queen entered into their Order; he largely endowed the church, and above all was the first who consented to pay Peter's pence. Any of these acts were sufficient to atone for his sins. But where are our historians accurate in their works? They mention no transactions during the first years of Ina's reign, as if none happened in these turbulent times. Besides the Winchester chronicle and Rudburn agree as to the intermarriages of the Saxons and Britons, but omit the more heretical Irish. We can hardly believe this Council would be added to the 35th chapter of the Laws of Edward the Confessor, where Spelman found it, if it was not genuine.

In a word, without indulging any idle or absurd hypothesis or conjecture, but taking the evidence of ancient writers as they fairly lie before us, there are ample grounds for believing the first northern invasion of this Isle was many ages before the incarnation. Ptolemy proves the existence of German tribes here in the 2d century, and Latin poets and historians evince the connection between the Irish and northerns to the end of the 4th. The author of (59) the Eulogium particularly remarks the invitation of the Gothic nation of the Picts into Britain by Gratian and Valentinian, A. D. 382. In some time after, Gratianus Municeps drove the Irish back to their country; but on his death in 407, they returned and brought with them the (60) Scots, Norwegians and Dacians or Danes, and wasted Britain. Throughout the 5th century, they infested (61) England, and about 450, the Anglo-Saxons arrived in that Island. The perpetual wars excited by these foreigners was as subversive of literary repose as it was destructive of literary memorials, and Irish writers unanimously complain of the latter being lost in these convulsions. Very little can therefore be expected previous to the 9th century; from that time the

(59) Gentem Gothicam, Pictorum blanditiis allectam, a Scythia finibus ad Britanniam. Usser. 5. 590.

(60) Secum Scotos, Norwegenses & Dacos conducentes. Usser. sup.

(61) Tetri Scotorum Pictorumque Greges. Gild. p. 78.

northerns themselves had some imperfect records of their achievements, and partly supply the defects of our domestic annalists. Thus the Icelandic (62) chronicles have the names of Gliomal in 890; of Murchard, (63) about 962; of Conchobar in 1018, and of Dubnial and Kyriawal in (64) the 9th century, as Kings of Ireland. But the most extraordinary omission of our historians, is their not enquiring who Turgesius or Turges was, from whom descended and when he flourished. Instead of these interesting facts we are amused with childish tales of his cruelty and amorous adventures. It would have been strange indeed, if a leader who subdued the Irish, castellated and garrisoned their country, and with a triumphant army for many years held sovereign sway, should not have found one Scald to transmit his name and actions to posterity. The Icelandic records introduce us to this celebrated chief under the name of Thorgils. The Irish not using the letter H but as an (65) aspirate, and dropping one where two consonants come together, made from Thorgils, Torgis: thus Torges or Torgesius an Ostman, was (66) Bishop of Limerick, and Thorgils is, at present, in Norway pronounced Torges.

Harald Harfagre was monarch of Norway about 870, he reduced the petty princes of that country, being ten or twelve in number, and divided it among his sons, conferring on them the regal title and succession, and appointed that those should be (68) Iarls, Earls or prime nobility who were born of the female branches of his family. To Thorgils and Frotho, two of his sons, he gave a well appointed fleet, to plunder the coast of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. They landed in Dublin and reduced it under their power. Frotho was taken off by poison, but Thorgils reigned long in that city, and at length fell by the machinations of the Irish. Such is the account given (69) by Snorro. Thorgils was attended by 120 ships and numerous forces. The northerns, dispersed over our Isle, quickly flocked to his standard, and recognized the son of the great Harald. For thirty years he possessed the sovereignty of Ireland; “(70) built castles, forts and wards, cast up trenches, banks

(62) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 19, 20, 157.

(63) Thorkelin's fragments, pref. p. 10.

(64) Arngr. Jon. spec. Mand. hist. p. 25.

(65) O'Brien's Dic. in C. Lhuyd, p. 300. See Murray for Thorgils, Nov. Comm. Gotting. t. 3. p. 95.

(66) Ware's Bishops. (67) Mallet's North. Antiq. V. 1. p. 262. Pinkerton's date is about 900.

(68) Iarli vero essent, qui sui stemmatis orti erant semellis. Johnstone, sup. p. 12.

(69) Johnstone, sup. The following is an illustration. Consuetum erat piratis, si regii liberi militiæ præessent, ipsos regis nominare etiam si regnis carerent. Hinc factum est, Danis assiduæ infestatione Angliam, Hiberniam Galliasque ad internecionem fere vastantibus, quod tot regum nomina occurrant, cum ex regibus Danicis descendentes, eas ducerent copias. Barthol. p. 446.

(70) Hammer, p. 83.

banks and ditches for safeguard and refuge: was enamoured with the fair daughter of O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, who agreeing to send his daughter to him, accompanied her with sixteen young men in female attire, who dispatched Thorgils with their skenes." Such is the Irish account.

The Icelandic as well as our Irish chronology is very incorrect. Usher (71) dates the arrival of Turges in 818, and his death in 848. The Icelandic chronicles make Harald divide his dominions among his sons, A. D. 903; he was then fifty years old, being born (72) in 853. He married early and had many sons; some of them must have been qualified to conduct a naval expedition before the 10th century. We know that Eric, brother of Thorgils, was but of the age of (73) twelve years when he commenced his piracies.

" At twelve years began"

" The King to plunder."

The interval between the Irish and Icelandic accounts is probably not very great.

Such is the scheme of colonization concisely sketched out, and now laid before the reader. It admits of enlargement even to lassitude. This scheme is founded on the sure basis of written authorities, and which while it dispels the obscurities, casts a steady light on every branch of Irish antiquities. Let others enjoy the gibberish of oriental etymologies, and the company of Milesians, Phœnicians and Magicians in that gloomy cave:

Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediæve cadensve
Phœbus adire potest.

(71) Ind. chron. p. 1173. Warai disq. p. 124.

(72) Johnstone, sup. p. 291.

(73) Lodbrokar Quida, p. 110.



OF THE DRUIDS, AND THEIR RELIGION.

AFTER having treated of the colonization, it seems, in the next place, proper to speak of the religion of the original inhabitants of this Isle.

There is not, perhaps, in the extent of ancient literature, a more unaccountable phenomenon than what is delivered by Cæsar of the Druids and their superstition. In the first lines of his Commentary, this celebrated Roman general and author tells us, all Gaul was divided into three parts, and possessed by the Belgæ, Aquitani and Celtes. Each differing from the other in language, manners and laws. The word he uses (*instituta*) for manners, must include part of public and private manners, as their religion, arts, domestic occupations, &c. He is correct in what he advances respecting the diversity of (1) languages; but when he comes to discourse of their laws and manners, instead of the Celtic, he almost literally transcribes the Roman. Whether the evidence to be produced will support the charge now made, (I confess with diffidence) is submitted to the judgment of the learned reader.

On no subject has fancy roamed with more licentious indulgence than on that of the Druids and their institutions. Though sunk in the grossest ignorance and barbarism, their admirers have found them, in the dark recesses of forests, secluded from mankind and almost from day, cultivating the abstrusest sciences, and penetrating the sublimest mysteries of nature, anticipating the discoveries of Pythagoras, Epicurus, Archimede and Newton; and all this without the aid of letters, or of experiments; without those progressive steps in civilization which polish and refine the mind, and naturally lead it to the study of abstracted knowledge.

The foundation, whereon these towering superstructures have been reared, is no more than a few imperfect and incidental notices in Cæsar and other ancients. "These, as has been (2) observed, have written in so loose and trifling a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and these reduced to their just value, would lose one half of their bulk: whether it be,

(1) Cæsar, *sup.*

(2) *Univ. hist.* V. 18. p. 2.

be, that these authors have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things." The tenets of the Celtic religion, says an (2) admirer of the Druids, are not as yet fully known. The revelation of them in the writings of the author of the *Collectanea*, will never procure it many disciples.

We are told, the Druids taught the unity of God; were not Polytheists: that Hesus, Teutates and Taranis were only names and titles of the supreme being; nor did they worship the heavenly bodies: That (3) Apollo and Beal were the prime deities of the pagan Irish: that they swore by the Sun, Moon and Stars, and that they venerated the planets, as types of the great Creator. Schedius declares their religion differed from the Roman. Borlase assures us, that every tenet and rite which the Druids taught and practised, every deity which they are said to have worshipped, was common to them and the most ancient idolaters of the East. Some of these notions are opposed by the authors of the Universal history. "The Celtic history, says the learned (4) Bruker, labours under such insuperable obscurity and incertitude, that we cannot promise any thing above a small degree of verisimilitude; this we prefer modestly confessing, rather than, as is common, obtruding uncertain conjectures for undoubted truths."

Cæsar is the earliest writer who mentions the Druids; his account of their religion we shall now compare with the Roman.

- I. The (5) Druids presided over divine affairs; took care of public and private sacrifices, and were the interpreters of religion. So did the Roman priesthood, as related by (6) Dionysius Halicarnaseus, and almost in the words of Cæsar.
- II. The Druids exercised a (7) civil and criminal jurisdiction. So did the (8) Roman sacred College. Cicero informs us, that it was the saying of aged men that he could not be a good Pontiff, who was ignorant of the (9) civil law.

K

III. They

(2) On the Celtic lang. p. 43.

(3) Compare the author of the *Collect.* on the Celtic language, p. 37, with his *Antiquity of the Irish lang.* p. 275, 281.

(4) Tantis vero difficultatibus & insuperabili fere obscuritate & incertitudine laborat Celtaeum historia, &c. *Hist. Crit. Phil.* l. 2. c. 9.

(5) Illi rebus divinis interfunt: sacraficia publica ac privata procurant: religiones interpretantur. *Cæs. l. 6. §. 13.* Ed. Clarke.

(6) *Antiq. Rom.* l. 2.

(7) De omnibus fere controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt. *Cæs. sup.*

(8) Diodyf. *Hal. l. 2. Lib. 1. 1.* Ad eos, de omnibus divinis utque humanis rebus referretur. *Cic. de orat. & pro domo.*

(9) At inquit Publii filius, ex patre audivi, pontificem neminem bonum esse, nisi qui jus civile cognoscet. *Cic. de leg. l. 2.* The sacerdotal and judicial offices were united in the same person. *Δινασαι δι το αρχαιον παρ Αιγυπτιαις νεπης ησαν.* *Ælian. var. hist. l. 14. c. 34.*

III. They who did not obey their decrees were interdicted the (10) sacrifices.

Among the Romans such a prohibition implied the most (11) atrocious guilt.

IV. There was a head Druid, who had (12) supreme authority. The (13) pontifex maximus was a well known dignity in the Roman hierarchy.

V. On the decease of the head Druid, the next in dignity succeeded: if there were equals, one was chosen by (14) suffrage. The sacred College at Rome was filled by (15) suffrage.

VI. The Druids were exempted from serving in war and from (16) taxes. The Roman (17) priesthood was free from military duty and city taxes: from others it may be collected, that they had an immunity from taxes.

VII. The Druids (18) taught their disciples a great number of verses. It was (19) the Roman custom for youth always to begin their studies with poetical works.

(20) Det primos versibus annos,

Mæoniumque bibat foelici pectore fontem.

VIII. It was unlawful for the Druids to commit their secrets to (21) writing. The Roman Augurs were (22) sworn to secrecy.

IX. The Druids taught the (23) Metempsychosis. This was the belief of the unlearned Romans, and as such is ridiculed by Cicero, Ovid and Seneca.

X. The

(10) Si quis eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Cæf. sup.

(11) Moneo ne sacra manus
Violata cœde, neve furiali malo
Aspergat aras.

Senec. in Thyest. Stat. Syl. 3.

(12) His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Cæf. sup.

(13) Livius, & fere omnes Romani scriptores.

(14) Hoc mortuo, si quis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at si plures sunt pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur. Cæf. sup.

(15) Dionys. Hal. sup. Dio. l. 37. Ascon. in Cic. Divinat.

(16) Druidæ neque tributa una cum reliquis pendant, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Cæf. sup.

(17) Et licet a collationibus multi fuerant sacerdotes immunes, sunt tamen exempla, pontifices & sacerdotes pecuniam propter bellum conferri solitam in stipendiariam contulisse, quum se ob sacerdotium immunes dicerent. Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. p. 65.

(18) Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Cæf. sup.

(19) Strab. l. 1. Serv. in Virg. eclog. 4. Bono ordine, primo poetas.

(20) Petron. Arb.

(21) Neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare. Cæf. sup.

(22) Plutarch. quæst Rom. 99.

(23) In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios. Cæf. sup.

X. The Druids discoursed much of the (24) stars and their motions; of the magnitude of the world; of the nature of things, and of the greatness and power of the immortal Gods. Such speculations employed the Roman clergy, as we (25) learn from Cicero, Plutarch and Am. Marcellinus.

This parallel, so exactly agreeing in every particular, forms the phenomenon before noticed. Are Cæsar's words either exact or true, that the Celtes, but whom he calls (26) Gauls, had religious customs peculiar to themselves? They could have no conceptions of the Roman superstition, for the Celtic or Druidic was, according to him (27) invented in Britain, which the Romans had not subdued. Shall we then say with (28) Pelloutier, that he was not fully informed as to the Celtic religion; and that he wrote more like a soldier than a philosopher? It is strange, that Pelloutier, who had thus a glimpse of Cæsar's imperfect representation of the Druids and their superstition, should have greatly added to the confusion in which both are involved, by his history of the Celtes; in which we see no attempt to separate Druidic from Gothic or Teutonic practices. The labour of such discrimination will be considerable, and success in the event doubtful, but it will be absolutely necessary towards giving a just idea of the subject. Let us now attend to the sentiments of the ancients who mention the Druids.

Cicero, who was contemporary with Cæsar, and a man of universal knowledge and great curiosity, never, I think, speaks of the Druids, or even Britain, unless in one or two places, and then as a country, from whence (29) slaves alone could be procured. "These you must not expect to find skilled in letters or music," says he writing to Atticus.

Diodorus Siculus, who lived about the age of Cæsar, tells us the (30) Saronides were the Gaulish philosophers and divines, and held in great estimation; nor was it lawful to perform any sacrifice without the presence of a philosopher. There were also (31) Vates, who from auspices and the entrails of victims predicted future events.

The

(24) Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu: de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine; de rerum natura; de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant. Cæf. sup.

(25) Cic. de nat. Deor. l. 2. Plutarch. de Ei apud Delph. Amm. Marcel. l. 21.

(26) Qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostrâ Galli appellantur. Cæf. initio.

(27) Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata. Cæf. l. 6. §. 13.

(28) Hist. de Celtes, l. 1. p. 125, 126.

(29) Neque argenti scrupulum esse ullam in illa insula; neque ullam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditus expectare. Ep. 15. l. 4.

(30) φιλοσοφοί τε τινες εἰσι καὶ θεολογοὶ περίττωι τιμωμένοι, καὶ Σαρωνίδες ονομαζοῦνται. Lib. 5. According to Bochart, Saron or Saronis, among the Greeks was an oak, and equivalent to Drui. Phaleg. p. 741.

(31) Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μαντεῖσιν. Diod. sup.

(32) Orig. l. 3. c. 21.

The first part of this citation has supplied the moderns with all the fine things they have advanced on the Druids. From their conclusions, it is probable they thus proceeded.

A philosopher is a man skilled in every art and science. Does not (32) Isidore define philosophy, the knowledge of human and divine things? Does he not make it consist of three branches; natural, or physics; moral, or ethics; rational, or logics? Physics, according to Plato, include arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

These few lines of Isidore, have been the occasion of much learned trifling. "The Druids, says (33) Rowlands, considered nature in her largest extent: in her systems and in her motions; in her magnitudes and powers; in all which they seemed to cabalize. Their philosophy was so comprehensive as to take in with the theory of nature, astronomy, geometry, medicine and natural magic, and all this upon the corpuscularian hypothesis."—Upon the corpuscularian system!—Truly that is wonderful! Mr. Rowlands, a native and inhabitant of Anglesey, and no doubt of Druidic descent, must have had communication with the manes of those venerable Druids, who still hover over that famous Isle: they alone could inform him how they became acquainted with a doctrine taught in the (34) schools of Moschus, Epicurus, Democritus and Leucippus.

Borlase (35) assures us, the Druids were remarkable for learning six hundred years B. X. who are his authorities? Hoffman's dictionary, Steph. Forcatulus, Picard, Frickius and Castlenau, moderns who only retail the usual scraps of antiquity, eked out with their own whimsies. Seriously, such assertions and authorities have every appearance of bantering the reader: at least we may say with Martial:

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas;

Et stultus est labor ineptiarum.

The men who would thus impose phantoms for realities on us, and whom to pursue and detect through every winding of hypothesis and absurdity is extremely irksome, should have applied their time and erudition to the discovery of the real import of Diodorus's words. They then would have found, that Sophia and Philosophia among the antients implied skill in any particular branch of knowledge: thus (36) rhetoric and oratory are the philosophy of words: Government, political philosophy,

(33) *Mona antiqua*. p. 62.

(34) *Sext. Empir.* l. 9. *Strab.* l. 16.

(35) *Antiq. of Cornwall*. p. 74.

(36) *περι της λογους φιλοσοφιας*. *Isocrat panegy.* And *Cicero*; hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper judicavi, quæ de maximis questionibus copiosè posset ornateque dicere *Tusc. quæst.* 1. *De Orat.* l. 1. *φιλοσοφία πολιτική*. *Dionys. Hal. de charac.* *Thucyd.*

lofophy, and fo on. But philosophy primarily refers to theology, and the priest is exprefly (37) called the philofopher. The idea which Diodorus would convey of the Saronides is their fuperintendence of the rites of religion. This is explained and confirmed by his adding, that no facrifice was to be made without the prefence of the philofopher. The only inducement he might have had for ufing the word philofopher was from a perufal of Cæfar, who mentions their difcourfes on the ftars; but left he fhould be mifunderftood, he immediately adds, theologifts, as theology included fuch contemplations. The paffage in (38) Diogenes Laertius fo triumphantly brought, as making the Druids the authors of philofophy among the Celtes and Gauls, is explained in few fubfequent pages, where it appears the philofophy he was fpeaking of (39) was theology. Thus the Druidifts not only ftain, but manifeftly pervert the words of every ancient writer to favour their purpofe.

Had they reflected on what occafions the philofopher's prefence was neceffary, they certainly could never think them fuch as became an enlightened or civilized man. He was not called from his fubterraneous retreat to communicate difcoveries advantageous to fociety, the refult of his application to natural philofophy or politics: it was not to open new fources of trade and manufactures, or new improvements in legiflation: No, it was to behold one of his own fpecies ftretched on his back, his breaft difsected with the (40) ftroke of a fword, while the philofopher and Vates flood around, and with curious eyes viewed the convulfions of the members, the ftreaming of the vital fluid, and from the fpectacle deducing cruel prefages. The Vates feem to be the fame as the Roman (41) Harufpices, the loweft of the facerdotal order, and fo odious their employment, that they were fcarcely admiſſible to the rank of Senators.

But it will be faid, that the intelligent and judicious (42) Strabo informs us, the Druids befides the ftudy of natural caufes or physics, cultivated alfo moral difcipline or Ethics, which in the Grecian fchool were principal (43) parts of philofophy. As Diodorus from Cæfar's account of their employment called them philofophers, fo Strabo from

L

feeing

(37) Arift. phyf. 12. 2. Metaphyf. 4. 3. 11, 3. Hieroc. in carm. Pythag. initio, where this is fully confirmed. Porphyry has a remarkable expreffion to our purpofe. *Εοικωτάς ἀρα ο φιλοσοφος και θεω ιερους*, de abſtin. l. 2. §. 49.

(38) *Τα της φιλοσοφιας εργον ενιοι απο βαρβαρων αρχαι παρα τι κελτοις και Ταλταταις τοις καλεμενους Δρυιδας*. Proem.

(39) *Εγω δε ει τον περι θειων εξαγορευσαντα ταιαντα χρη φιλοσοφον καλειν*. Ed. Cafaub.

(40) As defcribed by Diod. Sic. before, and Cæfar—*adminiftrifque ad ea facraficia Druidibus utuntur*. Supra, and what he delivers of their incloſing men alive in wicker frames.

(41) *Neque enim erat ferendum, cum qui hodie harufpicinam facerent in fenatu Romæ legerentur; eos qui aliquando præconium feciffent, in municipiis decuriones eſſe non licere*. Cic. ep. 18. l. 6.

(42) Lib. 4.

(43) Diog. Laert. vit. Epic.

seeing them thus named, describes their philosophy in terms solely applicable to the improved state of it in Greece, and by no means adapted to the wretched conjuring tricks of the Druids. If Strabo intended an eulogy on the religion and learning of the Celtes as is pretended, he palpably contradicts himself in giving such characteristic traits of national barbarity, as are only found among the most ignorant and savage people.

Quibus possunt illachrymare feræ.

Passing over Mela Lucan and Tacitus, who record nothing remarkable of the Druids, I shall proceed to what Pliny has (44) delivered concerning them. The Druids, says he, who are the Gaulish Magi, hold nothing so sacred as the mistletoe, and the tree on which it grows, if it be an oak. They select groves of this wood for religious purposes; nor do they perform any sacred office without garlands of its leaves, from whence they derive their name of Druids. This is done on the sixth day of the Moon; a day so much esteemed by them, that they have made their months and ages (which consist but of thirty years) to take their beginning from it: the Moon at that time being strong enough, though not arrived at half her fulness. This day they call All Heal. The mistletoe (very scarce) when found, is collected with great ceremony. Having prepared their feasts and sacrifices under the oak, two white bulls are tied to it. A priest clad in white ascends the tree, and cuts off the mistletoe; it is received below in a white garment. They then sacrifice their victims. The mistletoe, exhibited as a potion, is believed to remove sterility, and to be a preservative against poison: an eminent instance, concludes Pliny, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things. To this Bruker adds, that we can easily estimate the value of that philosophy, which endeavoured to derive credit to its professors from wearing of golden chains, and conducting itself with (45) arrogance and pride. In other places, Pliny (46) relates their magic rites in gathering the famolus and felago: their (47) stories and charlatannarie about the serpent's egg, and their sacrificing and (48) eating men. A closer knowledge having betrayed to the Romans their character and ritual, they are no longer honoured with the pompous titles of philosophers and divines, but that of (49) magicians or conjurers.

In

(44) Nat. Hist. l. 16. c. 44. Dickinson. Delp. Phœnix.

(45) Quæ ut veræ philosophiæ characteribus e diametro sunt contraria, ita quod de eorum philosophia in genere judicandum sit, produnt. Hist. Philos. sup. p. 319.

(46) Lib. 24. c. 11. Lib. 29. c. 3.

(47) Atque ut est magorum solertia, occultandis fraudibus sagax. Plin. l. 29. c. 3.

(48) In quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum. Plin. l. 3. c. 1.

(49) The name Magi in the East was most august and venerable; they were skilled in divine matters and the Ministers of the Deity. Οἱ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφοί, καὶ τὰς θειοφανείας Μαγοὶ μὴ ἀποκαλεῖσθαι—μῆτι καὶ σεβασμιον γίγας. Porphy. de abst. l. 4. §. 16.

In what a contemptible light Pliny held the powers of magic, and the supposed virtue of herbs, may be seen by consulting the places below (50) cited, where we find some very trifling, and some laughable prescriptions of those ancient Doctors.

As to their inhuman sacrifices, Pliny (51) after recounting them adds—it cannot be estimated what thanks are due to the Romans for removing such monsters from society.—It is not denied that they offered men in sacrifice, but that they ate them, is not so readily assented to; and yet that the barbarians of northern Europe indulged in such repasts, admits of the strongest evidence. We have before seen what Diodorus reports of the Britons, who inhabited Iris or Ireland. The Gauls conducted by Brennus into Greece were (52) anthropophagi. St. Jerome, in the 5th century writes thus:—(53) In my youth I saw in Gaul, the Scots, a British people, feeding upon human bodies.—The Scots here were probably the same (54) people as those of Iris. The delicacy of modern times is shocked at this narration, and endeavours to elude its force by observing, that no such custom is mentioned by Cæsar or Tacitus. But this negative proof is of no weight against an eye-witness. Jerome was writing on a serious subject, and was of such an (55) age, and the impression of the horrible deed so strong, that the memory of it could not be erased.

Such is the picture of the Druids and their superstition as given by the ancients. The learned reader must perceive, that as here exhibited many of their religious practices were the same as those of every barbarous people. Where they accord with the Roman, as in the parallel above given, we can only say, that Cæsar indulged a propensity, which many others have done, of representing the religion and manners of foreign people as similar to their (56) own. The Roman religion was tinged with that of every other; for the Romans were permitted to worship strange Gods, but not to the (57) exclusion of those of their country.

Dionysius

(50) Plin. l. 26. c. 4. l. 28. c. 16. l. 37. c. 10. l. 30. c. 1. And Bruker: *Druides, qui tamen medicinam magicam magis quam physicam excoluisse videntur.—Et hoc quoque nomine Druides e philosophorum albo delentur, anicularum & medicamentorum choris inferendi.* sup. p. 341—2.

(51) Non satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur qui sustulere monstra. l. 3. c. 1.

(52) Pausan. in Phocic.

(53) Adv. Jovin. l. 2. Baron. Ann. A. D. 429. n. 2.

(54) Macpherson's Diff. preface.

(55) Ipse adolescentulus. By the civil law, the age of adolescence began at 14, and held to 25. Schonborn, polit. p. 50. According to others, it began at 15 and continued to 30. Rhodogin. l. 19. c. 21.

(56) Herodotus and others are noted for this: Hyde de relig. vet. Perf. p. 95. Bruker. t. 2. p. 248. And Keyzler, Quare mirum videbitur nemini, a Romanis scriptoribus numina Vulcani, Martis aliorumque tribui Germanis, quibus illa nomina quidem innotuerant. Antiq. sep. p. 186.

(57) Warburton's Divine Leg. V. 1. p. 291.

Dionysius Hal. (60) remarks :—that a long series of years could not make the Egyptians, the Africans, the Celtes, Scythians, Indians, or any barbarous nation forget their country Gods, or alter their religious ceremonies, except they were reduced under the power of others, and compelled to receive their ritual.—To apply this to our subject; we know the Belgæ colonized and subdued the Celtes three or four centuries before our æra, and imposed on the conquered their superstition and manners, and also adopted some that were Celtic. If we were not told by Cæsar, it must necessarily follow, that where two people essentially differ in language, as did the Celtes and Belgæ, there will be characteristic variations in their modes of thinking, and also in their modes of life. This remark so obvious and so important has not been attended to by many eminent writers and antiquaries, and of course their most laboured productions, as those of Pelloutier, Mallet and Bruker, want that discrimination on which the value of such works must always depend. The very ingenious and learned Doctor Percy, Bishop of Dromore, has, in his excellent edition of Mallet's northern Antiquities, closely attended to the distinction of Celtic and Gothic or Teutonic antiquities: and with critical taste and judgment has offered a specimen of what may, and ought to be done in this way. We have to lament that a preface confined his exertions within narrow bounds.

Druidism was professed by all the Celtic tribes, how widely soever dispersed. Its priests were (59) called Druids from their adoration of, and their celebration of divine rites in oaken groves, and (60) Ælian expressly tells us, the Celtic Jupiter was a tall oak. When Agricola penetrated into Mona, or Anglesea, he found the Druids enveloped in thick woods: these to eradicate their superstition, he ordered to be cut down. “Among the (61) Naharvali, a grove of the ancient religion was pointed out; it had no images, nor any vestige of foreign superstition.” And yet Tacitus adds, that it was dedicated to Castor and Pollux, which it could not be, without their images, and he also tells us, the deity adored there was called Alcis. Here and in other places Tacitus, as well as Cæsar before, wishes to assimilate the deities of other countries with the Roman, and falls into direct contradictions.

But what was this ancient religion, that had no vestige of foreign superstition? It must be the religion of the primæval inhabitants who were Celtes, and that was the true Druidic. It will be objected, that Cæsar declares there were no Druids in Germany. Besides the doubt attached to his testimony, there is reason to (62) believe,

(58) Lib. 7. (59) This is Pliny's suggestion. Dickinson, Delph. Phœniz. p. 188. Lhuyd, Archæol. Brit. in voce.

(60) Καλτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία ἀγαλμα, δι' δὲ διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑπερῆλη δρυς. Diff. 38.

(61) Tacit. Germ. c. 43. The Naharvali were seated about the Vistula. Dithmar in loco.

(62) Aventin. Ann. Boior. p. 85—88. Althamer. in Tacit. p. 134.

lieve, that the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, by their severity, banished the Druids beyond the Rhine, where they propagated their doctrine: or else Druidism continued in certain tribes from the earliest ages. Nor is this last supposition groundless, for Tacitus informs us, that the *Æstii* spoke a language nearly British, which was Celtic.

These Druidic groves are accurately marked by Tacitus by his (65) calling them—*Casta nemora*—undefiled, unpolluted groves. I rely on the idea annexed by the best Latin writers to the word, *Castus*, as meaning perfect purity, which could not be, did the Celtic priests stain their altars with human blood; a practice of which the (66) Roman writers speak with abhorrence. In describing the religious rites of the Germans, Tacitus lapses into the error common among the ancients, that of not discriminating the practices of the different Germanic people, while, to an attentive observer, he incidently makes such distinction. Thus in agreement with what he says of the ancient religion and unpolluted groves of the ancient Germans, he adds; “that they thought it inconsistent with the greatness of the Gods to confine them within walls, or give human representations of them. They consecrate groves and forests, and call by the names of their deities that secret (67) recess, which they look on with reverence.” This freedom from superstition and idolatry made Leibnitz say:—(68) *La religion des Gaulois différoit de celle des Germains en ce, que la première plus raffinée.*—As the Celtes had not any knowledge of metals, for the Irish names of them are all Gothic or Teutonic, so they were unable to form stone-temple and images; and therefore it is most erroneous, to call stone circles and cromlechs, Druidic, when they clearly belong to the (69) Belgæ or Scythians. To enumerate the Druidic deities, is impossible. If they (70) were, for instance, the *Sighe*, inhabiting hills, then they were the same as the (71) Gothic *Dwergh*, so that it cannot be determined with whom these divinities originated. In the next Essay we shall endeavour to trace the origin of the Scythic superstition, and point out, as far as truth and probability will permit, its union with the Druidic. Because but little notice is taken of the Druids in Irish records, it is argued that there were none: but as original Celtes they certainly had such priests, and the instances hereafter produced, prove Druidism prevailed over the Isle.

(65) Tacit. sup. c. 40. Also, *Sylva sacra, nemus sacrum, Tanfanæ lucus*, &c.

(66) *Scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Justin. Sacrilegium verius quam sacrum. Q. Curt.*

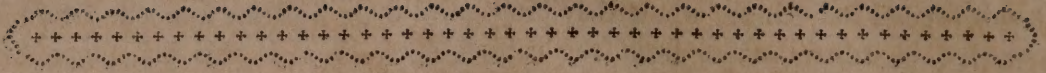
(67) Seneca mentions the same—*secretum loci*—Epist. 41.

(68) Oper. tom. 7. p. 502. Edit. Dutens.

(69) Mr. Pinkerton, with just severity, treats the modern Druidists, and confirms what is advanced. Hist. of Scotland. V. 1. p. 425, et seq.

(70) O'Brien, in voce.

(71) Sheringh. de orig. Angl. p. 295. Keyzler. sup. p. 163.



OF THE PAGAN STATE OF IRELAND, AND ITS REMAINS.

THE tall oak, the unpolluted grove, and the spiritual and refined religion of the Druids yielded to the upright pillar, the stone circle, the ponderous trilion and bloody sacrifices of brave but ferocious conquerors. A compound superstition succeeded, which I have denominated pagan, to distinguish it from pure Druidism, and which Tacitus assures us had nothing foreign in it. Let who will (1) be the leaders of the Scythic or Gothic tribes into Europe, or let the period of their arrival be what it may, the northern chronicles preserve abundant proofs of the introduction of a new superstition some years before the incarnation. This certainly was not established in Britain in the age of Cæsar in all its parts, for he mentions only cremation, but nothing of stone-monuments. Nor was it universally adopted in Germany when Tacitus writ: for the (2) green turf, elevated a little above the surface, pointed out the humble Celtic grave: nor do I recollect any notice in him of the monstrous stone-structures which afterwards were to be seen in Scandinavia and Germany. Pliny (3) indeed says, that raised funeral tumuli or barrows obtained among the Chauci; the very tribe settled, in the age of Ptolemy, in the south-east part of Ireland.

It was a law of Odin, the great Gothic deity and legislator, that large barrows should be (4) raised to perpetuate the memory of celebrated chiefs. These were (5) composed of stones and earth, the whole formed with infinite labour and some art. In the (6) Brende-tiid, or fiery age, which was the first among the Northerns, the body was ordered by Odin to be burned with all its ornaments, the ashes to be collected

(1) Pinkerton, sup. V. i. p. 385. Warton's Hist. Engl. poetry. V. i. diss. i.

(2) Sepulchrum cespes erigit: monumentorum arduum & operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Tac. Germ.

(3) Altos obtinuerint tumulos, aut tribunalia structa manibus. l. 16. c. 1.

(4) Mandavit etiam, ut optimatibus magnos tumulos in memoriam erigerent. Step. Stephan. in Sax. Gram. Messen. Lindenbrog. Keyßer. Mallet. v. i. p. 341. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 62. Loцен, p. 128.

(5) Tumulos in monticuli seu collis magnitudinem, aggesta gleba & lapidibus artificiose extruxerunt. Worm. sup. p. 39.

(6) Worm. supra. And Bartholine, who is very minute. P. 571. et seq. & p. 113.



NEW GRANGE

Published by John Jones N^o 90 Bride Street Dublin.

collected in an urn and laid in a grave. But in the Hoelt-tiid or age of hillocks, being the second, the body untouched by fire, was deposited in a cave or sepulchre under a barrow, and this mode was practised until the third epoch, called Christendoms-old, or the age of Christianity. As no fashion is at once (7) relinquished, and though the modes of interment now enumerated are accurately defined, we are not to be surpris'd at finding instances of cremation and inhumation in the same barrow. The first mode prevailed from the incursion of the Scythians into Europe till the coming of Odin, whose Asiatic followers affected what Tacitus before calls more arduous and elaborate sepulchral honours, and this (8) Wormius clearly intimates. This second age will be hereafter found to extend itself into that, wherein Christianity was not unknown to the Northerners.

To confirm what has been advanced, that ingenious Antiquary, † Governor Pownall observes: "that the explanation of many of our Antiquities must depend upon the customs and manners of the northern colonies being well understood. The mode of burial and the species of sepulchral monument at New Grange may be traced through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, and the Stepps of Tartary." This he evinces in an ample and satisfactory manner by alleging tumuli raised by the princes of Naumdhall and Harald Blaatand, and by some hundreds of barrows to be seen about Upsal in Sweden. Three of the latter are called Kongs (9) Högarn, or Kings' High Cairn. These Kings' barrows are traced to an origin not very remote from Odin. He therefore supposes it will not appear a far-fetched conjecture to make our mount at New Grange, a Danish work.

Another law of Odin directed great upright stones to be erected on and round the sepulchre of the deceased, and the (10) rule was, that a single circle round the base of the barrow indicated it to be the tomb of some chieftain or general, and there sacrifices were performed in memory of the deceased (11).

Ketill,

(7) Neque tamen protinus in secunda ætate mos cremandi cadavera cessavit, sed indiscriminatim nonnunquam in cineres redigebantur, aliquando integra recondebantur. Barthol. p. 299.

(8) Ætatis progressu, plus operæ in magnatum tumulis positum videtur. Worm. Mon. Dan.

† Archaeolog. V. 2. p. 250. Our monument is mentioned by Lhuyd in Rowland's *Mona antiqua*, and by Molyneux on Danish mounts.

(9) This seems an hybrid word; hoch or hog, in German, is mons, collis. Spelman in Hoga; and Cairn, Irish, an heap of stones. The Swedes call those hills, on which their kings were crowned, Krenanshoger. Loeven. p. 46.

(10) Ex iis qui una lapidum serie circa basim cinguntur exercitum imperatoribus aliisque magnatibus dicati creduntur. Worm. supra.

(11) Unica ubi visitur maxima ex parte sepulchro imposita esse solet, eo sine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis sacra peragantur. Worm. supra.

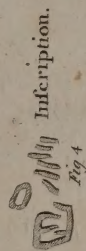
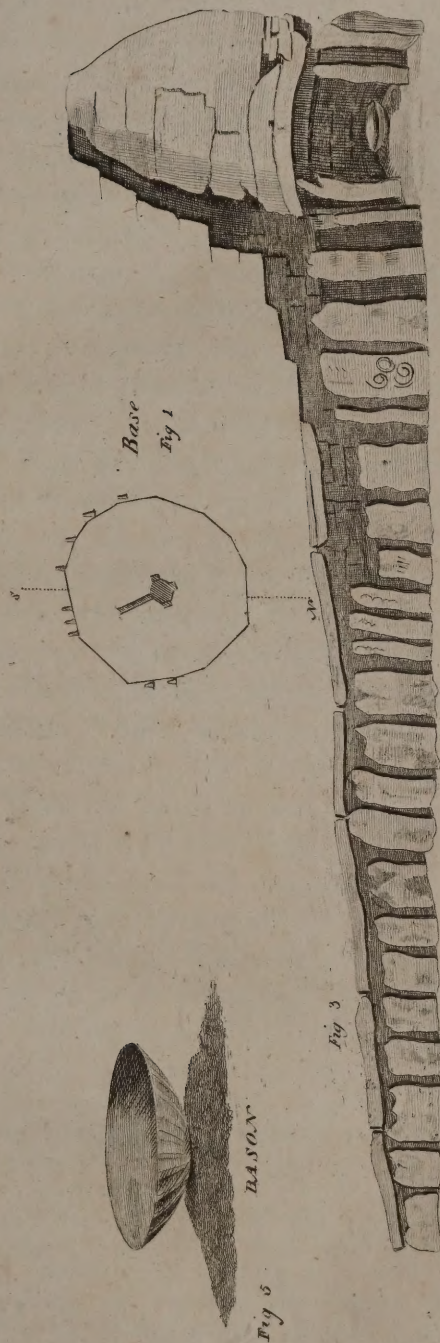
Ketill, a great Norwegian leader (12) declares, "It was the custom of illustrious men, of kings and earls to engage in piracy, and that the treasure they acquired should not go to their heirs, but be buried in their barrows with them. "*Potius tumulo ipso cum defuncto mandaretur.*" Frederic William, the last Elector of Brandenburg, told (13) Tollius that he had many stone-monuments dug up and examined, which were called the "Cemeteries of the Vandals," and that nothing was discovered but some coins.

The monument at New Grange, near Drogheda, will at once shew the paganism of the Irish, and exhibit an admirable instance of its remains. About the year 1699, a Mr. Campbell, who resided in the village of New Grange, observing stones under the green sod, carried much of them away to repair a road; and proceeding in this work, he at length arrived at a broad flat stone, that covered the mouth of the gallery. At the entrance, this gallery is three feet wide and two high: at thirteen feet from the entrance it is but two feet, two inches wide. The length of the gallery from its mouth to the beginning of the dome is sixty-two feet; from thence to the upper part of the dome, eleven feet six inches: the whole length, seventy-one feet and a half. The dome or cave with the long gallery gives the exact figure of a cross: the length between the arms of the cross is twenty feet. The dome forms an octagon, twenty feet high, with an area of about seventeen. It is composed of long flat stones, the upper projecting a little below the lower, and closed in, and capped with a flat flag. There are two oval rock basons in the cave; one in each arm of the cross. Though they contain no cineritious remains, nor are there any marks of cremation in the cave, yet as it was usual to have urns in cemeteries, the custom is here continued.

Mr. Wright, in his additions to the Louthiana, a MS. in the possession of the respectable Mr. Allan of Darlington, says, New Grange is the oldest monument he examined in Ireland. On first entering the Dome, not far from the centre, a pillar was found, and two skeletons on each side, not far from the pillar. In the recesses were three hollow stone-basons, two and three feet diameter. But when he visited New Grange again, in 1746, these basons had been removed, and placed upon one another. One of the cells had an engraved volute, which he supposes was dedicated to Woden, or Jupiter Ammon; another had lightning cut on its lintel, as sacred

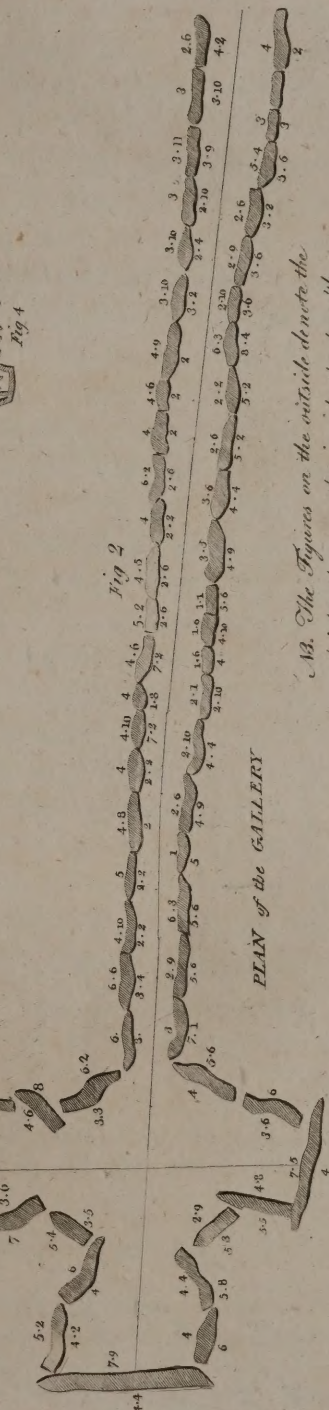
(12) Thorkelin's two fragments, p. 59. Lond. 1788. Barthol. p. 437.

(13) Tollii Itiner. 2. p. 43. Edit. Henninii. Worm, sup. p. 41, and Molyneux supra, p. 207. allow the practice to be Danish, and so does Wright, Louthiana, p. 11.



SECTION of the GALLERY on the left

Mason



13. The Figures on the outside denote the height, those on the inside the breadth

sacred to Thor.—Among the Greeks and Romans, urns were of various (14) shapes, and of clay and stone. Montfaucon, in his (15) Italian tour, saw marble and granite urns, which it was believed belonged to the Goths. We must remark, that the boat-like figure of our urns, as well as one at (16) Knowth, indicate the person, for whom they were designed to be naval commanders. A ship was their most beloved object in life, and their (17) sepulchres were of this shape.

At New Grange, on the top of the Mount, were found two golden coins, one of the elder Valentinian, the other of Theodosius. Odin, says the (18) Edda, placed on his barrow a golden ring; and the arms, horses, and whatever the deceased held most precious, were either burned, or deposited in his grave.

Deers horns, and other bones, with human skeletons were in our cave, on each side of a pillar or stone column. This practice is very well explained by Bartholine. Sometimes, says (19) he, Kings were seen in a sitting posture in tombs, with their principal soldiers on each side of them. Our pillar shall be hereafter noticed.

Runic (20) inscriptions to the deceased were common: these contained their names, titles, and the magic runes which they wore. “Near Exmore, says Speed, are certain remains of an ancient work, namely, mighty stones set in form of a triangle, others in round, orderly disposed, and upon one of them was an engraving in Danish letters, which could not be read by men most learned.” On a flat stone in one of the arms of the cross at New Grange are traces of letters. Lhuyd describes them to be spiral like a snake, but without distinction of head or tail. This was a perfect Danish figure, as may be seen in Wormius. These sculptures are very different from the trellis work in the cave, which all allow to be Danish. The Irish adopted the notion of the magical power of letters from the Northerns, and the magic Runes they called Ogums. Thus “Fiacra was mortally wounded at the battle of Caonry, his funeral leacht or stone was erected, and on his tomb was inscribed his (21) Ogum name.” These Runes and Ogums were
N esteemed

(14) The Greeks had their *καλπη*, *Υδρια* and *κρωσσος*. In urnis, ollis, cacabis, urceis, ampullis, amphoris, cupis, orci, & aliis hujusmodi vasculis cineres condebantur. Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 1204. Nec ejusdem materiæ, nec figuræ semper fuisse. Worm. sup. p. 42.

(15) Diar. Italic. p. 120. (16) Molyneux on Danish mounts, p. 200.

(17) Nihil magis optabant, quam in navigio sepeliri; sive corporibus integris humarentur, sive crematione prius ad cineres redactis. Barthol. p. 288. And he gives instances of both kinds.

(18) Bircherod. Spec. rei monet. p. 14. Bartholine illustrates this custom by many curious examples. p. 434, et seq.

(19) Nonnunquam autem sedentes in tumulis collocati reges: et quos idem exitus manserat, milites præcipui, eorum ab utroque latere constituti. Sup. p. 572.

(20) Nam non solum iis grandes cippos, patriis literis nota os, imposuerunt defuncti titulos exhibentes. Worm. sup.

(21) Irish Grammar, p. 7.

esteemed a sovereign protection to the living, and were supposed not less potent in guarding the dead.

Lhuyd, (22) from the coins, imagined our monument to be older than the arrival of the Ostmen, and that it belonged to the ancient Irish. At the very time these coins were struck, the 4th century, the Irish were intimately connected with the Saxons, Picts, and other northern tribes; they united in plundering the Roman provinces, and Roman coins must have constituted not the least valuable part of their spoil. Notwithstanding this, I am clearly of opinion the construction of mounts, or, to speak with Wormius, the age of hillocks was much later, for the Brende-tiid, or age of cremation certainly had not ceased in the North or Germany in 789, for a (23) capitular of Charlemagne, of that year, punishes with death such Saxons as burnt their dead after the manner of pagans. Christianity had been long preached among the subjects of this prince, and yet they were still but half Christians. It is evident from the contents of our cave that cremation had ceased among the Ostmen in Ireland, they also shew the dawnings of christianity among them; every other circumstance evinces pagan ideas. This might reasonably be supposed to happen at the period of their conversion: then we might expect to find in the same structure some indications of their new, and many of their old religion: for an instantaneous dereliction of their ancient creed never occurred among a rude people.

The Irish Ostmen embraced the faith about 853, and in this century I think we may date the construction of the mount at New Grange: it was made and adorned with every sepulchral honour to the memory of some illustrious northern chief. From the annals of (24) Ulster we learn, that the piratical rovers from the North greatly infested Ireland in the ninth century. They generally debarked in the Boyne, where securing their ships, they spread devastation around to a considerable extent. In the year 824, these annals record the plundering of Damliag or Duleek, not far from Drogheda, by them. In 826, a great battle was fought at the same place between these Gâls or Ostmen and the king of the Firtuaths in Leinster, where many were slain. In 831, the Gâls again spoiled Duleek. In 847, the Gâls were defeated at Fore in Westmeath, and in 858 and 860, they invaded Meath with a great army. On any of these occasions, a principal commander dying at

(22) Apud Molyneux, *supra*, p. 185—186.

(23) Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flammâ consumi fecerit & ossa ejus ad cineres redigerit, capite punietur. Apud Bartholin. *sup.* p. 299.

This capitular of Charlemagne, made A. D. 789, evinces the Saxons then burnt their dead.

(24) Johnstone's *Antiq. Celto-Norm.* p. 64.

at New Grange, might have been interred there. On the lands of Ballymacscanlan, in the county of Louth, in a large Rath, and on it a great stone, having in the centre a cross with four smaller ones. About thirty yards from the rath is an entrance into a cave running under the rath, but it has not been explored. Tradition calls this the tomb of Mac Scanlan: one of that name was king of Fignitie, and had a great battle with the (25) Gâls, A. D. 833. Whether Fignitie was Ballymacscanlan is not easy to determine, however the stone with crosses and the cave show a compound of christian and pagan ideas, similar to that at New Grange, and hence I am led to conclude, from the substructure of the latter, that it was the work of semi-christian Ostmen in the 9th century. The cruciform shape of that substructure is exactly that of a (26) *crux immissa*: this figure these rude architects accurately conceived and as admirably executed. From the age of Constantine, but particularly in the 9th century, the virtues ascribed to the cross, and the veneration paid to it were boundless, and superstitious in the highest degree. (27) Churches and cryptical chapels were built in this form, and this is the figure of our gallery and its cells. The respect for holy water, which the rock basins probably held, was scarcely inferior to that for the cross; it was the most (28) powerful protection against malignant spirits. Anxious to secure to a beloved chief the felicities held out by a new religion, they laid him on a cross with each arm extended to the laver of regeneration, yet without relinquishing the favour of their ancient deities represented by stone pillars.

It will tend to confirm this notion to allege some instances of the state of nascent christianity among various tribes of this barbarous people. Procopius (29) complains that the Franks, though converts, observed many rites of their pristine superstition. Against such practices (30) councils in vain fulminated anathemas: in vain the King and Bishops were to inquire, whether any believed (31) *genii* inhabited barrows or rivers, and endeavoured to raise them and spectres. Redwald, king of the East Saxons, after embracing the gospel, relapsed into idolatry, yet without wholly

(25) Johnstone, *supra*.

(26) *Lips. de Cruce*, p. 1165. Edit. 8vo.

(27) Greg. Naz. calls them *σταυροφυλαὶ πλευραὶ*. See Hieron de loc. sanct. Bed. de loc. sanct. c. 15. Cedren. in Justin. In the 10th century, the Norwegians marked their shields, helmets and ensigns with crosses, and much earlier the English, Mercians and Northumbrians. Thorkelin, *sup.* p. 42—43.

(28) Du Cange, *voc.* *Aqua exorciz.* Regin. de ecc. discip. p. 70—71. Edit. Baluz.

(29) *Barbari enim isti christiani effecti, multos priscae superstitionis ritus observant.* Gothic. l. 2. c. 25.

(30) Conc. Nann. Arlet. & Aquisgran. I. L. Edg. & Canut. Lindenbrog. p. 1357.

(31) *Si in genios locorum credat aliquis, quod tumulos vel flumina inhabitent. Si quis tentet lemures & tumulicolas excitare.* Keysser, *Antiq. Septen. Selec.* p. 89—100.

wholly rejecting his new creed: like the Samaritans of old, says the (32) venerable historian, he had in the same temple an altar dedicated to Christ, and another to idols. Thorolf and Egil, two celebrated northern commanders, whose piracies and courage frequently made Ireland and Scotland tremble, at the desire of Æthelstan, the Anglo-Saxon king, received the sign of the cross, but were in name rather than in reality Christians; for the (33) author adds, that it was the custom of the age for those who had received the first signation to hold commerce indiscriminately with Christians and Gentiles, adhering however to that religion which best pleased them. Such seems to me to have been the christianity professed by the founders of the mount at New Grange, and of which they have left permanent evidence in its substructure.

The external base of the Mount at New Grange was encircled by a number of enormous unhewn stones, set upright. Ten remained in 1770: they are from seven to nine feet above ground, and weigh from eight to ten tons each, and one stood on the summit of the mount, which was exactly conformable to the northern practice, as delivered (34) by Wormius, as there sacrifices were performed in memory of the deceased. The dead, to whom divine honours were paid, were illustrious warriors, or great princes, whom the veneration of their countrymen (35) deified.

I shall now endeavour to give the rationale of this mode of interment among the Northerns, and the superstition respecting it, as it will enable us to form proper notions of our various stone monuments, and numerous caves. It is very well observed by Rowlands, (36) "that by what remains of our ancientest buildings, it seems the very form of our houses and that of our churches were much the same: it is probable our churches were at first dwelling-houses." The Scythic and German nations inhabited caves a great part of the year, and so did our Firbolgs. Many of these souterrains are enumerated in Smith's (37) Histories, in Harris and various periodical publications: some are natural, others artificial, and most of them retain vestiges of human residence. That the Irish in the sixth century were Troglodytes

(32) Bed. l. 2. c. 15. Severus worshipped Christ; Abraham, Orpheus and Apollo in the same Lararium. Lamprid in Sever.

(33) Johnstone, *supra*, p. 32.

(34) *Unicam ibi visitur maxima ex parte sepulchro imposita esse solet, eo fine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis sacra peragantur.* Worm. *sup.*

(35) Barthol. p. 212—213, and the instances and authors there cited.

(36) *Mona Antiqua*, p. 138.

(37) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 401. Campbell's Polit. Survey in Skie. Macauley's St. Kilda.

lodytes appears (38) in Gildas. He represents them as issuing from their narrow caves, and their skin of a dusky hue: nor had they (39) relinquished them in 690. In 1177, Miles Cogan passed the Shannon and invaded Connaught; the natives every where burnt their villages and churches, and destroyed the corn and provisions which they could not conceal in (40) Hypogæa. Here, though they had deserted their ancient habitations, they did not forget the protection they originally afforded them. These antrile retreats became soon places of worship and consecrated to religion. The Druids when known to the Greeks and Romans, had united the Celtic and Scythic rituals, and exercised their functions both in groves and (41) caves. Thus sanctified, no place appeared more suitable for the interment of the heads of families and celebrated chiefs, whom while living they loved and admired, and whose virtues and manes they adored in the grave. Thus men became heroes and gods, and their ancient (42) habitations cemeteries and temples. And of this there is a very curious and strong proof in the (43) Irish word Cill or Kill, which at first denoted a grave, and after a church.

Celtic inhumation being exchanged for Scythic cremation, the body was consumed by fire, the ashes collected in an urn and placed under a barrow, with spears, arms, gold and silver, and such like rarities as were dear to the deceased in his lifetime. The same superstition required upright stones, stone-circles and trilithons on and about the grave. Odin must have taught his followers that these monstrous pillars were symbols of the Deity and endued with peculiar virtues, for it is certain they after considered them as (44) gods and paid them divine honours. The Edda (45) declares a race of spirits or dæmons, called Nani, inhabited them. From this holiness of large pillars the most solemn offices, civil and religious, were performed within circles of them. Wormius assures us they were used either as Fora, for the administration of justice; or as Comititalia, for the election and inauguration of kings; or as places of single combat, or as temples of tribes. Instances of their application to all these purposes occur in Ireland, and a few of them shall now be given.

O

On

(38) De arctissimis foraminum cavernulis fusci vermiculorum cunei, Scotorum Piciorumque greges. p. 78.

(39) This may be collected from an expression of Aldhelm. Latebras antrorum præpropere petunt. Usser. Epist. p. 141.

(40) Gir. Cambrens. p. 795.

(41) Clam & diu vicenis annis in specu aut in abditis saltibus. Mel. l. 3. c. 2. Borlase's Cornwall, pass.

(42) A prima origine intra suas quisque ædes defossa cadavera haberet: unde Lares in singulis ædibus colendi religio persuasit. A. ab Alexand. l. 6. c. 14.

(43) O'Brien in voce.

(44) Islands Landnama. p. 94. Pinkerton's Scot. V. I. p. 408.

(45) Quibus Nanos Spiritum vel dæmonum genus credebant saxa inhabitare. Keysser sup. p. 19—20.

On the (46) plain of Ballynahatne are concentric stone-circles : its ruins shew it to have been a very laboured construction, and as Wright well remarks, not unlike Stonehenge. The name of Stonehenge reminds us of the various extravagant whimsies entertained concerning that curious monument, whose origin seems to have been mistaken by every author, except two excellent antiquaries, Keyser and Warton. The latter thus speaks (47) of it: " No other notion respecting Stonehenge prevailed than the supposition that had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels. This was the popular belief in the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in this Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries."

Besides the name Stan Hengist, Hengist's Stones, the authority of the Welsh and Armoric bards is strong evidence of the founding of Stonehenge in the fifth century. The British minstrels, whose constant theme was the exterminating fury of the pagan Saxons, ascribed this work to their countrymen, as a pious monument to their slaughtered brethren, when in reality it was a triumphant memorial erected by Hengist's army for a signal defeat of the Britons, just as (48) Regner, according to Saxo, constructed a pensile trophy for his victory over the Biarmi and Finni. The Britons, if they preserved their original customs and adhered to their Celtic ritual, had no stone-temples; but they might have embraced the Belgic or Scythic superstition, and Stonehenge lay within the territories of the Belgæ.

At (49) Templebrien in the County of Cork, is a circle of nine upright stones placed round a tenth in the centre, and about twenty feet to the N. W. stands an eleventh. (50) " Kings," says Wormius, " were created in circles composed of great stones, for the most part twelve in number (ut plurimum duodecim.) In the middle
was

(46) Louthiana, sup. p. 9.

(47) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, V. 2. p. 155. Verum, ut quæ res esse videatur, apertius dicam, hujusmodi monumentorum quando alia, in quibus Stonehenge, &c. propter altum silentium de iis apud auctores Græcos & Latinos recentiora judicentur, sic alia, quorum in numero monumentum hoc nostrum ante Belgarum adventum a Runarum colonia quadam erigi uti temere non statuerò, ita præfractæ non negavero. Musgrave, Belg. Brit. p. 211.

(48) Regnerus Saxi rerum gestarum apices præ se ferentibus, iisdemque superne locatis, æternum victoriæ suæ monumentum affixit. Sax. Gram. l. 9. Worm, sup. Step. Stephan. p. 15.

(49) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 411.

(50) Mon. Danic. l. 1. c. 12.

was a larger one, on which the elected king was placed and recognized with loud acclamations." The centre stone, among the Danes and Norwegians, was called Kongstolen, and (51) Morasteen among the Swedes and Goths. It was not always within the area of the circle, for at Leire in Seland it is without it, nor were twelve uprights indispensably necessary. Hence I think it probable, that the centre stone at Templebrien was an altar for sacrifice, and the stone at a distance the Kongstolen. Lesser circles of three, four or more stones, which are not uncommon, were for the election of inferior Toparchs; for notwithstanding the strongest claim from (52) hereditary right, election was always resorted to, and such is the policy in our Brehon laws.

At (53) Ballymacscanlan, in the county of Louth, three great pillars supported a ponderous impost: this was the penfile monument of the Northerns. It is called the Giant's load, being brought altogether from a neighbouring mountain by a Giant, according to tradition. Here we discover plainly the Northern origin of these monuments. Giants make no part of Celtic, though they do of Gothic mythology. The Edda mentions the giants Ymir, Nor, Tarbantes, and others, and (54) Saxo Grammaticus declares, the great stones set on sepulchres and caves are proofs of Denmark being antiently inhabited by a gigantic race, and the principal stone erections enumerated by Wormius are given to giants. These parallels of Irish and Northern antiquities might be extended much farther. Even from the present specimen no doubts can remain on the mind of the learned reader, of the same people being the authors of both. Nor will this sketch be undeserving the notice of any one who may hereafter compile an *Hibernia Danica*.

We have therefore great reason to be surpris'd at the mistakes of Bruker on this subject, a man of sagacity and profound erudition. He begins his (55) account of Celtic philosophy by telling us the Celtes occupied the northern and western parts of Europe, retaining a resemblance in their customs and religion, but that when they came to be formed into nations then a difference in these points was very obvious; and that under the name of Celtes were comprehended the Scythians, the Germans, the Gauls, Britons and Spaniards, with those who inhabited Pannonia and the banks of the Danube. This strange jumble of people of different languages and religions presents to our author nothing but a wild chaos of contradictions. He has not ad-

(51) J. Magn. de elect. reg. Goth. initio.

(52) Si filius regis, frater aut consanguineus, prædictas virtutes habuerit, non hæreditatis sed electionis jure cæteris omnibus anteferatur. J. Magn. sup.

(53) Louthiana, supra.

(54) Profat.

(55) Hist. Crit. Philosoph. T. I. p. 313.

vanced a dozen lines before he complains of the “obscurity and uncertainty of Celtic history, of its being loaded with so many difficulties that he can promise to give it but a very inferior degree of verisimilitude, and that he would rather modestly confess this than, as is too common, obtrude on the reader vague conjectures for certain truths.” This show of candour however will never atone for the monstrous confusion he has introduced into Celtic antiquities, the more fatal as it is supported by ingenuity and uncommon learning. He cannot avoid remarking the opposite testimonies of Cæsar and Tacitus on the religion of the Druids: the latter says they had no temples or altars, but the former intimates both. He has no way of reconciling these writers, but by assuring us, the religion of the Northern Celtes, the Germans and Gauls was originally the same, and that the Gallic deities, statues, altars and temples were (56) foreign importations. Here a critical inquiry should have commenced into the religion and philosophy of the Celtes, grounded on their language, religion, and the few hints preserved by the ancients. The materials for a similar procedure with the Scythians are abundant; and lastly the union of the Celtic and Scythic rituals might be easily shown. Mr. Pinkerton in his Dissertation on the Goths and History of Scotland has laboured successfully on this subject, these valuable works being an excellent introduction to the study of the British antiquities.

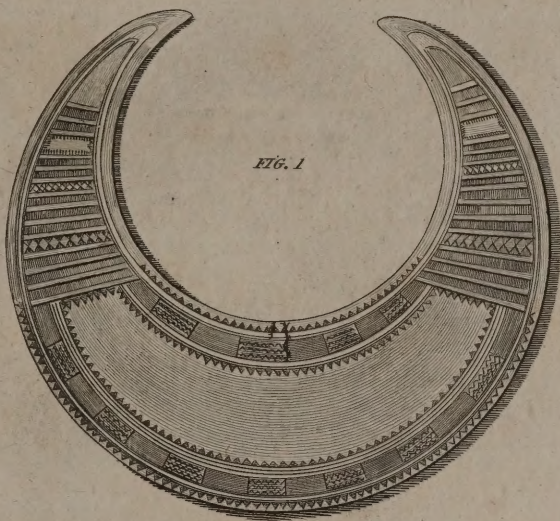
Borlase, a man of considerable learning but little judgment, lapses into Bruker’s errors. He perceives no (57) difference between the religion of the Germans, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes and that of the Britons and Gauls, but that the priesthood among the latter was more dignified and learned than among the former. From such a declaration, so early made, nothing could be expected but confusion. An antiquary who could affirm rock-basons, circles, erect stones, cromleace, cairns, and groves of oaks, a cave and an inclosure (58) marked a Druidic monument, was ill qualified to disembarass Celtic and Scythic antiquities, or to give a distinct view of each. And yet clouded as his ideas were, he saw through the gloom difficulties which he could not solve; he (59) tells us, the superstition of the Germans and Northern nations throw great light on that of the Druids, but not vice versa. The meaning of which is, that the original dogmas of Druidism were lost, or so incorporated with the Northern religion, that there was no way of illustrating the former but by the latter. But the fact is the ancients supply us with accurate distinctions, and indubitable marks of genuine Druidism. Both the Celtic and German superstitions were early mingled with each other; this, it is confessed, obscured the subject,

(56) *Peregrinis religionibus adveclis debentur.* Bruker. sup. 230.

(57) *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 71.

(58) Borlase, *supra*, p. 120.

(59) Borlase, *supra*, p. 72.

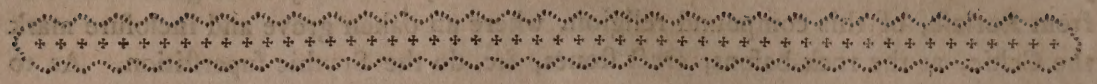


ject, and led inattentive ancients and moderns astray. I have just alleged an instance from Borlase, of this compound religion, where an oaken grove and inclosure mark the Celtic, as the rock-basons, erect stones, &c. do the Scythic superstition. As to this mixt religion being called Druidic, where the Celtes were more numerous than their invaders, as in these isles, their priests preserved their ancient appellation: where the Scythians prevailed, the name was lost, and in its room we find Runer, Adelruner, (60) Diar, Hofgodar and Magi introduced. Confounding the Druidic and Scythic rituals, the very learned and ingenious Whitaker tells (61) us, "the Druidical species of heathenism was that particularly calculated to arrest the attention and to impress the mind. The rudely majestic cincture of stones in their temples, the huge enormous Cromlech, the massy tremulous Logan, the great conical carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheatre of woods, &c." Except the amphitheatre of woods, nothing else was Druidical. Many opportunities will offer in the ensuing essays, in treating of the Antiquities of the Irish Church, to confirm the idea pursued in these pages.

(60) Pinkerton. Vit. S. Scot. p. 37.

(61) Hist. of Manchest. V. 1.





OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND OF ST. PATRICK.

AN hierarchy was early established in England, as three British Bishops assisted at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314, being one for each province into which the kingdom (1) was then divided. Of consequence Christianity there was of older date than the 4th century. When we reflect on the zeal of the primitive preachers of the Gospel, and the contiguity of Ireland to England, it cannot be supposed the former isle escaped their evangelical labours. It afforded the terrified British clergy a secure asylum from the Dioclesian persecution in 303. So that it is highly probable the glad tidings of a Redeeming Saviour were promulgated here very little later than in Britain. And I am the more inclined to believe what is advanced, because St. Jerome incontestibly proves there was a Christian church in Ireland in the 4th and beginning of the 5th century, and that letters were then known and cultivated here. Speaking of Celestius, the bosom friend of Pelagius the Heresiarch, he says: "he was made fat with Scottish (2) flummery." Now (3) Pelagius was a British Monk, and an eminent (4) scholar: to him resorted youth from England and Ireland for instruction, and among others our countryman Celestius, who embraced the (5) monastic life. While in the British monastery he (6) writ to his parents in Ireland three pious epistles, exhorting them to the practice of virtue. All this evinces, that our isle had been long christian. Pelagius was an able teacher and well read in (7) Greek philosophy: it was there he found the notions about God and the human soul, which were the foundations of his heresy. This knowledge of Greek literature will now be fully and satisfactorily explained.

The Irish themselves are the best evidences of the origin of their faith. About the year 661, a conference was held at (8) Whitby, to determine whether the ancient

(1) Stillingfleet, sup. p. 76.
 (2) Nec recordatur stolidissimus, et Scotorum pulibus prægravatus. Hieron. in Hierem. Again, Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia.
 (3) Augustin. de hæres. c. 88. Usser. p. 208. (4) Usser. supra. (5) Gennad. c. 44.
 (6) Gennad. supra. (7) Mosheim. Mar. Mercat. Edit. Garneri. (8) Bed. 1. 3. c. 25.

ancient discipline of the British and Irish churches respecting the paschal festival, tonsure and other rites, should be continued, or whether the Romish innovations, adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church, should be preferred. Wilfrid, an Eleve of Rome, supported the latter, as Colman, an Irishman, educated among the Culdees at Hy, and Bishop of Lindisfern, did the former. "The Easter I keep, says Colman, I received from my elders, who sent me Bishop hither; the which all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept after the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist and the Churches over which he presided, observed."

About the year 160, the Gallic Church, in a long epistle to the brethren in (9) Asia and Phrygia, relates the martyrdom of many professors of the Gospel. Pothinus was then Bishop of Lyons, and a (10) Grecian; as were Attalus, Alexander, and Alcibiadas, who were missionaries in Gaul. These were (11) sent by Polycarp into France when he went to Rome in the pontificate of Anicetus, of course the letter written by them to the Christians in Asia was in Greek, and this is remarked by Valesius. Irenæus, who succeeded Pothinus in Lyons, was a Greek of Smyrna, of which city Polycarp was Bishop. Irenæus when a youth saw and conversed with Polycarp, and heard him relate the (12) discourses he held with St. John and with the rest who had seen Christ. From hence we clearly discover the grounds of Bishop Colman's practice, and how it was deduced from St. John. Polycarp was disciple of (13) St. John, as Pothinus and (14) Irenæus were of Polycarp. These Asiatic missionaries founded churches, ordained Bishops, and gave to the Christians of Britain and France a liturgical form. A very ancient (15) MS. informs us, that St. John the Evangelist first sang the Gallican office, then the blessed Polycarp his disciple, and after him Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. Bishop Stillingfleet, who carefully examined this ancient cursus or office, shows that it agreed with the Greek, and materially differed from the Roman in the communion service, in the prophetic lessons, in the sermon and offices after it, and in various other particulars, and that this office was adopted by the British church, and no doubt by the Irish, which perfectly symbolized with it. Indeed we have direct and positive proof that our liturgy was

not

(9) *Τοις κατὰ Ασίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδελφοῖς.* Euseb. l. 5. c. 1.

(10) Pothini quoque episcopi vel nomen ipsum Græcam originem designat. Vales. ad Euseb. sup. p. 86.

(11) Cave. Hist. Liter. p. 3. Mosheim, Cent. 2.

(12) Euseb. l. 5. c. 20.

(13) Hieron. de Scrip. Ecclef.

(14) Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 1. c. 3.

(15) Preserved by Spelman. Concil. V. 1. p. 176.

not the (16) Roman, in Gillebert the Bishop of Limerick's epistle to the Irish Prelates in 1090. We shall find the Irish rites and ceremonies differing from the Roman, in the celebration of Easter, in the administration of baptism, in the multiplication of Bishops, and in numberless other points wherein they agreed with the Asiatic and British Christians, from whom they received their faith. Irenæus, in the 2d century, loudly complained of Romish innovations, "that the schismatics at Rome had (17) corrupted the sincere law of the church, which led to the greatest impieties. These opinions, adds he, the Presbyters who lived before our times, who were also the disciples of the Apostles, did in no wise deliver. I, who saw and heard the blessed Polycarp, am able to protest in the presence of God, that if that apostolic Presbyter had heard these things, he would have stopped his ears, and cried out according to his custom, "Good God! for what times hast thou reserved me, that I should suffer such things. He would have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing, should he have heard these things." Thus far Irenæus.

These sentiments of Romish corruptions the Asiatic missionaries brought with them into Western Europe, they inculcated them on their converts, and the horror and detestation they excited in their minds were not effaced for many ages; it lasted in Ireland for more than ten centuries. Such was the origin of Christianity in Ireland, and such the orientalism of our rites and ceremonies, which during our progress in these inquiries we shall have frequent occasion to remark.

How laborious soever these researches may be, I apply to them with ardour and pleasure in hopes of discovering truth; but I confess myself dispirited and dejected when reduced to the miserable necessity of combating senseless fictions, and all the ignorance and absurdity of Irish hagiography. No laurels are here to be reaped, no reputation to be obtained, and yet silent contempt would soon be construed into acquiescence, if not approbation.

The puerile figments of (18) Vincent of Beauvais, Moronus, Vafaldus, O'Sullivan and Colgan, concerning the first preachers of the Gospel in Ireland, are totally undeserving notice. Prudentius has characterised such pious and lying fables in one line:

Corruptela, dolus, commenta, insomnia, sordes.

The

(16) Ut diversi & schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Usser. Syllog. Epil. p. 77.

(17) Εξάναντίας δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ρώμης τὸν ὑγίη τῆς ἐκκλησίας βίαν παύμαχαττοντων, Εὐρηκαίως διάφορος ἐπιτολὰς συντάττει. Euseb. l. 5, c. 20.

(18) Richardson. prælect. ecc. V. 2. p. 102. Usser. Lloyd, Stillingsfleet, &c.

The Acts of our (19) Saints inform us, that Kiaran, Declan, Ailbe and Ibar were Hibernians, who, after residing at Rome for some years, were consecrated Bishops, and erected Sees here about the year 400. This is an artful monkish fiction to excite our gratitude to Rome, who so maternally watched over our salvation, and sent us these precursors to reclaim us from paganism. Bishop Lloyd, though ingenuous and learned, was not profound in antiquities, says, (20) "I dare not wholly reject those Irish legends of Kiaranus, Declanus and Ibarus." Every respect is due to authenticated, and in remote matters, even to probable facts; but why the same regard is to be paid to suspicious legends, is not easy to discover. It was his business to establish their credit, but he found this too difficult to attempt. It was impossible to be done; for if these precursors of St. Patrick ever existed, and lived no longer than the rest of mankind, their age will be found posterior instead of being prior to that of our apostle, who, it is said was sent hither, A. D. 432. Now the annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, as cited by (21) Ware, place the death of Ibar in 500, that of Ailbe in 527, of Declan later, and Kiaran at an advanced age was disciple of St. Finian of Clonard, about 520. If we reject these authorities, we bestow on these precursors a longevity beyond verisimilitude; if we adopt them, the legend is more than doubtful.

These teachers we are told travelled to Rome, and there received ordination. This is incredible, because Bede is an unexceptionable evidence that our hierarchy was exactly similar to the (22) British, and that we know was independent and episcopal. Episcopal, for her Bishops appeared in the Councils of Arles, Nice, Sardis and Ariminum, all in the 4th century. Independent, for the British Prelates nobly opposed the usurpation of Augustine sent by Pope Gregory, and refused obedience to a foreign jurisdiction, consequently they would not (23) receive ordination from the hands of strangers. But these silly fictions are trifles in comparison of the legend of St. Patrick, which comes next to be examined.

The existence of this Saint, and his conversion of the Irish, are points not only firmly believed by the Irish, but referred to as undoubted historic facts by every writer

(19) Usser. Prim. p. 789.

(20) Of Church Government, p. 50—51.

(21) Annot. in St. Patric. opusc. p. 106.

(22) Scoti nihil discrepabant in conversatione a Britannis. Conservatio here means religious life, and sometimes a monastic rule. Du Cange in Conversare & conversatio. Bede says again of the Irish and Britons: Similem vitam & professionem egisse. Hammer's Chron. p. 9. for the connection between the Irish and Welsh.

(23) Britannia ordinationes suas intra se semper concelebrabant, & hoc est alterum juris patriarchalis *episcopatus* five honorarium. Usser. de libert. Ecc. Brit. p. 118. An admirable work but little known. See also Stillingfleet, sup. & Answer to Cressy. Cave of Church Government, p. 244.

writer who has treated of the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country. But about the year 1618, Doctor Ryves, one of the Masters in Chancery here, and Judge of the Faculties and Prerogative Court, to answer a (24) calumnious and inflammatory libel, was obliged to consider minutely the ancient history of our church. Doubts arose in his mind as to the (25) reality of our apostle, and of the age in which he was supposed to have flourished. However before he seriously applied to an investigation of these matters, he thought it proper and becoming to (26) consult Camden and Usher, the two great luminaries of British and Irish Antiquities. To the latter he opens his objections; and first, he observes the wonderful miracles recorded by St. Patrick were neither common or believed in the age in which he lived; and this he proves from St. Austín, who was coetaneous with our apostle. Secondly, he argues from the silence of Platina, who, though in his life of Pope Celestine he mentions the sending St. Germanus into England and Palladius into Scotland, takes no notice of his appointing Patrick to Ireland, and therefore concludes he must have lived later than was generally supposed.

Unacquainted with Camden, yet desirous of his opinion, Ryves prevailed on Usher to lay his letter before him, which he did. Usher seems not to have acted friendly, impartially or candidly on this occasion, for in his letter to Camden, inclosing that of Ryves's, he endeavours to prepossess him in favour of St. Patrick, and even to point out what answer he should give. He indeed remarks that "the ridiculous miracles fastened upon our Saint were the work of later writers," and in this Camden agrees. On the present occasion, our learned Primate and his excellent friend deviate strangely from strict veracity; for the Roman Martyrology, Erric of Auxerre, Nennius and others, never omit St. Patrick's miracles when they name him; they are both coeval and from the same mint. Nor would an argument so open to confutation ever have been brought forward was a better to be found. His miracles are so monstrous and incredible, so numerous and unnecessary, and such a prostitution of divine omnipotence, that the most stupid, credulous or bigotted cannot digest them. These first suggested to Ryves, as they would to every man of sense, the suspicions before stated. As to Platina, few were more conversant in ecclesiastical history than he; so that his silence about St. Patrick is really inexplicable, was he convinced of his mission. A Cotton MS. recording St. Patrick, is much boasted of; surely we might expect to find in Usher's *Primordia*, published twenty-one years after his writing this letter to Camden, an account of its possessors, its letters and language, so as

to

(24) Ware's *Writers* by Harris, p. 340.(25) Ryv. *regim. Anglie*, in *Hib.* p. 47. et seq.(26) *Camdeni epist.* p. 236, et seq.

to enable us to form some judgment of its antiquity; but none of these appear, if I recollect right, in that work. A Cottonian MS. occurs, but it is not noticed as remarkable for age or contents.

Ryves thus discountenanced by the oracular decisions of these eminent men, and overborne solely by authority, no farther pursued this curious subject, a few hints excepted, although his learning enabled him to bring it to a fair conclusion. This triumph of hagiography over criticism and erudition has continued to the present hour. A well-informed (27) writer in 1700 declared, "he was not satisfied about St. Patrick's 365 Bishops, it was probably a fable, and himself a Saint of imagination; for who can tell, but Patricius Avernenfis may have sunk a day lower in the calendar, and made the Irish a Patricius Hibernensis, or the Spanish Patrick of Malaga, who, according to Luitprandus, lays claim to that day, might appear to the Irish in a dream, as St. George did to the English, and become their Protector and at last their Apostle. For the calendar is the ground upon which the legends run divisions, and as barren as it seems to be, it has produced a world of devout fables. For in old time, give a Monk but a name, and he would quickly write a life." Thus far Maurice, whose conjectures, thus vaguely and jocularly thrown out, are yet the result of uncommon knowledge of the subject, as we shall now see.

The Calendar is certainly the ground-work of every fabulous legend. Each church we are (28) told kept one for its saints and martyrs, but Ruinart declares they were exceedingly imperfect. Nor could it be otherwise among barbarous nations, where Christianity was without establishment and its preachers itinerant, supporting a precarious life among rude and ferocious pagans. As the common martyrologies (29) were compiled from the Calendars, it will not be wondered at if they are but little to be depended on. But two have reached us, one Roman Calendar of the fourth and one Carthaginian of the fifth century, both to be suspected and not contributing to the credit of such works. Our calendars and martyrologies are less estimable and of less authority. Colgan, it may be imagined, gives in the Preface to his Irish Saints, the best reasons he could invent to induce us to believe the tales he delivers concerning them. He quotes (30) Gorman, who writ about 1170; the Cashel calendar composed, as he says, earlier, and the martyrology of Ængus and Mélrúan of the eighth century. Now the latter, like the other Irish manuscripts, famous

(27) Maurice's Defence of Episcopacy, p. 155. Fuller's Church History, ad Ann. 730.

(28) Ruinart. Præf. gen. in Act. Sincer. Martyr. p. 17.

(29) Ex Kalendaris quæ vulgata martyrologia antecedunt, duo solummodo ad nos pervenere. Ruinart, supra.

(30) Ut præteream B. Mar. Gormanum, qui ante annos prope quingenos, &c. præf. ad Act. Sanc. Hibernia.

famous in obscurity, has never seen the light, nor is it to be regretted, because it carries internal marks of forgery. Let one instance suffice. In its second Preface it cites the martyrology of St. Jerome. Launoy has (31) proved, that no such work under the name of St. Jerome was known to early writers, but that about the ninth century, a trick, then common, was practised, that of fathering on him a supposititious performance. Neither Bellarmine or Sixtus Senensis enumerate this among his works, so that instead of the eighth this martyrology cannot be older than the ninth century. Colgan acquaints (32) us, that the deaths of Ængus and Melruan are found in this martyrology and those of other saints posterior to them, which he supposes the additions of some Monk living about the conclusion of the ninth century. No proof is brought of this conjecture, so that the antiquity of this work rests solely on the supposition of an interested individual, and is opposed by the strongest external and internal proofs. Take the facts as stated by Colgan himself, and let any judicious and impartial reader pronounce on the credibility and degree of weight this martyrology carries with it when it deposes for St. Patrick and other ideal saints.

The (33) Roman martyrology is the oldest in which we find the name of our apostle. This like the rest has been interpolated in various ages, so that it is impossible to know what were its original contents. By the French antiquaries it has often been convicted of falsehood: its making Sergius Paulus first Bishop of Narbonne, and Dionysius Areopagita the Apostle of France, destroys every claim it can make to authenticity.

St. Patrick is in Bede's martyrology. Whether he ever composed such a work is very doubtful, as he barely hints at it in one of his compositions. Cave's (34) opinion of that passing under his name, is by no means in its favour. It would be tedious and disgusting to review the fables and errors of Ufardus, Notkerus Balbulus and others, who lived later, and have the name of our Apostle: the same bold, plausible and groundless (35) figments crowd all their pages.

What idea must we form of Martyrologies, when Durandus, Bishop of Maude, (36) declared, there were above five thousand Saints for every day in the year; and
it

(31) *Disjunct. epist. P. de Marc. ad Vales. c. 6. p. 66.*

(32) *Supra, p. 581.*

(33) *Geddes's Tracts, V. 2.*

(34) *Id quod nunc circumfertur, crebris aliorum interpolationibus, deturpatum esse multum, dudum notarunt. Hist. Lit. p. 355.*

(35) *Voss, de Hist. Lat. p. 309—697. Cave, sup. p. 187. Vales. ad Euseb. l. 5. for the story of Zacharias.*

(36) *Bayle, Dic. Crit. article, Launoi.*

it has been supposed, not improbably, that All Saints day was appointed, to supply the want of days in the year, and to appease the anger of those who had not particular honour paid them. Bollandus and Papebroch, learned Jesuits, Launoï, Tillemont and many other eminent Catholic writers not only reject these deified phantoms, but speak contemptibly of the rest.

As nothing advanced by Usher, Camden, or the Martyrologists can in the smallest degree supply evidence of the existence of St. Patrick, so neither will the general character of our Sanctology, which (37) Bollandus declares to be the compilation of arrant fablers, and not older than the 12th century. Tillemont's words are equally strong. "*Que la plupart, sont d'auteurs très-fabuleux.*" This is the language of liberal, learned and enlightened Roman Catholic writers, who saw the disgrace brought on religion, and the real injury done it, by lying miracles and horrible blasphemies. Even St. Austin in the 4th century declared (38) there were few genuine memoirs of Martyrs or Saints. The Trullan (39) council ordered all forged acts, which began greatly to multiply, to be burnt, because as Balsamon on this Canon observes, they lead "to laughter and infidelity."

From the manner of composing these Lives of Saints, we may judge of the deplorable mental weakness of those who believe them, and the consummate hypocrisy and wickedness of those who inculcate them on the ignorant. Cardinal Valerio (40) tells us, it was usual with the Monks to exercise their scholars in composition by proposing the usual topics to them, the lives and martyrdom of Saints. Popular stories, and more commonly the suggestions of their own fancy, were the groundwork of their amplifications. The best of these were laid by, and after some years produced as genuine works. There is a curious anecdote in (41) Mr. Warton to this purpose. About 1380, flourished Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, and good Latin writer. The Monks of Holywell, in Flintshire, applied to him to write the life of their patron-saint; Stone asked for materials, he was answered, there were none; upon which, he said, "he could execute the work without materials, and would write them a most excellent Legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas a Becket."

R

By

(37) Ab auctoribus fabulosissimis confarcinata, nec ulla sæculo duodecimo priora. Act. Sanct. ad 17 Martii.

(38) Serm. 93.

(39) Can. 63.

(40) Bayle, Dict. article, Valerius.

(41) History of English poetry. V. 2. p. 190. Cardinal Bessarion said of these dedications: affè che questi Santi moderni, mi fanno assai dubitare delli passati.

By such juvenile Monkish exercises, lives of St. Patrick multiplied amazingly. When Joceline sat down to compose his life, he (42) found sixty-six biographers had preceded him in this walk: all but four were destroyed in the Norwegian invasion; from these, he tells us, he selected such facts as deserved (43) belief. Here are some of the miracles which our author thinks credible. St. Patrick while an infant, brought a new river from the earth, which cured the blind. He produced fire from ice. He raised his nurse from the dead. He expelled a devil from an heifer, and he changed water into honey. These were but the infant sports of this wonder-working Saint. The miracles recorded in holy writ, even that of creation itself, are paralleled, and if possible surpassed by those of our spiritual hero. So that for authenticity, the Legend of St. Patrick merits no higher estimation than the most contemptible fictions.

I shall now proceed with stronger evidence, to prove our Apostle an ideal personage. If he received his mission from Pope Celestine, his orders in the Church of Rome; was graced with the archiepiscopal dignity; formed an hierarchy, and established rites and ceremonies from Roman originals, as all his biographers boast, can the utmost stretch of human ingenuity assign a reason why Cogitosus, Adamnan, Cummian and Bede have passed over these interesting particulars unnoticed? Bede, whose predilection for Rome and her tenets had led him into many errors, and whom all allow to be well informed, never would have omitted so capital an event as the conversion of Ireland by a missionary from Rome, and the miracles of that missionary in support of his favourite doctrines, did such facts or any tradition of them exist in the beginning of the 8th century, for Bede died A. D. 735.

About the year 604, Laurence, Bishop of Canterbury, and two other Prelates writing to the Bishops and Abbots in Ireland, have these remarkable words: "When (44) the Apostolic See sent us to these western parts to preach to pagan nations, and we happened to come into this island of Britain, we very much esteemed the holiness of the Britons and Irish before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the custom of the universal church; but we have been informed, that the Scots (the Irish) do not differ in religious sentiments from the Britons, for Bishop Dagan coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take any repast in the same house." Let the advocates for the existence of St. Patrick consider well this citation. Bishop Laurence succeeded Augustine in the See of Canterbury, and

(42) Vit. S. Patric. apud Messingham, p. 81.

(43) Quæcunque fide digna reperire potui. Vit. S. Patricii.

(44) Bed. l. 2. c. 4.

and was by (45) birth a Roman. St. Patrick was dead but an hundred years. Could all remembrance of his mission from Rome, and his connection with that See be forgotten in that space of time; if it could not, would he have neglected to upbraid them with ingratitude to their Apostle and a dereliction of his doctrines? And does not this letter demonstrate what was before advanced of the difference between the British and Roman Churches in religious tenets, and that the Irish agreed with the British? By Bishop Dagan's refusing to eat with, or remain in the same house with the Roman missionaries, we must know, that a person whose company was thus rejected, was under excommunication, for so it is expressed in (46) ancient Irish canons. The Britons, says (47) Bede, would no more communicate with the Anglo-Saxons than with pagans. The Irish, we see, had exactly the same sentiments. "The British Priests, complains (48) Aldhelm, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us, insomuch that they neither will join in prayers with us in the church, nor in communion, nor will they enter into society with us at table: the fragments we leave after refection, they will not touch but throw to dogs. The cups also out of which we have drank, they will not use, until they have cleansed them with sand and ashes. They refuse all civil salutations, and will not give us the kiss of pious fraternity. Moreover, if any of us go to take an abode among them, they will not vouchsafe to admit us, till we are compelled to spend forty days in penance." Words cannot convey a stronger detestation of Popery than this testimony of Aldhelm, an excellent scholar and contemporary with Bishop Laurence. We may observe that the British and Irish Churches had hierarchies independent and episcopal among them, and that they fulminated excommunication against intruders.

In 630, the Roman clergy address an epistle (to be seen in Bede) to five Irish bishops and five presbyters, on the paschal festival. Here, again, St. Patrick might be very properly and advantageously introduced, and his own, as well as his successors, practice in the see of Armagh. But nothing to this purpose occurs in our ecclesiastical historian: the Bishops are styled, without any distinction, the most beloved and most holy Tomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus and Baithanus. I have before mentioned the convention at Whitby in 661. These, it may be said, are

(45) Parker. de Antiq. Ecc. Brit. p. 73. Edit. Drake.

(46) A communione & mensa, a missa & pace. S. Patric, opusc. supra. Again: quicumque clericus ab aliquo excommunicatus fuerit & alius eum susceperit, ambo cœquali poenitentia utantur. Pag. 43.

(47) Moris sit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere; neque in aliquo iis magis communicare quam paganis. L. 2. c. 20.

(48) Epist. ad Damnon. 44, inter Epist. Bonifac.

are negative arguments; but is an accumulation of these of no weight, particularly in very remote matters? But the subject does not rest solely on these: it is a positive fact, that Columba and his Culdees differed widely, as we shall see, from Rome in doctrine and discipline, in the 6th century, when St. Patrick was but a few years dead. We have just seen the same difference subsisting in 604. In 639, Pope Honorius testifies the same in Bede, and in 730, Bede declares our aversion from Romish customs. Will any impartial and sober man assert, that if St. Patrick founded the Irish church, and that his rites and ceremonies were from Roman archetypes, there could be such a total falling off from them within a few years after his death? A barbarous people are ever retentive of first impressions. Who was the preacher of these new opinions so opposite to the Roman? History does not record his name. The fact is, and we find it has been amply confirmed, that Christianity flourished in Ireland long before the age of St. Patrick, and that it was first preached, not by Roman but by Asiatic missionaries, or their disciples, the latter dissenting in various important particulars from the former, as will hereafter appear.

If the principal events of our Apostle's life are shown to be not only incredible and uncertain, but absolutely false, it must decisively remove the vulgar prejudices respecting his existence and mission. He is (49) said to have been a North Briton, born at Kilpatrick, A. D. 372, his father was Calpurnius a Deacon, the son of Potitus a Priest, his mother was Conchessa, niece of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours. Baronius and Florilegus tell us he was a native of Ireland: O'Sullivan that he was born in Brittany: the Scholiast on Joceline that he was from Cornwall, and others make him a Welshman. See the most wretched senseless trash collected by Usher as to his parentage, life and adventures, with his genealogy up to Brutus. Primor. c. 17; and who tired at last, says with Horace,

Incerta hæc si tu postules

Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas

Quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.

And yet he is a stickler for St. Patrick!

Now Bede has (50) declared, that the Southern Scots did not receive the faith till 412, nor the Northern before 565, so that Calpurnius and Potitus were Christian Priests in Scotland long before it was evangelized. St. Martin was (51) born at Sabaria in Pannonia or Hungary; how his niece came to marry our North Briton, no one has yet explained. It seems it was fashionable for missionaries to be related

to

(49) Ware's Bishops by Harris, initio.

(50) Lib. 3. c. 4.

(51) Sulp. Sever. vit. S. Martin.

to St. Martin, for Ninian who converted the Southern Scots was also his (52) nephew.

Our Apostle, conscious of his inability to convert the Irish without proper qualifications, such as travelling and study supplied, removed to the Continent, visited Italy and remained among the Canons of the Lateran for some time, and then with the Monks dispersed in the isles of the Tuscan Sea. Thirty-five years were spent in this manner. St. Patrick's residence in the Lateran is void of truth; for Onuphrius (53) assures us from the archives of that church, that Pope Gelasius was the first who placed canons there, and he was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 492, one year before the death of St. Patrick.

After this preparatory discipline, he was consecrated Bishop by Amatus or Pope Celestine, who granted him the dignity of Archbishop. Here all his biographers, ancient and modern, discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history. On the establishment of christianity, to preserve to the Bishop of the (54) Metropolis his rank, the title of Archbishop was invented. At the Ephesine Council in 431, Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, and Celestine Bishop of Rome, were publicly honoured with this style. Before Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, enjoyed this title in 673, it was unknown in Britain; and (55) Mabillon is confident, that few claimed or assumed it before the ninth century.

In 462, St. Patrick went to Rome, and related to Pope Hilary the success of his mission, which was so pleasing, that the Pope as a mark of his esteem, conferred on him the Pall and Legateship of Ireland. We may form some notion of the credit due to this story when Doctor Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin (56) says, "that St. Patrick was neither Archbishop, Primate, or Metropolitan: that his Pall is chimerical, made of goat's wool, and flies through the air, sewn to the reliques of Stephen the Proto-martyr." This is speaking pretty plainly for a Roman Catholic Prelate, and treating these monkish falsehoods with just contempt. Talbot, throughout his work, evinces strong good sense and liberality, with considerable learning; these led him to despise the silly legends on which his antagonist, Doctor Mac Mahon, so much relied, and he had truth on his side when he rejected the legateship

s

(52) Usser. p. 662.

(53) Annot. ad Platin. p. 68.

(54) Ut Autem maneret Metropolitæ Alexandrinæ suus honor, inventum est Archiepiscopi nomen. Marsham. Propyl. ad Monast. Anglican.

(55) De Re Diplon. l. 2. c. 2.

(56) Jus Primat. Armacan. p. 116—133, a controversial work, wherein the right of Dublin or Armagh to the Primacy is discussed, by Talbot on one side, and Mac Mahon on the other. A. D. 1724.

ship of St. Patrick, for there was no such office as Legatus a Latere until the (57) second Nicene Council, A. D. 787, above three centuries after the decease of our Apostle; nor were palls bestowed in Ireland before the (58) year 1152. It must be as tiresome to the reader as it is to the writer to pursue farther this critical examination of the life of our Saint. I do not hesitate in affirming, that every chapter in Joceline, Colgan and Probus is liable to similar objections; internal and invincible proofs these, that our Apostle and his History are equally fabulous. Even the Editor of Probus (59) candidly confesses that his authenticity is doubted, as in some things he is palpably false: and Richard Stanihurst, Uncle to Archbishop Usher, assured him there are many instances of childish anility, and others directly contrary to evangelical truth.

Let us next inquire how St. Patrick came to be dubbed the Patron Saint of Ireland. The ninth century, famous for reviving and incorporating Pagan practices with the Christian ritual, observing that Rome had her (60) Mars, Athens her Minerva, Carthage her Juno, and every country and city a proper and peculiar deity, whose guardian care was its greatest protection and security, conceived it a very becoming employment for Christian Saints to assume the patronage of a Christian People, and to interest them the more in this new occupation, they brought their bones or reliques, wherever laid, and deposited them in the principal church of the metropolis. The superstition and illiteracy of the age were favourable to every clerical imposition. Thus Hilduin, in the beginning of the ninth century, was not ashamed, such was the deplorable ignorance of the times, to affirm to the Emperor Louis, that St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles called Dionysius a most illustrious nobleman and an excellent philosopher, and that he was (61) ordained the Apostle of Gaul. Though nothing like this is in the Acts, it passed current, for Hilduin was an ecclesiastic of high rank, being Abbot of St. Germain. Here we have the origin of the patron of France.

About the year 816, Pope Leo III. made St. James the Apostle the patron of Spain. He (62) asserts with all the confidence of infallibility, that at the instance of Abiathar, the Jewish high priest, St. James was slain by Herod: that his body

was

(57) Casaub. Exercit. in Baron p. 386.

(58) Ware's Bishops, p. 58.

(59) Apud Usher. p. 818.

(60) A curious list of these "Dii proprii" may be seen in Bayeri addit. ad Selden. de Dis Syris, p. 167—168, and a not less curious catalogue of Christian tutelar deities is in Ant. Maced. de Dis tutelaribus orbis christiani Ulyssipon. 1687: Folio.

(61) Totius Gallia Apostolorum ordinatum. Apud Surium. ad Oct. 9. p. 230.

(62) Apud Marian. c. 12, Baron, ad A. C. 816.

was concealed and placed in a boat, which at that instant miraculously offered itself; that, after sailing far, it landed in Galicia, and the body from thence was translated to Compostella. In virtue of these reliques, the Archbishop of Compostella in 1215, boldly claimed in the Lateran Council the prerogatives due to his See. The proof of the legend, through a monstrous fiction, thus grounded and sanctified by time, did not admit of particular exceptions, and therefore Ximenes, Primate of Toledo, took the shortest course with it, by peremptorily denying the arrival of St. James in Spain; and in this, after a lapse of many centuries, he is supported by Baronius against Pope Leo. The Scots, in an (63) Apology to Pope Boniface VIII. give nearly the same account of the coming of the reliques of St. Andrew, their patron; this was in the reign of Ungus, and in the ninth century also. If the Irish had no other examples, France was sufficient for their imitation, in constituting a tutelary deity for their Isle; France was the asylum of the learned Hibernians in the 9th age from the Danish tyranny. This consideration well deserves attention, but I rely more on written evidence, liable to no mistake.

It is an undoubted fact, that St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author or in any work of veracity in the 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th centuries. In 858, we find his name and miracles in a (64) fragment of Nennius: this fragment is composed of the wildest incoherences and exactly in the style of the incredible fictions of that age. It seems to have been compiled from an Irish Legend, as in some places it refers to it. About 880, Heric of Auxerre, in his life of St. German, calls St. Patrick, "*Hiberniæ peculiaris Apostolus*," the proper apostle of Ireland, and at the same time he was inserted in Ufuard's Martyrology. These, I apprehend, are the first and oldest notices of our Patron Saint, for he was not heard of when Bede died in 735.

In Ufuard's and the Roman Martyrology, Bishop Patrick of (65) Auvergne is placed at the 16th day of March, and on the same day the office of the Lateran Canons, approved by Pope Pius V. celebrates the festival of a Patrick the apostle of Ireland. The 17th of March is dedicated to Patrick, Bishop of Nola. Had not Doctor Maurice then the best reasons for supposing that Patricius Avernenfis sunk a day lower in the Calendar and made for the Irish a Patricius Hibernensis? This seems exactly to be the case. It is very extraordinary the 16th and 17th of March should

(63) Uffer. p. 340. According to Rous, St. George did not begin his patronage of England in 1180. Hist. reg. Angliæ, p. 142. Edit. Hearne. Matt. Westm. ad ann. 1301. Heft. Boeth. l. 6. for St. Andrew.

(64) Edit. Bertram, p. 92.

(65) Uffer. p. 897.

should have three Patrick's, one of Auvergne, another of Ireland, and a third of Nola! The Antiquities of Glastonbury record three Patrick's, one of Auvergne, another Archbishop of Ireland, and a third an Abbat. The last, according to a Martyrology cited by Usher, went on the mission to Ireland, A. D. 850, but was unsuccessful; he returned and died at Glastonbury. If all that is now advanced be not a fardel of monkish fictions, which it certainly is, the last Patrick was the man who was beatified by the bigotted Anglo-Saxons, for his endeavours to bring the Irish to a conformity with the Romish Church. Camden remarks, "that as for Patrick's miracles I verily think that fabulous writers in succeeding ages amplified them and forged others, yea and might in that ignorant and credulous age affix upon him those of St. Patrick of Bulgaria." This is fairly giving up the legend of St. Patrick as a fiction. I know nothing of Patrick of Bulgaria, but the Bulgarian Prince, Boger, and his people received Christianity, A. D. 845. So that every circumstance and inquiry seem to point out the 9th century as the precise time when a Patron Saint was bestowed on Ireland.

St. Augustine, speaking of the passions of Fructuosus and Eulogius, (66) observes, "we are taught but only to worship God: for we ought not to be (67) such as the Pagans are, whom we lament upon that very account, because they worship dead men." In another (68) place he declares, even Angels are not to be adored, and that they would be highly displeased at being worshipped. With such sentiments as these, and they were those of the age ascribed to St. Patrick, can we be surprised at Doctor Ryves denying the existence of a Saint, whose history and miracles outrage credibility? Not one solid argument can be adduced from Calendars, Martyrologies or Irish Hagiography, that such a person lived in the 5th century; but there are numberless ones drawn from the silence of writers in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, as well as direct and positive proofs of the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church being different from the Roman which he taught. Is it not then to be hoped and earnestly wished, from this impartial evidence and the authorities on which it is founded being thus fairly laid before the public, that no such prayers as the following may be hereafter addressed to him or others deified by wretched mortals?

"O God, (69) who vouchsafed to send St. Patrick, a Confessor and Bishop, to preach thy glory to Gentiles, grant to those begotten by him through thy Gospel in
Jesus

(66) Serm. 101. de Diversis.

(67) Neque enim tales esse debemus quales paganos dolemus, & quidem illi mortuos homines colunt. August. supra.

(68) Tunc tibi irascitur Angelus, quando ipsum colere volueris. August. in Psalm. 96.

(69) Offic. prop. S. Hiberniæ, in festo S. Patric. p. 80, A. D. 1769.

Jesus Christ, that remaining unmoveably in the doctrine which he delivered, we may be able through him to fulfil what thou commandest!" Nor this. (70) "Increase in us, O Lord, our belief of a resurrection, thou who workest miracles by the reliques of thy Saints, Patrick, Bridget and Columba, and make us partakers of immortal glory, of which we adore the pledges in their ashes!"

Such addressees to the Almighty and through such mediators are profane and shocking mockeries. Where, it may be asked, is the doctrine delivered by St. Patrick to be found? Certainly not in the Practice of the ancient Irish church. Columba and his Culdees, as I before shewed, differed widely in religious opinions from the Romanists, and yet he is joined with St. Patrick as if he held the same belief. St. Bridget is an imaginary Saint like Patrick. The Roman Catholics of Ireland are a liberal and enlightened people, nor is it possible they will be longer amused with fictitious legends, or pay their adoration to ideal personages. The night of ignorance and superstition is passed, and with it the rustic and undiscerning piety of dark ages. A scriptural, rational and manly religion is alone calculated for their present improvements in science and manners: this alone will establish an empire in the heart of every thinking and well disposed man, which no revolution will be able to shake.

Præteritæ veniam dabit ignorantia culpæ.

(70) Offic. prop. supra. de Invent. SS. Patric. Brigid. & Columb. p. 128.



ANECDOTES OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

WHEN mankind, in the middle ages, deserted the simple, intelligible and holy Religion revealed in the inspired writings, and adopted a compound, pagan and superstitious polytheism: when the merits of a redeeming Saviour were thought insufficient without the mediatorial aid of deified mortals to procure salvation, very little could be urged in extenuation of so ominous a dereliction of christian principles. But that something must unavoidably be conceded to human infirmity and to converts, ignorant, barbarous, and emerging from idolatry, to long habits and strong prepossessions, is the voice of reason, sanctioned by sacred history. This is a very different case from the former; the one was a vicious pruriency, arising from too prosperous a state of christianity; the other could not be remedied without the interposition of miraculous powers. Our first missionaries therefore did as little violence as possible, to the prejudices of our Heathen ancestors, in establishing the Gospel among them, and by judicious condescensions gained their affections and attention. It must be confessed, they too frequently yielded more than could be justified: perhaps the cloud that obscured Christianity in those ages prevented their seeing the criminality and danger of such a conduct: or they might imagine they were not injuring its essentials, when they admitted some pagan practices as temporary expedients. Let this matter be as it may, when the first preachers of the Gospel began their labours in this Isle, they found an heathen Hierarchy every where exercising their offices in groves, caves, and stone-circles; at single upright pillars, or amid the gloom of ponderous trilithons. Existing monuments authenticate this fact, and this fact and similar ones open new prospects of our Antiquities, interesting, instructive and curious. The following, connected with my subject, may serve as a specimen; for on this and every other subject much remains for the ingenuity and erudition of others.

The first christian missionaries succeeding the Druids, consecrated the circuit of the grove anew to religion, and called it Doire, in Irish the Oak. Thus Columba (1) founded

(1) Archdall's Monast. Hib. p. 84.

founded in the 6th century, two celebrated monasteries, one in the oaken grove in the town of Doire, after corrupted to Derry: the other at Doire-magh, or Durrow, the field of oaks, in the King's county. The names of other christian churches, as Doire-macaidecain, Doire-mella, Doire-more, Dar-inis, Dar-neagh, Dore-Arda, Dore-Brúchais, Dore-Chaochain, Dore-Chuiscrigh, Dore-dunchon, have the same origin. Others were named Kil-doire, Kil-derry, &c. literally the oaken church. Kil at first was in Irish a grave; but when relicks were introduced, then it expressed the tomb of the particular Saint, and in this our missionaries adapted themselves to the Druidic practice, and this Kil or tomb succeeded the—*Secretum illud*—that holy spot, the object of veneration. Hence Kildare, Kilabban, Kilbrige, Kilcain; St. Alban's, St. Bridget's and St. Catlain's churches.

Though Scythism had polluted the Celtic ritual, and abolished most of its purer practices, it yet retained the greatest respect for trees; they identified (2) them with their deities, and appropriated them to sacred and civil purposes. The act of cutting or injuring them, incurred a severe (3) penalty. Some (4) archers, who in the 12th century destroyed the sacred timber in the church-yard of Finglas near Dublin, were supposed to have died of an uncommon pestilence. Thus our first preachers endeavoured to supplant the Druids and their grove-worship by erecting christian edifices in oaken groves. A procedure more effectual than the (5) decrees of councils.

The holiness of Caves was as firmly believed as that of Groves. In these the Druids (6) performed divine offices and taught their disciples. Of these the Christian missionaries soon dispossessed them. At Roscarbury are some of these (7) ancient Caves, and there St. Fachnan very early founded a See and literary seminary. At (8) Lismore is a Druidic Cave, and there was also a celebrated school and Cathedral; and near the latter was the residence of an Anachoret from the remotest time. He was the genuine successor of the Druidic Semnotheist. This name is given by (9) Diogenes Laertius to our Druidic ascetics. Neither Casaubon or Menage satisfactorily

(2) *Arborem illam excidi oportere, quia esset dæmoni dedicata.* S. Sev. vit. S. Martin. p. 320. Mallet, sup. V. 2 p. 57. Barthol. sup. p. 220.

(3) *Taxus Sancti libram valet.* Leg. Wall. p. 262. The Editor's note is: *Sancto alicui dedicata Dubricio, Telaio, quales apud Wallos in cœmeterio etiamnum, (A. D. 1730) fræquentes visuntur.*

(4) *Ea tempestate (about 1170) sagittarii apud Finglas in arbores Sanctorum manibus per cœmeterium plantatas temeriter defæcientes, singulari peste consumpti.* Gir. Camb. p. p. 1176.

(5) *Lindenberg. p. 1357. Conc. Nann. c. 2. Burchard. l. 10. c. 1.*

(6) *Mel. l. 3. c. 3.*

(7) *Smith's Cork, V. 1. p. 267.*

(8) *Smith's Waterford, p. 333.*

(9) *In proem. Edit. Menagii. Dickenson, Delp. Phœn. p. 186. Sched. de Dis Germ. p. 423. Bruker, T. 1. p. 320.*

factorily explain this word, and others are as unsuccessful. Semnotheus seems to have been a solitary (10) religionist, who in a secret and devious cell gave himself up to the contemplation of heavenly things. The Druids were indebted to their abstraction from the world (*clam & diu*, are Mela's words) for the respect and reverence in which they were held, and so were the Monks, who succeeded them. The veneration for the one was easily transferred to the other. The Druids called their retreats, (11) Cluain, which the Monks expressed by an equivalent word, *Disert* from the Latin *Disertum*. We have between seventy and eighty Cluains, Clones and Cloynes in Colgan and Archdall, and a great number of *Diserts*, both prefixed to the names of churches; at once pointing out and preserving to this day their origin.

A very remarkable instance occurs in France to corroborate what has been advanced. Felibien, (12) speaking of the Caves under the church of Chartres, says:

Les grottes qui sont sous cette église, & qu'on prétend avoir été commencées dans les temps que les Druydes y dedicèrent un autel à une vierge qui devoit enfanter, ont presque autant d'espace que l'église haute, &c. The grand assembly of the Gaulish and British Druids, according to Cæsar, was held "in finibus (13) Carnutum," probably at this very place, and over these Caves a Christian church was erected.

In the compound religion, (as heretofore explained) professed by the Druids, stone pillars, circles, and trilithons were temples: no stronger instance can be given of the Christian coming directly into the place of the Pagan clergy than that of St. Illtud. In Brecknockshire is Ty Ilhtud, or St. Illtud's cell. This was composed of three upright stones and an impost, forming an oblong square of eight feet by four, and as many high. Here the Saint led an eremitic life. In this cell are nine different sorts of crosses, and yet the Editor of Camden very truly observes, that notwithstanding these the cell was made in the time of paganism, and originally stood in a stone circle. His other sacred structure at Llan Illtud or Llantwit in Glamorganshire, as the word (15) Llan imports, stood within a Druidic grove. The Scythic here added to the Celtic superstition stone-pyramids, which are in the churchyard, and were after converted into crosses. Here also St. Illtud had a (16) famed school

(10) *Secreta & inaccessa loca vocant Semna*, Rhodog. p. 316. Suid. in Σημνιον. Philo says: *εναυω εστιν αιπημα ιερον δ καλειται σημνιον*. De vit. theor.

(11) O'Brien in voce.

(12) *Recueil historiq.* p. 189.

(13) *In finibus Carnutum, confidunt loco consecrato*. Cæs. l. 6.

(14) Camden in loco.

(15) Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 87. Colgan for Llans.

(16) Usser. Prim. p. 492.



SKIRK.

Published by John Jones, No. 10, Princes Street, Dublin.

school in which the most eminent Welsh ecclesiastics received the rudiments of learning.

In Ireland things proceeded exactly as in Wales. Not far from the church of (17) Templebrien is a stone-circle with a central pyramidal pillar : near the church-yard is another pyramid, and not far distant a third. A few paces from the last, there is an artificial cave, probably, says Smith, a sepulchre or the retreat of the Priest or Druid who belonged to the Pagan temple. Both might be true. The Highlanders say they are going to the (18) Clachans, meaning the stone-circle, when they are going to the Kirk or Church : an irrefragable living proof of the idea here pursued. Our Cloghar, which now (19) signifies a congregation, originally imported a stone, about which people met for religious duties : nor can there be any doubt but the natives said they were going to the Cloghars as the Scotch to the Clachans. Our Antiquaries for want of better information, make histories from etymologies. Thus of Clogher they have made (20) Clochor, or the golden-stone, with fictions too contemptible to be retailed. The church of Benachie in Scotland is built in a Druidic circle, not the effect of chance as the ingenious (21) Antiquary remarks, but of choice to allure the heathen inhabitants to christianity. At Skirk, in the Queen's county, is a pagan fane, a view of which is here given. It is situated on a lofty hill, where the eye has an extensive range, as Ci Erk contracted into Skirk intimates. Its area is surrounded with a deep intrenchment, and within it is a pyramidal stone six feet high, with the stumps of others which made the temple. Towards the East is a cromleach, and to the North an high keep or exploratory fort, and contiguous is the parochial church. The custom of erecting churches on the site of heathen temples continued in Scotland to the 10th century : for Patrick, Bishop of the Hebudes, desires (22) Orlygus to found a church where he should find three upright stones. These pillars were preserved by the first builders of churches : they (23) appear in England and Scotland. At the west end of the abbey of Downpatrick is a very high one, and another was in the abbey church of St. Thomas, Dublin.

U

A curious

(17) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 411.

(18) Archæologia, V. 1. p. 312. Shaw apud Pennant's tour in Scotland.

(19) O'Brien in voce. (20) Harris's Ware, p. 124.

(21) Cordiner's Views and Scenery, p. 34.

(22) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto. Scand. p. 15.

(23) Archæologia, V. 5. for Rudston pillar, and for that of Ruthwell, Pennant's tour in Scotland. Bartholine gives a curious instance. Sup. p. 627.

A curious instance of the union of the Scythic and Druidic rituals occurs in (24) Holstein; confirming and explaining what has been advanced. "At a place, called the Bride's-field, is a hill surrounded by a grove of oaks, and on it a cave or room made up of five uprights, and some smaller stones, and on them is laid an impost of great length and thickness; the lower part of which is smoother than the top, which in its middle has an excavation to serve as a chancel. The length of the room is seven feet, and its height three and an half. This is evidently our Cromlech. It is plain, says the writer, that this was formerly a place of worship and sacrifice, for Wormius teaches us, such were the Altars of the Cimbri and northern people. How untruly then does Cæsar (25) say, that the Germans had neither Druids or sacrifices, when great numbers of places, similar to this now mentioned, occur every where at this day. So that Glareanus, in his notes, had good reason to correct and charge him with negligence."

But, continues our author, you will inquire perhaps, what sort of gentile superstition was practised in this grove? If any inference can be drawn from the name, Bride's-field, it is not unlikely but that the newly married resorted there with their offerings, vows and supplications for future happiness: for as Servius on Virgil observes: no marriage, or ploughing of ground was undertaken until the sacrifices were first offered. So great was the veneration for these groves, that no one visited them without leaving a present.—Thus far this author, and in other parts of the last cited work, Leibnitz, Sperling, and other German antiquaries clearly perceive the difference between Celtic and Scythic practices, as well as the mixture of both in many existing monuments.

In the early ages of Christianity, churches were not common, the Bishop and Clergy resided together in Cathedra, which was the episcopal see, and where afterwards a cathedral church was constructed. This was founded on the ruins of some celebrated pagan temple, as that (26) of Kil-dare in a Druidic grove, that of Derry is the same, those of Roscarbury and Lismore near Druidic caves and Cloghar in a Druidic stone-circle. The case was the same with every ancient see in Ireland, but
time

(24) Nov. liter. maris Baltici. Sep. 1699, p. 287, 288.

(25) Quam falsò igitur de Germanis eorumque vicinis borealibus J. Cæsar dixerit, neque Druides habent, neque sacrificiis student. Nov. lit. sup. See also Nov. liter. Jul. 1700, p. 194. There was found in a barrow a knife, with a Runic inscription, shewing it was used in sacrificing to Thor. Other instances of Scythic monuments in Druidic groves may be seen in this work.

(26) Hammer, from the legend, says: "Bridget builded a Cell for her abode under a goodly faire oke, which afterwards grew to be a monasterie of virgins, called Cyildara, in Latin, cella quercus." Sup. p. 45.



FIGURES on a *STONE CROSS* at KILCULLEN.

Published by John Jones, No 90 Bride St. Dublin.

time has deprived us of documents to authenticate it. The converts having no (27) fixed chapels or pastors, the latter were sent to instruct them occasionally, and the place of meeting was always where such assemblies were usually held in times of paganism, at upright pyramidal stones or in stone-circles. These upright stones were, by an easy operation of carving a (28) cross on them, changed from an heathen to a christian symbol; and they served for churches among the Saxons in 740, as a (29) British missionary informs us, and among the Irish, as is evident from what has been related.

We have in this island an infinite variety of crosses, one of great rudeness, and another elegantly designed and executed I shall now lay before the reader. The first here given is the shaft of a cross at old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare. The style is grotesque and very uncommon in this kingdom, and in a great measure was confined to the Danish ages. The nine figures in three compartments, similarly dressed, are ecclesiastics. They have bonnets, tunics and trowsers, and the fashion of their beards is singular. In another compartment a clergyman holds the crozier and part of the episcopal garments of a prelate who lies dead. The figures in the other compartments are grotesque. On comparing them with those at Adderbury church, at Grymbald's crypt, and particularly with the carved stones in Rosshire, at Neig, and with others given by the ingenious Mr. Cordiner in his remarkable ruins in Scotland, all of them the work of the Danish ages, a perfect resemblance of style will be found between them. I therefore conjecture they are coeval or nearly so with the round Tower at Kilcullen, and that these figures were carved about the 10th century.

The other ornamented cross is at (30) Clonmacnois. The stone is fifteen feet high, and stands near the western door of Teampull Mac Diarmuid. Over the Northern door of this church are three figures: the middle St. Patrick in pontificalibus, the other two St. Francis and St. Dominic in the habits of their Orders. Below these are portraits of the same three Saints and Odo, and on the fillet is this inscription: "Dous Odo Decanus Cluanm. fierit fecit." Master Odo, Dean of Clonmacnois caused this to be made. This inscription refers to Dean Odo's re-edifying the church, and must have been about the year 1280, when the Dominicans and

(27) Stillingfleet's ecc. cases, pass.

(28) Campbell's polit. Survey, sup. p. 591. Pennant's Tour in Scotland.

(29) Sanctæ crucis signum ad commodam divinæ orationis sedulitatem solent habere. Peregr. Willabai, apud Canis. Antiq. Lect. T. 4. p. 286. Ridley's view of the Civ. and Ecc. Law. p. 277.

(30) Ware's Bishops, in Clonmacnois. An erroneous account of these remains is given in the last edition of Camden, in King's County.

and (31) Franciscans were settled here and held in the highest esteem, as new Orders of extraordinary holiness. The figures on this Cross are commemorative of St. Kieran and this laudable act of the Dean. Its eastern side, like the others, is divided into compartments. Its center, or head and arms, exhibit St. Kieran at full length, being the Patron of Clonmacnois. In one hand he holds an hammer, and in the other a mallet, expressing his descent, his father being a Carpenter. Near him are three men and a dog dancing, and in the arms are eight men more, and above the Saint is the portrait of Dean Odo. The men are the artificers employed by Odo, who show their joy for the honour done to their patron. On the shaft are two men, one stripping the other of his old garments, alluding to the new repairs. Under these are two soldiers, with their swords ready to defend the church and religion. Next are Adam and Eve and the tree of life, and beneath an imperfect Irish inscription. On the pedestal are equestrian and chariot sports. On the North side is a pauper carrying a child, indicating the Christian virtue, Charity. Below these a shepherd plays on his pipe, and under him is an ecclesiastic sitting in a chair, holding a teacher's ferula, on the top of which is an owl, the symbol of Wisdom, and its end rests on a beast, denoting Ignorance. The other sides are finely adorned with lozenge net-work, nebule mouldings, roses and flowers.

But the accommodating spirit of our missionaries is no where more apparent than at Kildare, where they established a female monkish order in the place of the heathen Druideesses, who preserved from the remotest ages the inextinguishable fire. This (32) element was adored by the Celtes and Scythians, and by the Irish, as is well known from their celebrated Festival of (33) Bel-tein. All fires (34) with us were to be extinguished until this was lighted. We are not told how this holy flame was excited in Ireland, but the manner differed in Scotland and Scandinavia. In the last, flints were used, and they are found about all the old Altars (35) there. In Scotland they rubbed (36) planks together till they blazed. This fire was kept from

(31) Burke. Hib. Dominic. c. 2.

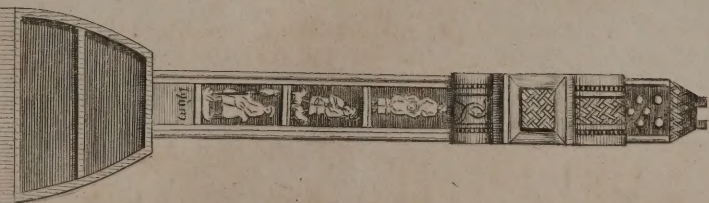
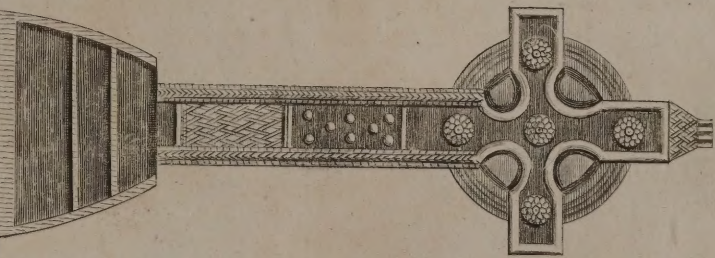
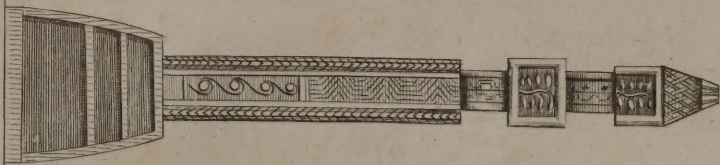
(32) Galli, Viridomaro rege, Romana arma Vulcano promiferant. Flor. l. 2. c. 4. Gentilis religio est, sine quis solem, lunam, ignem coluerit. Leg. Canut. apud Lindenbrog. p. 1473. Spelman. Conc. p. 449—500, et Capit. Karoli. passim.

(33) Macpherson's Introd. p. 172.

(34) Non accenderetur nec videretur ignis donec prius in Themoria rogos accenderetur: Usser. p. 849. Walsh's preface, p. 430.

(35) Rarum est si hic ignibus excutiendis aptos silices non invenias. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 7.

(36) Martin's Western Islands, p. 113.



STONE CROSS at CLONMACNOIS.

Published by John Jones, No. 10, Bridge St. Dublin.



NORTH DOOR of TEMPLE M^cDERMOT at CLONMACNOIS.

Published by John Jones N^o 90. Bride Street Dublin?

from scattering by (37) iron curbs and was perpetual. Altars, says the Edda, were made and covered with iron, in which was kept the extinguishable fire.

Cæsar and Tacitus are full on the predictive and sacred qualities of the German women; Velleda, a Druidess, was long looked up to by them as a deity. The Northerns (38) called them Alirunæ, and in (39) Irish Alarunaighe is the wise man acquainted with secrets. Keyfler, in the work last cited, has collected some curious particulars respecting these women: they wore a particular dress and we may readily suppose were the predecessors of the Nuns at Kildare. St. Brigit, we are told, planted the latter there, and entrusted to their care the holy fire. This, as the legend informs us, though constantly supplied with fuel yet (40) never increased in ashes. The fire was surrounded with a wattled orbicular fence, within which no male presumed to enter. To keep this fire free from human pollution, it was never to be (41) blown with the mouth, but with Vans or Bellows. The parallel is too exact to leave any doubt of the origin of this holy fire. The ruins of a building are at present shown at Kildare, and called the Fire-House, where, it is said, the sacred flame was preserved; but in this instance, I believe tradition erroneous, for from the foregoing account it would have been a profanation of the holy element to confine it within walls. It is now time to close these enquiries how curious and amusing soever: this specimen is sufficient to prove, that there are views of our Antiquities hitherto unnoticed, and which merit (42) investigation.

When Prosper (43) in his corrupt and interpolated Chronicle tells us under the year 430, that Palladius was the first Bishop sent by Pope Celestine to the believing Scots, he evidently allows there were christians in Ireland antecedent to that mission. If so, had they no bishops? They certainly had, for episcopacy is coeval with christianity, but these bishops did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Roman pontiff, as we shall soon see; the believing Irish were therefore those who were attached to

X

to

(37) Ferro superne investitæ, ne igni, qui ibi perennis esse debuit, laderetur. Worm. supra. Barthol. p. 273.

(38) Keyfler, Antiq. Septen. Selec. p. 371. Sched. p. 430. (39) O'Brien in voc.

(40) Cum tanta lignorum strues, tanto in tempore sit hic consumpta, nunquam tamen cinis excrevit. Gir. Cambrensis. p. 279.

(41) Non oris flatu, sed foliis tantum et ventilabris. Gir. Camb. supra.

(42) I wish I had room to enlarge, I can only hint that our oldest and most curious Antiquities may be thus explained. At Innis Murray is a stone pillar, formerly an eminent deity and greatly venerated, and close to it Druidic cells. The christian Monks surrounded the whole with a wall, and built chapels contiguous to them. See Camden in Sligo, last edition, and plate 43. Fig. 13—14.

(43) Hammond's Vind. of Episcopacy, p. 160. Basnage, ad Canis. Antiq. Lect. V. 1. p. 252. Usser. p. 799. Cave. Hist. Lit. p. 248. Voss. de Hist. Lat. p. 215.

to the papal see, for the diffident Irish had abundance of bishops among them. What was the success of Palladius in Ireland? It is briefly this, as recorded by Usher. He arrives in Ireland with four associates, bringing with him the books of the old and new testament, the reliques of the apostles Peter and Paul and others: he erects three wooden churches; is unsuccessful, withdraws to Scotland, and there dies. Why were his labours to so little effect and his stay so short? Nennius dryly observes, that no man can receive any thing upon earth, unless it be given him from heaven. Probus remarks the Irish were wild and barbarous, and would not receive the doctrine of Palladius. Joceline says, because they would not believe his preaching but most obstinately opposed him, he departed their country. These are silly evasions of the truth: Palladius was an intruder into a church which was complete and independent; it would not listen to his foreign commission, or obey an extra-national jurisdiction, and therefore it (44) rejected the Pope and his delegate, and this is the tenour of our ecclesiastical history to the 12th century.

It has before been seen what little necessity there was for the Pope to send missionaries to Ireland, where a regular hierarchy had been long settled. The necessity was just the same for sending Austin to England, where was a numerous and learned clergy, and so respectable as to occupy seats in all the continental councils in the 5th century. This clergy would, after the first fury of conquest had subsided, have easily converted the Anglo-Saxons, but not subjected them to papal supremacy. Hence the uniform language of Romish writers in every age is, to call that people barbarous and that nation pagan which did not implicitly yield to their lust of wealth and power. Thus Bishop Laurence, in Bede tells us, Pope Gregory sent him and Austin to preach the Gospel in Britain, as if it never before had there been heard, whereas the latter met seven British Bishops who nobly opposed him. In like manner Pope Adrian commissioned Henry II. to enlarge the bounds of the church, and plant the faith in Ireland, when it had already been evangelized for eight hundred years. The faith to be planted was (45) blind submission to Rome, and the annual payment of Peter's pence.

Until the emissaries of Rome began to tamper with our ecclesiastics, very little is recorded of our church-policy: the few hints scattered in authors of various ages, and

(44) An old writer assures us he was put to death by the pagan Scots of Albany. Usher, p. 814. It is likely he suffered in his zeal for Rome.

(45) Ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii B. Petro solvere pensionem. Usher, Syllog. p. 110. Very remarkable words to show the christianity of that age.

and here collected, evince a scheme very different from the Roman and nearly approaching that of the oriental. But no plan could be devised that would not in some measure be modified by the political constitution and municipal laws of each country, and this was particularly so in Ireland. This island in the 6th century was divided into four provinces, over each of which a Bishop, as Metropolitan but without any such title, presided. Thus Adamnan in his life of Columba mentions Columbanus as (46) Bishop of Leinster, and in the year 1096, Ferdomnach was Bishop of (47) the same. Not a word of Armagh, its Bishop or primacy appears in this large work of Adamnan, which is the more extraordinary, as he was a powerful instrument in perverting the Irish from their original faith to that of Rome. "He endeavoured, says Bede, to bring his own people who were in the Isle of Hy, or who were subject to that monastery, into the way of truth, which he had learned and embraced with all his heart, but could not prevail. Not succeeding with the Albanian clergy he sailed over into Ireland, and there preaching, modestly declared the legal time of Easter, reduced many of them and almost all who were exempt from the dominion of Hy to the catholic unity. Returning to Hy after celebrating the catholic Easter in Ireland, and most earnestly recommending it to his Monks, yet without being able to prevail, he departed this life." Would a man, so much in earnest as Bede here represents Adamnan to have been, omit to urge the conduct of St. Patrick and his successors at Armagh so opposite to that of the heretical Irish? Or would Bede himself have so slightly passed over this matter when reciting the merits of Adamnan, when both of them dwell on the obscure actions of obscure Irish Monks solely from their devotion to the Roman see? It is absolutely asserting meridional light to be nocturnal darkness to maintain the existence, mission or primacy of St. Patrick: nor is it less incredible and absurd to affirm Armagh was the head of the Irish Church. Where is the evidence? In monkish legends of late invention and fabrication, which no one believes. In the contest between Talbot and Mac Mahon before referred to, the latter in his very first page, tells us from these fabulous chronicles, that an angel ordered St. Patrick to betake himself to Armagh, and there build a cathedral church: that the same angelic monitor directed him to Rome, and there pointed out what reliques he should procure and carry back: that he selected a cloth stained with the blood of Christ, part of the Virgin's hair, the reliques of Peter, Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and others. In virtue of these reliques, Armagh became

(46) Vit. Sanct. Scotiæ, a Pinkerton. p. 167.

(47) Usser. Syllog. p. 93..

became the Metropolitan church. "The (48) prime see of Ireland is said to be at Armagh in honour of the blessed Patrick and other national Saints, whose sacred reliques rest there." Here an intelligent writer and good scholar knew nothing of Armagh but from report. The adoration (49) of reliques, gave rise to sacred structures for their reception, and in Ireland to our cryptical chapels: these were the works of the Ostmen in the 9th century, after their conversion to christianity. At this very time the name of St. Patrick first appeared, and at this time the Ostmen were in possession of Ireland and of Armagh in (50) particular, and now his reliques were placed there. These facts and dates most exactly agree, and therefore I conjecture, and I think on good grounds, that the christian Ostmen who seized the old (51) Culdean Abbey at Armagh, in imitation of others of that age, procured reliques and fixt on St. Patrick as their owner, then had a flaming legend composed, setting forth the wonderful life, actions, and miracles of the new Saint. To turn this tale to some profitable account the law of St. Patrick was added and first promulgated in Munster in the same (52) century; which law was the (53) Caane Phadruig, or pension claimed by the prelates of Armagh by metropolitical right as successors of St. Patrick. The religious tenets of the Ostmen were different from those of the Irish, so that we need not be surprised at the destruction of our churches and clergy by these semi-pagans. To confirm what is advanced, we have no authentic account of the primacy of Armagh before 1122, when the Clergy and Citizens of Dublin tell Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Bishop, who (54) resided at Armagh, harboured the greatest resentment and indignation against them for sending to him Gregory to be consecrated. A new proof this of the attachment of the Irish Ostmen to the religion of their Norman brethren. As for Lanfranc's letter to Domnald, Bishop of Ireland, in the Collection last cited, Usher confesses it is not in Lanfranc's genuine epistles, but in the spurious works of that infamous forger, Isidore Mercator, another broacher of novelties in the 9th century.

By the canons of the (55) Greek church in the 3d century, every province had a prime bishop invested with and exercising metropolitical power. With us they changed

(48) *Ardemachia esse dicitur prima sedes Hibernia, propter honorem B. Patricii atque aliorum indigenarum Sanctorum, quorum ibidem sacra reliquia requiescunt.* Guil. Neubrig. l. 3. c. 9.

(49) *Hospinian. de templis, p. 37.*

(50) *Waræi Disquis. p. 126.*

(51) *Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 19.*

(52) *Ware's Bishops, p. 44.*

(53) *Jus. Primat. Armac. p. 166.*

(54) *Maxime ille episcopus qui habitat Ardimaehæ. Usher. Syllog. p. 100.*

(55) *Can. Apost. c. 35. Johnson in loco.*

(56) changed and multiplied bishops at pleasure, and not contented with placing a bishop over a see, almost every church had its bishop. Anselm complains, (57) that our bishops were every where elected, and ordained without a title and by but one bishop instead of three. The number of bishops in the early Irish church was prodigious, considering the extent of the Isle. I shall first establish the fact, and next endeavour to account for it. No objection can be made to what St. Bernard and Anselm deliver on this head, but the truth of it does not depend on their testimony alone. Virgil and seven Irish bishops emigrated to (58) Germany together in the middle of the 8th century. In the 7th they swarmed in Britain, as may be seen in Bede: in that kingdom not three could be found to ordain Wilfrid, a Romanist, all the rest being of Irish consecration, communion and almost natives of our Isle. In 670, Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury decreed that they who were consecrated by Irish or British bishops, should be confirmed anew by a Catholic one. The 5th canon of the council of Cealc-hythe in 816, requires "that none of Irish extraction be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one's diocese, nor let it be allowed such an one to touch any thing which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptism, or in the celebration of the mass, or that they administer the eucharist to the people, because we are not certain how, or by whom they were ordained. We know how it is enjoined in the canons, that no bishop or presbyter invade the parish of another without the bishop's consent, so much the rather should we refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations, where there is no such order as that of metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other orders." By metropolitans is here meant an hierarchy on the plan of the Roman, with its incident titles, which we had not. Can there be a more decisive argument against the existence, mission and primacy of St. Patrick; or a stronger proof that his legend was not yet composed, than this canon? Would the Anglo-Saxon clergy, the devoted slaves of Rome, have thus abjured the spiritual children of that see, had our pretended Apostle been a Roman missionary? they never would. This canon shews they were acquainted with the constitution of our church, the number and zeal of our bishops and the danger that awaited them. The fears of the Saxons were communicated to the continental clergy. The 42d canon of Chalons in 813, forbids certain Irishmen who gave themselves out to be

Y

bishops,

(56) Mutabantur et multiplicantur episcopi pro libitu Metropolitani, ita ut unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos. S. Bernard, vit. Malach, p. 1937.

(57) Episcopus in terra vestra passim eligi, & sine certo episcopatus loco, & ab uno episcopo ordinari. Usser. Syllog. p. 96.

(58) Usser. Syllog. p. 51.

bishops, to ordain priests or deacons without the consent of the ordinary. The same year the council of Aix la Chapelle observes, that in some places there were Irish who called themselves (59) bishops, and ordained many improper persons, without the consent of their Lords or of the Magistrates. These alarms could only be excited by the number of Irish bishops in every part of Europe in these ages. Though we have abundant proofs of this fact in foreign literary memorials, I know of but one domestic document which confirms it and clearly explains to us the nature of our ancient episcopacy. This very curious and authentic record is preserved in Wilkins's councils, and is thus: "A. D. 1216. Constitutions made in the cathedral church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Newtown near Athunry by Simon Rochfort, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Meath. Cardinal Paparo, Legate of the sovereign Pontiff, Eugenius III. having directed in the third general council held at Kells in Meath, in the year 1152, among other salutary canons, that on the death of a Chorepiscopus or village-bishop, or of bishops who possessed small sees in Ireland, Archipresbyters or rural Deans should be appointed by the Diocesans to succeed them, who should superintend the clergy and laity, in their respective districts, and that each of their sees should be erected into a rural deanery. We, in obedience to such regulation, do constitute and appoint, that in the churches of Athunry, Kells, Slane, Skrine and Dunshaghlin, being heretofore bishop's sees in Meath, shall hereafter be the heads of rural deaneries, with Archipresbyters personally resident therein." Here we have a full and clear developement of the state of our ancient hierarchy, and a confirmation of what has been delivered. Ireland was full of chorepiscopi, village or rural bishops. In Meath were (60) Clonard, Duleek, Kells, Trim, Ardraccan, Dunshaghlin, Slane, Foure, Skrine, Mullingar, Loughfeedy, Athunry, Ardnurchor and Ballyloughort. In Dublin were Swords, Lusk, Finglas, Newcastle, Tawney, Salmon-leap, or Leixlip, Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Tallaght and O'Murthy, which included the rural deaneries of Castledermot and Athy. These were all rural deaneries, and of course rural Sees before the year 1152: however the transmutation of one into the other proceeded slowly, for by Bishop Rochfort's constitutions before, we find it was far from being completed in the 13th century. If the number of rural deaneries at their first erection and afterwards in consequence of Paparo's regulation could be discovered from records in the Vatican or elsewhere, it would give us the number of
our

(59) Uffer. Syllog. supra. Conc. Cabill. c. 43. Cyron and Gonfalez. apud Sarnelli.

(60) Ware's Bishops, p. 138.

our rural sees. The rural deaneries in the common diocesan registers are not correct, or I might easily have adduced them. Our Bishops, I suppose, might have amounted to above three hundred. Our ignorant (61) legendary writers to account for this number had recourse to the fable of St. Patrick's ordaining three hundred and fifty, or sixty five.

There is not a circumstance in our ecclesiastical polity more strongly indicative of an eastern origin than that now related. For (62) Salmasius has evinced the apostolic practice to be, to place bishops in every rural church, and in cities more than one. Hence the first obtained the name of (63) Chorepiscopus. St. Basil, in the 4th century had (64) fifty of these rural Bishops in his diocese, which was probably one for each church. By the ancient discipline the extension of Christianity depended on their multiplication, for to them alone the great offices of religion were (65) confined; they alone could execute them, and they alone preached in the African church to the 5th century. As the episcopal dignity was lessened in the public esteem by the number of village-Bishops, their ordination was restrained by the Antiochian, Ancyran and other canons; in the Laodicean council their name was (66) changed from Chorepiscopus to Periodeutes, or Visitor-itinerant, he was to be a priest and to have the inspection of a certain number of churches and clergymen: thus giving him some distinction to save appearances and prevent opposition. The Archipresbyter in the Roman church was nearly such an officer as the Periodeutes. About the time of the Norman (67) conquest the Archipresbyter was called a rural dean. At this period, an old writer informs us, the (68) See of Canterbury had a Chorepiscopus, who dwelt in the church of St. Martin without Canterbury. On the arrival of Lanfranc he was turned out, as we have heard the others were throughout England. As a municipal law, soon to be noticed, hindered the operation of the canons here; and as no foreign power had as yet interfered, like the Anglo-Saxons and Normans in England, either to compel us to submission or conformity to them, we continued to preserve that plan of episcopacy delivered to us and settled by our first preachers of the Gospel, and which at length was most reluctantly relinquished.

The

(61) Nennius, Colgan, sup. 432.

(62) Appar. de Primat. 54—55.

(63) Non *ἐκς χωρῶν* sed *των χωρῶν* episcopi, non regionum sed vicorum. Suicer. Thes. ecc. in voc. *χρηματισμοὶ*.

(64) Greg. Naz. car. 2. There were above 500 Sees in the six African provinces. Bingham. B. 9. c. 8. Appendix.

(65) Polid. vit. August. c. 8. Tertull. de baptis. c. 17. Conc. Arlet. c. 19. Leonis. Epist. 92.

(66) Can. Laod. 57.

(67) Stillingfleet's ecc. cases. V. 1. supra.

(68) Ger. Dorob. hist. pontif. ecc. Cant.

The oriental practice of hereditary succession was firmly established in the Irish church; St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, thus complains of it. "A most pernicious custom had gained strength by the diabolical ambition of some men in power, who possessed themselves of bishopricks by hereditary succession; nor did they suffer any to be put in election for them but such as were of their own tribe or family. And this kind of execrable succession made no small progress: for fifteen generations had passed over in this mischievous custom. And so far had this wicked and adulterous generation confirmed itself in this untoward privilege, that although it sometimes happened, that clergymen of their family failing, yet Bishops of it never failed. In fine, eight married men and not in orders, though men of learning, were predecessors of Celsus in Armagh." To which I add, that Columba, founder of the celebrated Culdean monastery of Hy, being of the (69) Tyrconnallian blood, the Abbots his successors were of the same race. The first twenty seven bishops of (70) Roscarbury were of the family of St. Fachnan, its first prelate. Hereditary succession became a fixed municipal law, and pervaded church and state. And hence the struggle in the see of Armagh, to which Malachy O Morgair was appointed in 1129, to the exclusion of the old family; which was proving nearly fatal to Malachy, and called forth the warm resentment of St. Bernard his friend. On the whole it may safely be affirmed, that (71) every mother-church, and there were none others in early ages, had a bishop: that inferior toparchs and small towns, as Dublin confined to a few acres within its walls, erected sees; add to these the number generated, if I may so say, by the exercise of metropolitcal power, altogether made so many of the episcopal order as would be, if not so well authenticated, utterly incredible. When once a see was formed, vanity and ambition perpetuated it, nor was any power, not even the papal able to divest the Sept of the patronage of or to dissolve it. Thus after the consolidation of Glendaloch with Dublin in 1152 and 1179, the Tooles, the original proprietaries, still retained the title and presentation to 1497. Our chorepiscopi or archipresbyters were married, as the other clerical orders were to the 12th century: about that time the Romanists called them (72) Corbes, an opprobrious name, as if they indulged in incest and lewdness, and to this St. Bernard refers, when he says they were a wicked and adulterous generation.

Lanfranc,

(69) Usser. Prim. p. 689. Ogyf. vind. p. 134. O'Brien's Dic. p. 360. (70) Archdall in loco.

(71) Bingham gives one and suggests other instances. B. IX. c. 8. §. and § 6, where he cites Kennet and Wharton.

(72) O'Brien, in Corba. See some ridiculous etymologies of the name in Harris's Ware, p. 232.

Lanfranc, in 1100, remonstrated with our Monarch Mortogh on some defects in our ecclesiastical discipline; one was that bishops were not canonically elected by the Metropolitan and his Bishops, but by the Sept, for that is his meaning, as it is explained by St. Bernard, who tells us, none were permitted to be put in election but one of the same family. This was a consequence of hereditary succession which admitted no foreign interference. Though I know of no documents to prove how far our provincial bishops carried their rights, I think it likely they were commensurate with those of our provincial Monarchs, of whose family they always were. If the life of Kentigern deserves credit, we have in it the ancient manner of electing and ordaining a bishop among us. This saint lived in great abstinence, until (73) the King, Clergy, and people of Galloway in Scotland elected him for their bishop. Sending for a single bishop out of Ireland, they caused him to be consecrated after the custom then usual among the Britons and Irish, which was to pour the sacred chrism on his head, with invocation of the holy spirit, benediction and imposition of hands. These acts were primitive, except the chrismation, which an (74) eminent Roman catholic writer asserts to have been no part of the office in the first ages. So that we have the greatest reason to be on our guard when reading these lives of saints, they having been (75) newly dressed up in the 12th century, by men devoted to Rome. Consecration by but one bishop was common in the first ages of christianity, but after forbidden by the 4th Nicene canon. The many instances already, and hereafter to be produced, must establish the veracity of the opinion insisted on in these pages, of our reception of the gospel from eastern missionaries or their disciples.

From what source arose the revenues of our clergy is not easy to discover. St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrensis declare the Irish did not pay tithes. If the fact was so, and there are grounds to believe it, then the clergy were supported by oblations, which for a long time they (76) received in lieu of tithes: these were so large that Agobard observes, "the devotion of persons in the first ages was so great, that there was no need to make laws or canons for the supplies of churches, they being amply provided for by the liberality of the people." Included in oblations were first-fruits, which were paid in the early ages of christianity: as to altarage, mortuary and obventions they seem to have been at length introduced into the Irish as into other churches. The whole ecclesiastical revenue to a late period was divided in

z

four

(73) Rex & Clerus regionis Cambrensis cum ceteris christianis, "licet perpauci essent." Pinkerton. Vit. 1. Scot. p. 222. Here though there were very few christians they yet would have a Bishop.

(74) Habert. observ. in pontif. græc. p. 386.

(75) Boland. ad 17 Martii.

(76) Tanquam decimas ex fructibus. Cyprian. Epist. 64. Chrysostom. hom. 36. in Matt. Possid. vit. August. c. 23.

(77) four parts; one went to the bishop, another to the clergy, a third to the poor, and a fourth supported the fabric of the church and other uses. This four-fold partition prevailed generally in Ireland, and exists at this day in the diocese of (78) Clonfert. Most of our ancient sees were deambulatory, having neither Cathedrals, Deans or Chapters: such is Meath at present, and such is Kilmore, except the addition of a Dean in 1458. Our parishes had their beginning with the suppression of our chorepiscopal Sees in 1152; as the annihilation of the latter was not effected in the 13th century, as appears by Bishop Rochfort's constitutions before, the parochial division of dioceses was late before it was finally settled.

Whoever will take the trouble to examine the account of our ancient Sees and Bishops in Harris's edition of Ware's Bishops, will see abundant reason to be dissatisfied with it. These writers observe, in speaking of Meath, "that there are but slender memoirs remaining of the successors of St. Finian in the See of Clonard until the arrival of the English in Ireland." Now Meath was always the most open, fertile and best inhabited part of Ireland, and of course the people most civilized; and Clonard was not only the oldest See, being founded in 520, but continued an episcopal church to 1152. Under these circumstances we might expect accurate ecclesiastical records of the possessions and privileges of this church; the names and succession of its Bishops, along with other interesting historical notices: but as nothing of this sort has survived the ruins of time, we may be certain a similar fate attended our other sees. Here then is a darkness which no industry, ingenuity or learning can ever enlighten. There was indeed the shadow but not the reality of a civil and ecclesiastical government in this isle, but no public records relative to the administration of either were kept, because no rude people ever had such. When men in the progress of society have written laws and submit to them, then and not before public documents became necessary and are preserved. Our Brehons, our Seanachies and a few Monkish annals, of little authority, were almost our only vouchers for the history and transactions of remote ages. Domestic dissensions and a petty warfare, not to mention foreign invasions, were perpetually extinguishing and creating our Sees. As their revenues were mean and their political consequence nothing, they shared the vicissitudes of civil affairs without particular observation. This concisely and truly was the exact situation of our ancient bishopricks, and the unavailing labours of Ware and Harris evince it to have

(77) Stillfleet, sup. p. 171.

(78) Ware's Bishops, p. 619.

have been so. Neither of them seems to have entered into the spirit, or to have even a tolerable idea of our original episcopacy : nor had Primate Usher, for if they had, I can conceive no reason why they should have concealed it from public view. It reflected not the smallest disgrace on the first preachers of christianity in Ireland to have promulgated such doctrines and established such discipline here as prevailed universally. To reduce the latter to its present standard was the work of many revolving centuries : I am neither ignorant of its defects, or an apologist for its imperfections ; but imperfect and erroneous as it was, it vastly surpassed that system which succeeded it, and those slaves of intolerance and superstition who directed it.



OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF MONACHISM IN IRELAND.

MONACHISM, a faithful transcript from an (1) Egyptian original, was early cultivated in this isle. When Athanasius retreated from the fury of the Arians, in 347, he carried with him to Rome the praises and institutions of the Egyptian Monks, and exhausted his zeal and eloquence in proclaiming the celestial felicity of the ascetic life. With its progress on the continent, I am but little concerned: it might be expected that countries evangelized by Greek missionaries, would eagerly embrace a discipline so earnestly recommended by a Greek Father. Accordingly in Gaul we find it made so rapid a progress, that in the year of Christ 400, two thousand monks from the vicinity of Tours attended the (2) funeral of Saint Martin. Egypt poured out her swarms to preach a new doctrine to the christian world: they particularly settled in the small isle of (3) Lerins, on the southern coast of Gaul, and from thence propagated their institutes over western Europe. There were monasteries among the Britons, wherein human learning was well understood. At Glastonbury the (4) Egyptian plan was followed. The Bangorian monks adopted the rule (5) of St. Basil, as did the (6) seminaries of Dubricius, Congel, and Columba. The Abbé Mac Geoghegan thinks our rules were Oriental. “Il y (7) a apparence que les moines d’Irlande s’étoient choisi des regles particulieres qu’ils avoient apportées du Levant des regles de S. Antoine, de S. Pachome ou de S. Basile, ou peut-être celles de ces fameux solitaires du mont Carmel ou de la Thebaïde, ce qui n’est pas sans quelque vraisemblance.” In the last century it had been asserted, that all our antient English monks were of the order of St. EQUITIUS. Sir Robert Cotton,

(1) This is proved by La Croze. *Hist. du Christian. des Indes*. p. 433. The ingenious Mr. Gibbon did not consult this writer, who would have opened up the origin of monkery better than Helyot or Thomassin. *Roman Hist.* c. 37.

(2) Qui eo die fere duo millia convenisse dicuntur. S. Sever. ep. ad Bas. p. 372.

(3) Hæc nunc habet sanctos fenes illos, qui e diversis cellulis Ægyptios patres nostris Galliis intulere, says Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, with some pride. This was in the 5th Cent.

(4) Usser. Prim. p. 110.

(5) Tanner’s Notitia. Preface.

(6) Spelman, p. 25. Pits. de vir. ill. Twissden’s rise of monastic states. p. 36.

(7) Hist. d’Irlande. T. 1. p. 275.

ton, Sir Henry Spelman, William Camden and John Selden were appealed to, who drew up a certificate, wherein they declared, that previous to the coming of Augustine in 597, the (8) Egyptian rule was only in use.

As we and the Britons received our faith from the East, so we did Monachism. The latter must have taken deep root in this isle in the 5th, for it flourished greatly in the 6th century in the persons and monasteries of Columba, Congel and Carthag. In Cumineus's and Adamnan's (9) lives of the first we in vain look for his monastic rule, the names and situations of his numerous foundations, the peculiarities which distinguished his from other Orders, and many other interesting particulars which would enable us to ascertain the state of monkery at this time. Instead of these we are presented in Adamnan's three books, with nothing but the common legendary and irreligious absurdities. In the first are Columba's prophecies, in the second his miracles, and in the third his angelical apparitions. If ever he writ a life of our Cœnobiarch, it has been worked up by some of the infamous forgers of such things in the (10) twelfth century, an era fruitful of such impostures. The present has many internal proofs of being supposititious. He never mentions the sentiments of Columba or his Culdees on the points disputed between them and Rome, as Bede does, nor his dying command to his disciples to continue Quartadecimans. It is an heap of credulity and superstition.

The oriental monks were divided into three classes, the Cœnobites, Anachorets and Sarabaites. The first constituted a community, attended study and spiritual exercises, laboured for their support and were ruled by a president named Abbat. Imitating the pattern of the Jewish discipline, by which all synagogues had (11) schools, and in which our Redeemer disputed at twelve years of age, so our Abbies or Monasteries were places of devotion and letters. Their heads, as among the Jews, were stiled Abbats. Thus in Samuel it is asked, Who is their Abba or Father? This the Targum of Jonathan interprets by, Who is their Doctor or Teacher? Hence most of our ancient Prelates are called (12) Abbats and Doctors. After a monk had proved his sincerity, obedience, and prudence, he was permitted to be an Anachoret, to abstract himself from his society to a separate cell and remote solitude. Furseus, says Bede, had a brother named Ultan, who after a long monastical proba-

2 A

tion

(8) *Qui Ægyptiorum mores secuti*. Reyner. *Apost. Benedic.* p. 202.

(9) *S. Scor.* a Pinkerton. Lond. 1788.

(10) Warton's *Hist. of English poetry*. V. 1. Sec. 2.

(11) Selden, de *Success. Hoornbeek. Misc. Sac.* p. 360.

(12) Ware's *Bishops*, pass.

tion arrived at an (13) anachoretic life. These hermits retreated to desert islands, wild and bleak mountains, and, as at Glendaloch, hollowed living rocks for cells. The fame of their austerities and miracles attracted numbers, villages were formed in improbable and unlikely places, and buildings and civility were promoted. The Sarabaites were, as to exterior, monks, but confined to no rules, nor attached to any community. They are noticed in our (14) Canons. If St. Patrick (15) lived at the time it is pretended, and if he founded monasteries as is asserted, would not the "monks of the order of St. Patrick" have been mentioned by some ancient writer, and would not his rule have been universal throughout the isle? The inferior orders of Columba, Congel and Carthag would never have swallowed up and annihilated every remembrance of that given by our great apostle had it ever existed.

Very little is recorded of Carthag. It is (16) said he was abbat of Ratheny in Westmeath, where he governed more than eight hundred monks, who led a life of great-severity and mortification. He died in 637. Congel was one of Columba's disciples, and had a monastery and flourishing school at (17) Bangor, on the south side of Carricfergus bay, in the county of Down. "This was a noble foundation," says St. Bernard, "containing many thousand monks. So fruitful was it in holy men, and multiplying so greatly to the Lord, that Luanus alone, a scholar of this house, founded not less than a hundred monasteries." Columbanus was an eleve of this school. His rule has been published by Holstein, and is divided into ten titles.

1. "Of Obedience." It is asked what are the bounds of obedience. The answer is, it extends even to (18) death. The true disciples of Christ are to refuse nothing, let it be ever so arduous or difficult. It is evident mental and corporeal bondage was coeval with monachism, and this is the language of Basil, Palladius, and Cassian.

2. "Of Silence." The (19) Egyptians, and from them the Pythagoreans enjoined five years silence to those who were admitted into their sacred mysteries.

This

(13) Bed. 1. 3. c. 19. Finanus, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis irreprehensibiliter ducebat. Adamnan. vit. Columb. p. 98.

(14) Can. S. Pat. c. 21. Synod. c. 3. Opusc. S. Patr. p. 36—41.

(15) Creffy speaks of St. Patrick's monastic institutes, but where are they recorded? If not in the works ascribed to him, which I shall prove are supposititious, they are no where to be found. These institutes are, like their author, creatures of imagination. For Creffy to affirm, p. 356, Columba's rule was a rivulet from St. Patrick's, is a shameful imposition and want of truth.

(16) Ware's Bishops, p. 548.

(17) Usser. p. 441—869—911. S. Bernard sup. p. 1934.

(18) Usque ad mortem definitur, usque ad mortem certe præcepta est.

(19) Admissus tandem in contubernium quinquennii silentium ως χαλιπστατον ιγχορευμα injungebant. Holstein, ad vit. Pythag. Casaub. Exerc. in Baron. 16. Bruker. T. 2. p. 1025.

This was their celebrated Echemythia, which the christian ascetics zealously imitated.

3. "Of Meat and Drink." He allows herbs, pulse, meal, bread baked under embers, in a word, food barely (20) sufficient for sustenance. The strict fasts of the Irish were on Wednesday and Friday, and in this they conformed rather to the Greek than the Roman custom, and on these days, Bede testifies, the Culdees did not eat till three in the afternoon. In severe abstinence they kept close to the (21) Egyptian original, and that to the time of the (22) Norman invasion.

4. "Of Poverty and subduing Concupiscence." The monks, bidding adieu to the world and all its concerns, gave themselves up (23) to an holy life, and the contemplation of divine things, and embraced a voluntary poverty. But as it was impossible to eradicate the human passions, and entirely to take away a languishing for the desirable things of this world, which is here termed (24) Concupiscence, they are directed to attend to inward emotions and subdue them. To be always intent, say the Egyptian priests, on the knowledge and inspiration of God is the certain way to place a man beyond immoderate cupidity, to restrain mental passions and to make him intuitive. Nakedness and a contempt of wealth, says our rule, are the excellencies of a monk. The second is the purgation of vices; and the last and most perfect is the continued love of God.

5. "Of conquering our Vanity."

6. "Of Chastity." The Egyptian priests would not bear the intercourse of their (25) nearest friends, during the time of their purification, nor did they ever associate with females. The rigid chastity of the Egyptian ascetics was introduced into Ireland: let Archbishop Comyn speak for us in 1186. "Since the (26) clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been always eminent for their chastity, and that it would be ignominious if they should be corrupted through our negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers." The strangers here were the debauched Normans, his countrymen.

7. "Of

(20) Vivitur pane, leguminibus & oleribus, quæ solo sale conduntur. Hieron. ad Rustich.

(21) Διαιτα δὲ λιτὴ ἀφιλοῦσιν ἀρτοῖς μὲν καὶ ὅλως χρεῖται, λιτὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύσαι, &c. Porphyr. de abst. l. 4. p. 150—152. of the Egyptian Priests.

(22) Ware's Bishops, p. 439.

(23) This Porphyry elegantly expresses. Ἀποσταμνέει δὲ πᾶσαν ἀλλήν ἐργασίαν καὶ πόνον ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεδουλεύει τὴν βίαν τῶν θείων θεωριῶν. Sup. p. 149.

(24) Porphyry here uses ἡλιονξία as the Stoics did Προπαθεία & Πάθος. His Συνεσις is a word of peculiar force.

(25) Porphyr. sup. p. 150—152.

(26) Gir. Cambrens. Expug. L. 2. c. 25. Ware's Bishops, p. 317.

7. "Of the course of the Psalms." In those times each Abbat gave particular offices of prayers, psalms and hymns to the religious of his monastery. These in the West were called *Cursus*, by the Greeks *Liturgiæ*. Columbanus prescribes, that his monks shall meet together three times in the night, and as often in the day: that in the office in the day, they shall say three psalms and other prayers: that the night-office is to be shortened or lengthened according to the season of the year: that from October to February they must say in the ordinary office of the night, thirty-six psalms and twelve anthems at three several times; and in the rest of the year twenty-four psalms only with eight anthems, but for Saturday and Sunday nights, the office is to be made up of seventy-five psalms and twenty-five anthems in winter, which number is to be augmented or lessened as the nights increase or decrease.

In (27) *Psalmody-isle*, in the diocese of Nîmes, was a monastery founded by Corbella, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 4th century, where was observed a "*Laus perennis*," a perpetual psalmody. The great promoters of monkery are quite rapturous and bombastic in their praises of singing. A psalm, says (28) St. Basil, banishes dæmons, procures angelic protection, is a shield amid nightly terrors, a security to infants, the ornament of youth, the comfort of old age; and much more to the same purpose. Thus powerfully recommended, it was warmly cultivated by our ascetics.

8. "Of Discretion."

9. "Of Mortification."

10. "Of the Diversity of Faults." This is a code of monastic crimes and punishments; and called a Penitential. This specimen of our ancient monkish discipline will be sufficient to gratify the reader's curiosity. Of Columbanus I must observe, that when Theoderic or Theodobert II. king of the Franks, Bertefrid Bishop of Amiens, Hildulph Bishop of Triers, and Leodobod Abbot of St. Anian, erected their different abbies, they inserted in their charters that their monks should follow the rules of Columbanus and Benedict; not that (29) they were the same, but as from both an excellent body of monastic discipline might be framed.

There were in Ireland other celebrated Cœnobiarchs, from whose schools issued incredible numbers of monks and hermits: these dispersed themselves over the country,

(27) Burney's History of Music. V. 1. p. 9.

(28) Hom. 1. in psalm. p. 125.

(29) Non quod una eademque esset utriusque regula, sed quod Columbani sectatores, majoris profectus ergo; duas illas celeberrimas asceticæ vitæ normas conjunxissent. Usser. p. 1052.

country, nor was there an (30) isle on our surrounding coasts where an ascetic might not be found. This phrenzy in favour of monkery equally affected the Laity, who thought they could perform no acts more meritorious than bestowing on those religious large possessions. Bede, in his epistle to Ecgbriht, laments the profuseness of kings and others in these endowments, and wisely foresaw the ill consequences of it. He knew, that when the fervour of piety, which prompted to this generosity, subsided, less liberal motives would induce their descendants to repossess themselves of estates thus inconsiderately alienated. This was in the 8th century. He spoke from experience; for it (31) appears by the 5th of Wihtred's laws in 692, by the 7th answer of Ecgbriht in 734, and by the 5th of Cuthbert's canons, that many opulent monasteries were in the hands of laymen, as being heirs to the donors, or by direct temporal right, as being founded out of their estates. About the year 730 Charles Martel converted ecclesiastical into lay fiefs, on which the new possessors took the style of (32) Abbacomites. The Ostmen did the same in (33) Ireland, a few years after. These Lay-abbots were common in (34) Ireland and Wales in the 12th century. Giraldus Cambrensis, who acquaints us with this fact, did not scrutinize their origin, and therefore mistakes it.

The monks, the faithful satellites of Rome, first betrayed our ancient religion, and finally subjected our church to a foreign Bishop. The success of the Roman missionaries in the 7th century, in establishing papal doctrines among the Anglo-Saxons, and the repeated victories of the latter over the Britons, seemed to countenance an opinion zealously propagated, that the religion they had embraced was the favourite one of heaven. Similar notions found their way into Ireland. The addresses of Bishop Laurence of Canterbury, of Pope Honorius and others, with a fondness for innovation always consequent on refinement in learning, with perhaps many unknown causes, operated strongly on our ancient monks and made them too easily relinquish their old doctrines. Adamnan, Abbot of Hy, as Bede tells us, by his preaching brought over most of the southern monks to Rome, except those under the dominion of Hy. If the latter were, as Cumman confesses, the (35) heads and eyes of the nation, the most enlightened ecclesiastics in the kingdom;

2 B

Adamnan's

(30) See Martin's Western Islands, pass.

(31) Wilkins. sub Ann.

(32) Du Cange, in voce.

(33) Jus Prim. Armac. p. 166—147.

(34) Notandum autem, quod hæc ecclesia, sicut & aliæ per Hiberniam & Walliam plures, Abbatem laicum habet. Itiner. Camb. p. 863.

(35) Vos enim estis capita & oculi populi, sup. p. 48.

Adamnan's conquest over the ignorant and bigotted was not much to be boasted of or envied.

Among other superstitions we see that of reliques was introduced, but corruption was powerfully retarded by the firmness of the Hierarchy and the Culdees. The latter were looked up to as the depositories of the original national faith, and were most highly respected by the people for their sanctity and learning. Add to this the impenetrable barrier in the alliance between the church and state to Roman machinations. The Irish princes and their great lords would not surrender willingly to any earthly power the patronage of fees or benefices endowed out of their estates; nor would any Clan submit to the innovation. But the Ostman power and in consequence the debilitated state of the Irish monarchy opened new and flattering prospects to the sovereign Pontiff and his watchful emissaries. As they were not able by reasoning to reclaim the dissident Irish, they quickly resorted to stronger arguments. Augustine showed how far his papal injunctions extended, when he excited Ethelbert, King of Kent, to (36) slaughter the British bishops, who stood up for their ancient liberties. In 684, the same party urged Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to send his General Beohrt into Ireland, "who miserably wasted that harmless nation," says (37) Bede, "which had always been most friendly to the English; infomuch that their hostile rage spared not even the churches or monasteries. To the utmost of their power they repelled force with force, and implored the assistance of the divine mercy, and prayed continually to be revenged. Nor did they pray in vain, for Egfrid fell the next year by the hands of the Picts." Bede, as a man of virtue and humanity, does not attempt to apologize for, or palliate this bloody outrage, and as a man of letters he abhorred it, well remembering the hospitable asylum Ireland afforded to the great numbers of English who flocked thither for instruction. At the same time, Aldhelm (38) prevailed on Ina to make war on Gerontius, King of Cornwall, because his British subjects would not embrace the Romish doctrines. When the Ostmen received the faith in the 9th century, it was not that professed by the Irish but by the Anglo-Saxons. If they did not arrive here christians, which I think probable, they listened to our apostate monks alone; for all others they massacred or put to flight and erased the foundations of their religious structures.

This

(36) Ex Beda & Hen. Hunt. colligere est, Augustinum monachum excitasse Ethelbertum adversus Britonum Episcopos, quod illi pro vetere libertate Britannica renuerent se suasque ecclesias Romano legato subdere. Usser. de lib. ecc. Brit. sup. p. 118.

(37) Vastavit misere gentem innoxiam & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam. Lib. 4. c. 26.

(38) Cressy, sup. p. 523.

This cruel conduct of these bigotted semi-pagans has never been observed, though the fact is indisputable; for these same Ostmén would not suffer their Bishops to be ordained by the (39) Irish, but sent them to Canterbury. It was these Ostmén who first introduced a foreign order, the (40) Benedictine, into this isle: they first erected stone-roofed crypts and round towers for superstitious uses, and forced on a reluctant people all the corruptions of Rome. Their submission to Canterbury first suggested to the English princes the acquisition of Ireland through the donation of the Pope, an event, which however human wisdom might then and for ages after deplore, the inscrutable providence of God designed for the final happiness of the Isle. Crowded as she is at this day with inhabitants, enjoying all the comforts and security of just laws and mild government, and advancing rapidly in wealth and civil improvement, she has great reason to adore the Author of such blessings, and by steady virtue and loyalty endeavour to preserve them.

Another proof of the furious rage of the Ostmén against our ancient national religion, is the thick cloud of ignorance which immediately followed. We have before seen that the most enlightened clergy were those who adhered to their original faith: when such bright stars as Claudius, Sedulius and Johannes Scotus Erigena disappeared, it is no wonder darkness succeeded. There were none to oppose the worship of images, or transubstantiation, or to give the genuine meaning of holy writ, to teach the learned languages or to cultivate philosophy. Our renegade monks found out other and more profitable employment in proclaiming the virtues of reliques, of litanies and processions, in prayers for the dead, and in composing the lives of Saints, in deifying miserable mortals, and dedicating sacred edifices to them. The Culdees never placed their (41) churches under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any Saint, but of the holy Trinity. Spelman mentions (42) his having a Psalter, written about 754, with a prayer annexed to the end of many of the psalms: that there were 171 such prayers, yet not one of them addressed to the Virgin Mary, the Apostles or other inferior Saints. This evinces how late it was before Saint-worship was received in England. St. Austin uses very strong expressions against such (43) dedications, thereby declaring the sentiments of the christian church in his age. For the present I must omit many particulars respecting the mo-

nastic

(39) Jus Prim. Armac. p. 105.

(40) Archdall, p. 132.

(41) Dalrymple's Collec. for Scotland. p. 248. Constantine dedicated his churches to God, Sozom. l. 2. c. 3. The legends report the same of St. Patrick. Hanmer, p. 43.

(42) Conc. V. l. p. 219.

(43) Nonne, si templum alicui sancto Angelo excellentissimo de lignis & lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi & ab ecclesia Dei; quoniam creaturis eam exhiberemus servitutem, quæ unitatem debetur Deo. Con. Max. August. De Civ. dei. l. 22. c. 10.

naftic ftate of Ireland, to lay before the reader a curious old Catalogue of Irifh Saints preferved by (44) Primate Ufher. It is an ipitome of our ancient hiftory, and extremely valuable. It is to be lamented that he did not take more pains in illuftrating it.

“The firft order of catholic Saints,” fays that writer, “began in the time of St. Patrick; all of them illuftrious and holy, and filled with the holy fpirit, the founders of many churches, and in number 350. They had one head, who was Chrift, one leader who was St. Patrick, and one tonfure from ear to ear. They had one Mafs, one celebration and one Eafter, the 14th of the month after the vernal equinox. Whoever was anathematized by one church was fo by all. They did not reject the attendance and company of women, becaufe being founded on Chrift their rock, they did not fear the wind of temptation, all thefe were Roman, French, Britifh and Irifh Bifhops. They continued for four reigns, from the year 433 to 534: this order was the holieft.”

1. They had one head, who was Chrift, and one leader who was Patrick. Thefe words prove the writer of this catalogue lived about the 12th century, when the legend of St. Patrick was implicitly acquiefced in, and when critical examinations of hagiography were fo far from being common, that the lives of Saints were the favourite compositions of the age. The writer was one of the old religion, this I infer with certainty by his placing Chrift as the head, and St. Patrick as the leader of the Irifh church; whereas had he been devoted to Rome, the Pope would have been preferred to either.

2. All the Saints of this clafs were bifhops; their number 350. This, though it alludes to the bifhops confecrated by St. Patrick, confirms what was before advanced of the primitive ftate of our hierarchy. There can be no doubt but thefe firft bifhops were French, Britifh and Irifh; but I know of no Roman.

3. They had one tonfure from ear to ear. This rite, like the other monkifh ones, was derived from Egypt, the fruitful land of fuperftition and idolatry. St. Jerome, who flourifhed in 380, feverely cenfures thofe whose heads were fhaven like the minifters of Ifis and Serapis. Herodotus (45) tells us, the Egyptian priefts every third day fhaved themfelves as part of their religion. From them the (46) Jews adopted the cuftom. The form and efficacy of tonfure as a f acred rite was received

(44) Primord. p. 913.

(45) Lib. c. 30. The circular tonfure was ufed by the Arabians in honour of their prime deity. Herod. l. 3. c. 8. And therefore forbidden in Levit. 19. 27. See a remarkable place in Baruch, 6. 30. Cuper. Harpocrat. p. 275.

(46) Numb. 8. 7. Lev. 10. 6. 21. 10.

ceived but a few years (47) prior to the age of Gregory of Tours, who lived A. D. 570. Gregory Nazienzen about 363 writes thus. "All I have seen brings to my remembrance your watchings, your fastings, your prayers, your (48) hair cut short and neglected." Directions for trimming the long hair of ecclesiastics are to be found in the early Fathers, but this was merely in regard of decency, though after, under the sanction of the Nazarites, this regulation came to be considered as an indispensable characteristic of the priesthood. St. Jerome never dreamed of its divinity, and his words are (49) very remarkable. Even (50) Bede, though an advocate for papal ceremonies and rites, acknowledges all were not shorn alike; that form adds he, was preferred, which it is reported St. Peter used, resembling a crown of thorns. The (51) British and Irish tonsure, (for these nations were weak enough to adopt this silly custom) was by their enemies styled Simon Magus's tonsure; it, as may be collected from Ceolfrid's letter in Bede, took in the front half orb of the head, going from ear to ear. This was the eastern mode as is evident by (52) Theodore's waiting four months to let his hair grow for making the Roman circular tonsure: coming from Cilicia in Asia it was the oriental tonsure he had.

4. They had one Mass, one Celebration and one Easter. By Mass is meant the liturgy, before spoken of, delivered by the disciples of the Apostles to the Gallic converts, and by them to the Britons and Irish. Our orthodox author saw and lamented the corruptions of popery in her numberless masses for Saints, the dead, and such like. The scriptural simplicity of our first Cursus or Liturgy, and the blessed Trinity the great objects adored therein, formed a contrast with the Romish Masses very painful to a religious mind.

Celebration or rather (53) celebrity, may either refer to the festivals, in which sense celebration is used by Cicero, or to the manner of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which I rather think. For in this there was great diversity among Christians: some (54) received the Eucharist twice a day, at sun-rise and in the evening. At sun-rise they took (55) water instead of wine. Some fasted, others did not. In many churches the communicants took the bread from the priest

(47) Richardson, sup. 288.

(48) Hom. 12.

(49) Oper. T. 3. p. 1029. Edit. Bened.

(50) Lib. 5. c. 21. Marham, propt. ad Monast. Anglic.

(51) Hi (Scoti) Asiaticarum ecclesiarum exempla atque auctoritatem obtendebant. Langhorn p. 213.

(52) Bed. l. 4. c. 1.

(53) Ibid. Orig. l. 6. c. 18.

(54) S. August. Epist. 118. c. 4.

(55) Cyprian. Epist. 63. In England the sacrament was given sometimes in ale, and at others in water. Wilkins Concil. c. 6. A. D. 1076.

In their hands, in others it was put into their mouths. Formerly, says (56) Rupertus Tuitensis, writing in 1135, Mass was not celebrated with so much external pomp and ceremony: nor was it holier than before, when the words of Christ and the Lord's prayer were only used. So late as 1076, ale and water were given in (57) England instead of wine. Usher has (58) shown that the Irish manner of administering the Eucharist was scriptural.

5. Whoever was anathemized by one church was so by all. This was the custom of the purest ages. Let the excommunicated, says Tertullian, be banished from the communion of prayers, from assemblies and all holy converse. And in the excerpts of Ecgbriht, in 740, is a canon of St. Basil, which makes it unlawful to pray, eat or speak with the excommunicated; a practice followed by our church.

6. They did not reject the attendance and company of women. In other words they were married and not subject to temptation. Ware will not (59) allow the authority of this catalogue, because an old canon of an uncertain age and Joceline intimate that St. Patrick separated the sexes. Joceline's idea of religion on the 12th, was very different from what it really was in the 5th century.

The second class was that of the catholic presbyters: in this were few bishops, but the presbyters 300. They had one head who was our Lord; they celebrated divers Masses and had various rules; they rejected the society of women, separating them from their monasteries. They received the mass (60) from Gilla, David and Docus, Britons; they kept Easter on the 14th of the month, and had one tonsure from ear to ear, this class continued four reigns, from 543 to 598, and was less holy.

1. In this interval the eastern tonsure and Easter were still preserved.

2. In this class were few bishops, but 300 presbyters. Here this writer clearly marks the progress of monachism in the isle under Columba and the other celebrated Cœnobiarchs. There were but few bishops, that is, the secular were yielding to the regular clergy in sanctity, riches and reputation; the title of bishop was less honourable than that of abbat, to whom the bishop was sometimes subordinate.

They

(56) Lib. 2. c. 21.

(57) Wilkins, Conc. c. 5. de Winchester.

(58) Religion of the ancient Irish. c. 5.

(59) Opusc. S. Patric. p. 124. See Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 17. c. 23, and elsewhere for married Saints.

(60) Gilla was Gildas. Usher. p. 472-473. David as well as the foregoing was an eminent British Scholar in the 6th century. Usher. p. 953.

They celebrated divers masses and had various rules. Christ and not the Pope was still their head, but they had new leaders, these were the founders of monasteries, who gave new rules to their monks and new offices for their performance. Innovations were admitted; the ancient liturgy was interpolated and new ones introduced. To these Mac Geoghegan alludes, when speaking of the liturgy of St. Patrick, which never existed. Cette (61) liturgie souffrit quelque changement dans cette église par la suite. Il y avoit dans cette église plusieurs autres rits, "comme celui des Grecs ou des Orientaux," & celui des Romains & tous ces différentes liturgies y ont été long-tems en usage puisque sur la fin du onzieme siecle."

4. They rejected the company of women, separating them from their monasteries. That manly religion, founded on scripture and reason, wanted not meretricious decorations to catch the vulgar, nor did it, under the show of superior sanctity fly from those temptations it was unable to resist. When matrimony was interdicted the clergy, to secure their reputation, it was necessary to have distinct dwellings for the sexes. Our author did not entertain great ideas of celibacy, otherwise this and the following class would have been exalted to the skies. No, he thought them very inferior in holiness to the first. Among us no female was to enter into the isle of (62) Iniscatty, nor into the larger one at Monaincha, nor into the monasteries of Clonfert, Lismore or that of St. Cuthbert, nor into St. Fechin's mill. This ridiculous affectation of purity extended even to the grave: at Clonenagh near Monrath are cemeteries for men and women, distinct from each other: such were the orders of St. Fintan. It had been a breach of chastity for monks and nuns to lie interred within the same inclosure. So firmly did they believe the axiom;

Locus semper pudor absit in arctis.

All this is copied from Egyptian originals and adopted by paganism. (63)

Sacra bonæ mæribus non adeunda Deæ.

It is very extraordinary our rigid ascetics did not carry their practice as far as their exemplars, for the latter had the masculine pictures in their temples covered with vails, as Juvenal records.

Ubi velari pictura jubetur,

Quæcunque alterius sexûs imitata figuram.

In

(61) Hist. d'Irlande. sup. p. 224.

(62) Usser. p. 943—944, gives many instances, and so does Colgan. Act. Sanct. pass. Gir. Cambriens p. 729. See Martini's Western Islands. p. 49.

(63) Tibull. l. 1. eleg. 6. Propert. l. 4. eleg. 16. Græc. &c. c.

In the third class were holy presbyters and few bishops, in number one hundred : they inhabited deserts, fed on herbs, water and alms : possessed nothing of their own : had different rules, masses and tonsures, some with their crowns shaven, others with long hair. They celebrated the paschal feast, some on the 14th, others on the 16th of the month with great severity. This class continued for four reigns, from 598 to 658, and was holy. In this order we may trace the austerities of the monkish life so zealously cultivated in this period, corruptions are noticed, but as yet no direct acknowledgement of Rome or her doctrines. The composer of this catalogue, with singular impartiality and judgment, affixes to each class an expressive epithet. The first was the holiest, it shone like the brightness of (64) the sun. Like the great luminary, the pure religion of our missionaries illuminated the darkness of heathenism, and convinced the ignorant and incredulous of its divinity by the lives of its preachers. The second class was less holy, it shone as the (65) moon. Corruptions began to appear in the church ; the brilliant sun of christianity was shorn by his beams, and possessed only the light of an inferior planet : when religion became clouded with superstition and human invention the third class appeared, this resembled the faint glimmerings of a (66) star. In the most degenerate times there were always a number of pious men and true believers to adorn the doctrine of Christ. If our author was a Culdee, as I suspect, he sacrificed much by placing Columba in the second class, but it had been a much greater sacrifice to have obscured the truth, and preferred the solitary to the social virtues. Here he acted agreeably to the characteristic uprightness of his order. If he was not a Culdee, it was scarcely possible to avoid betraying some fondness for Roman customs. In either case, we may observe, an admirable equilibrium of temper, well becoming a sensible, candid and learned man.

Thus we see, that the Irish who adhered to their ancient faith still preserved the doctrine and discipline delivered to them by the first preachers, and this abhorrence of Romish innovations made Archbishop (67) Spottiswood, Hammond, Richardson, Macpherson, and others agree in deducing from the East the christianity they professed. No one has been more explicit on this head than the learned bishop God-

wyn.

(64) *Primus, sicut Sol, ardescit.* Usser. p. 915.

(65) *Secundus, sicut Luna.* Usser. sup.

(66) *Tertius, sicut stella.* Usser. sup.

(67) Mackenzie's *Antiq. of the royal line*, p. 64. Richardson. *Prælect.* p. 245. Macpherson's *Crit. Diff.* p. 331.

wyn. "It is very certain, says (68) he, that at the time Austin came here, most of the churches, I might indeed say all, of Ireland, Scotland and Wales differed in most things from the Roman practice and discipline. Even six hundred years after, as may be seen in Cambrensis, some Irish rites will be found to be more conformable to the Greek than the Latin church." The learned Centuriators of Magdeburg tell us, Austin, the English Apostle, "obtruded on the British churches the Romish rites and customs hitherto unknown to the Britons, who were contented with the (70) Asiatic and Greek ceremonies. I have adduced the sentiments of these eminent writers to vindicate myself from the imputation of novelty in these pursuits. Novelty has her charms, but truth many more.

Est quoque cunctarum veritas gratissima rerum.

(68) Certo siquidem certius est plerasque ecclesias (cur non dicam omnes) Hiberniæ, Scotiæ, ac Walliæ, in plurimis rebus a praxi & disciplina Romanæ discrepasse. Bed. l. 3. c. 25. quo tempore Augustinus huc venit. Imo sexcentis post annis sicut in Giraldo videre est. Top. l. 3. c. 25. Hibernorum nonnulla instituta reperies, Græcorum quam Latinorum ecclesiis magis conformia. Godwin. de præsul. p. 14.

(69) Cent. 6. si. 448.



OF THE IRISH CULDEES, WITH THE ANTIQUITIES OF THEIR ABBEY OF MONAINCHA.

IT will very much illustrate and establish what has been advanced in the foregoing essay of the early monastic state in Ireland, to detail at some length the history of the Culdees. In this remote corner of the world and in the 6th century, this celebrated monastic order commenced. Distinguished for letters and an inviolable attachment to their religion; their (1) adversaries, devoted to the Roman See, have consigned their name and tenets to oblivion; while others of inferior merit are pompously brought forward, and extolled for virtues which they never possessed, and for actions which they never performed. Nor have those, who (2) collected memorials of the champions of evangelical truth, recorded their merits: but the writings of Bede, Lhoyd, Usher, and above all those (3) of Sir Robert Sibbald and (4) Sir James Dalrymple have placed their reputation and noble defence of their doctrines and liberties on the most solid basis. To restore them, and the lustre which their actions acquired to their native country, are the objects of the ensuing Essay.

Their name has given rise to various fanciful conjectures; Toland will (5) have it, Ceili-de, the separated or espoused to God. Bishop Nicolson (6) thinks it derived from Coul-du, a black hood, which without authority he supposes the principal part of their dress; whereas from a passage (7) in Bede, it is probable their garments were white. Shaw's (8) opinion is, that Ceil-de, or servant of God, was Latinized Keledeus and Colideus, and in English Culdees. The great difficulty in accounting for the name of Culdee, arises from not knowing the precise time when it was given: if it was late Nicolson is probably right; but not so, if early; for sanctity was attached to dress only by the late monastic orders.

Columba,

(1) So unfriendly were the Columbean institutes to the cause of popery, that the festival of St. Columba was not permitted to be kept in Ireland, till 1741. This is very remarkable. Burke. Hib. Domin. p. 22.

(2) Catal. test. verit. Argent. 1562. Mosheim and others have omitted to mention them.

(3) History of Fife and Kinrofs.

(4) Collections for an History of Scotland.

(5) Toland's Nazaren. p. 51.

(6) Irish Hist. Library, preface.

(7) Vit. S. Cuthberti, c. 16.

(8) History of Moray, p. 251. Buchan. l. 6. p. 181.

(9) Columba, their founder, was born of illustrious parents, A. D. 522. The fashion of the times and his own propensity led him to the cultivation of ascetic virtues, and their preparatory exercises. Monachism had taken root in this kingdom, and was already flourishing in its numerous professors and learned seminaries. The most remarkable of the latter was that of St. Finian, at Clonard, where, at the age of twenty-five, we find St. Columba engaged in study, and acquiring the rudiments of that knowledge and discipline, which were afterwards productive of such eminent advantages to christianity in Ireland, Scotland and England.

Having completed his monastic education, in 546 he founded the monastery of Durrough, and established such admirable rules for his Monks, that they soon became as conspicuous for erudition as sanctity of (10) manners, and were from thenceforward distinguished by the honourable appellation of Culdees. The Scots, rivals of the Irish in every branch of antiquities, have claimed these Monks as their own, and as springing up in their country so early as the beginning of the 4th century: nor do they want the aid of forged (11) charters, or the plausible tales of elegant (12) writers to support this fiction; which is full as probable, as that the idea of Culdeism had its origin in (13) Greece. Bishop Nicolson, no friend of the order, expressly says: "the Culdees were of the Irish rule, and carried into Scotland by St. Columba, and from thence dispersed into the northern parts of England." But to return to Columba.

Brilliant parts, and an unabating zeal in the service of religion, with a strain of powerful eloquence, exalted his reputation among his countrymen, to a degree scarcely inferior to that of the most celebrated Apostle. Such talents were too large to be confined within the narrow pale of a monkish cell, they were (14) called forth to the regulation of state affairs, and in these he held as decided a superiority. Amid this splendor of authority and of parts, it would have been miraculous, if human weakness did not sometimes betray him into error, from which his biographers do not attempt to exculpate him. He instigated a bloody war without just cause, of which being made sensible, he abjured his native land by a voluntary exile, and imposed on himself a mission to the unconverted Picts. Of this event Bede thus (15) speaks:

"In

(9) He is commonly called Columbanus, but see that error corrected in Usser. Prim. p. 687, 689, 1131.

(10) Moribus & vitâ parùm vulgaræ observationis. H. Boeth. p. 166. Broughton, for a particular purpose, changes parùm for patrum. True Memorial, p. 322.

(11) Fordun, Boeth, &c.

(12) Ossian. The battle of Lora.

(13) Crell's Church History, p. 162.

(14) Adamnan. Vit. Columb. passim.

(15) Lib. 3. c. 4.

“ In the year of our Lord’s Incarnation 565, there came out of Ireland into Britain, a Presbyter and Abbat; a Monk in life and habit, very famous, by name Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts. This Columba came into Britain, when King Bridius, son of Meilochon, reigned over the Picts. It was in the 9th year of his reign, that by his preaching and example, he converted this nation to the faith of Christ.” A few remarks will illustrate this extract. The proof is here direct and positive of the late reception of Christianity among the Picts. Ninian’s spiritual legation to the northern Picts is attended with (16) too many improbabilities not to seem at least doubtful. If this be so, Columba and his Disciples have clearly the merit of promulgating the Gospel with effect, notwithstanding the partial labours of earlier missionaries, and the date of the arrival of the Culdees in Scotland is immoveably fixed.

Bede is very accurate in his description of the profession and exterior of Columba: “ he was a Presbyter and Abbat, a Monk in life and habit.” The ancient Monks had no office in the Church, but retired from the common employments of the world to study and devotion. If, says St. (17) Jerome, (alluding to the practice of the eastern Monks) you will enter on the ministry of the church, and perform the functions of the priesthood, keep in towns: but if you would be a Monk, that is, a solitary, what do you do in towns, which are no habitations for Monks, but for those who love the world? According to Dionysius Areopagita, the most excellent state among the Laics is the Holy Monks, called Ascetics. Pope Gregory, in many parts of his epistles, expresses his disapprobation of having priests chosen for Abbats, for the clerical, adds he, is perfectly distinct from the Monastic Order. Nor (18) had monkish abbats the priesthood antecedent to the 12th century. Columba then was no anachorite or sarabaité, but a coenobite; not only connected with, but the head of a regular community. By being a Presbyter and Abbat, we are to understand such a junction, as was not only highly honourable, but very unusual.

Upon account of his preaching, example and success, was the Isle of Hy given him, whereon to construct a Monastery. This ile is one of the Hebudes or Hebrides, not large, but sufficient, says Bede, for the maintenance of five families, according to the computation of the English. It was called by the Scots, I, Hy, Hu, and Hui; these are obviously the (20) Gothic Ai, Ei, referring to its oval, or egg-

(16) Macpherfon’s Diff. p. 339.

(17) Ad Paulin.

(18) Concil. Pisav. A. D. 1100. And Lettere Ecclesiastiche di Pomp. Sarnelli. Ep. 3. Tanner’s notit. monast. pref.

(19) Lhuyd, Archæol. in insula.

(20) Grot. ad Procop. p. 584.

egg-like shape. By the (21) Picts it was called Onas, and from both, was made Ionas, or as it at present is named, Iona. This accidental compound, which in (22) Hebrew signifies a Dove, as Columba does in Latin, did not escape the notice of the learned in Hy. Adamnan, one of its abbats, early remarked it, and from what he says on (23) the occasion, there is reason to believe, that Greek and Oriental Literature was not unknown in that seminary. Mr. Pennant describes it, as three miles long and one broad, and details at some length its antiquities. It was in the genuine spirit of monkery that Columba selected an island for his retreat: at once a barrier against the intrusions of curiosity, and the impertinence of visitors, and he was closely imitated by his disciples. Bede proceeds:

“ Before Columba came into Britain, he formed a noble monastery in Ireland, called Dearmach, from which and Hy, many others by his disciples have been propagated in Britain and Ireland. Over all, this Island-abbey, where he lies interred, has supreme rule. It is always wont to have a Presbyter-abbat for its Rector; and even the Bishops themselves, after an unusual or inverted order, ought to be subject, according to the example of that first Doctor, who was no Bishop, but a Presbyter and Monk.”

Dearmach, mentioned by Bede, Camden and (24) Walfh, is supposed to be Armagh, but improperly; the word is Doir-magh, commonly written Durrogh, and which Bede and Adamnan rightly interpret—“ the oaken field.”

From Bede's saying, the Bishops were subject to the Abbats of Hy, and some absurd amplifications of Fordun, Major and Hector Boethius, affirming the Scottish Church was originally ruled by Monks, who were only Presbyters, Selden, Blondel, Smectymnus, and the London Ministers Jus Divinum, took occasion to ground arguments in favour of the antiquity of Presbyterianism and its precedence of episcopal church government. Rather the eminence of the writers than the validity of their proofs, made an impression on the public. In the warmth of controversy, the things that would have ended the dispute are passed over. One instance will suffice: Oswald (25) sends to the Culdees, “ ad majores natu Scotorum, petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes.” Upon this, “ accepit Aidanum pontificem.” Again,

2 E

“ veniente

(21) Baxter. Gloss. voce Sodorin.

(22) יוֹנָה

(23) Vir erat (Columba) vitæ venerabilis & beatæ memoriæ, monasteriorum pater & fundator, cum Jona propheta homonymon fortitus nomen. Nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum, unam tantum eandemque rem significat: hoc quod Hebraicè dicitur Jona, Græcitas vero Peristeran vocitat, & Latina lingua Columba nuncupatur. In exord. sec. præf.

(24) Prospect, p. 67. Usser. p. 690.

(25) Bed. l. 3. c. 3.

“veniente ad se episcopo.” In these notices in Bede, the very foundation of Selden’s and his brethren’s arguments is effectually sapped. Bishop (26) Lhoyd has completely prostrated the adversaries of his order, and demonstrated episcopacy to be coeval with Christianity in these isles. I shall take the liberty to add a few observations which did not occur to him.

There were but (27) two episcopal sees in Scotland in those early ages; one for the Picts at Abernathy, the other for the Scots at Iona or Hy. Their dioceses were (28) regionary, and like the Irish Bishops of those times, they exercised their functions at large. Thus, about the year 560, Columbanus is styled by Adamnan, “Episcopus Laginensis,” or Bishop of Leinster. Bede’s words imply, that Bishops were established in Scotland immediately on its conversion, otherwise how could they be subject to the Abbat’s power? The Irish multiplied Bishops like the Eastern church, for the extension of Christianity depended on them; consequently the Irish missionaries established episcopacy wherever they preached; and hence our annals (29) testify, that there were a Bishop and Abbat together at Hy at this time. Before (30) Columba had fixt the seat of his little spiritual kingdom at Iona, his character had risen to a great height. The controversies of Kings were settled by him: he could therefore easily procure what places or powers were most conducive to the convenience and aggrandisement of his institutions: a prince at once his debtor and admirer could refuse nothing he asked, or which royalty could bestow. The (31) canons of general and provincial councils, and these confirmed by an imperial law, placed absolutely the discipline, care and correction of Monks in the hands of the Bishop. Brideus inverted this Order, and bestowed those rights on Columba, together with the (32) alloidiality of Hy, and incidental prerogatives, thereby subjecting the Bishop to his temporal power, without however affecting the inherent rights of episcopacy, as is evident from the respect Columba himself paid to a (33) Bishop at the consecration of the eucharistic elements.

In

(26) On Church Government, chap. 7.

(27) Non levibus momentis & auctoritatibus probari posset, habuisse olim tam Pictos quam Scotos ante regnorum conjunctionem unum saltem pro unoquoque regno episcopum proprium, atque sedem episcopalem Pictorum fuisse apud Abernethy in Stratherne; sedem vero episcopi Scotorum in Iona insulâ sitam. Wilkins, p. 28.

(28) Spelman, p. 342. Nicholson’s Scot. Hist. lib. p. 210.

(29) Apud Usser. p. 701.

(30) Macpherson, supra, p. 354.

(31) Chalced. can. 4—8. Aurel. i. can. 21. Agath. can. 38. Ilerd. can. 3. Cod. Justin. l. 1. tit. 3. de Episc. leg. 40. Nov. 5. c. 9.

(32) This appears in Buchan. l. 1. p. 29. Le Droit public de France, par Bouquet. T. 1. p. 209. Lhoyd sup. p. 100—180. Velly, T. 1. p. 108.

(33) Adamnan. supra.

In the observation of Easter, Columba was a Quartadeciman: he left it in (34) charge to his religious at Hy, to keep it from the 14th to the 20th of the moon, which they did to the year 716. This eminent missionary, worn out in the service of religion, died at Hy, A. D. 597, aged 75 years. To distinguish him from others of the same name, he was (35) called Colum-celle, from being the father of above an hundred monasteries. Bede, though closely attached to the See of Rome, yet with candour and truth confesses the merits of the Culdees. "Whatever he was himself," says he, "we know of him for certain, that he left successors renowned for much continence, the love of God, and regular observance. It is true (+) they followed uncertain rules in the observation of the great festival, as having none to bring them the synodical decrees for the keeping of Easter, by reason of their being seated so far from the rest of the world; therefore only practising such works of charity and piety, as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical and apostolical writings." Their warmest panegyrist could not pronounce a finer eulogium on the purity of their faith and integrity of their practice. It is true, they did not adopt the corruptions of the Anglo-Saxon church, or the superstitions which had contaminated Christianity. For centuries they preserved their countrymen from the baleful contagion, and at length fell a sacrifice in defence of their ancient faith.

The (36) Abbats, who succeeded Columba in Hy, were Baithen in 597; Fergnarus in 598; Segienus in 623; Suibney in 652; Cummineus in 657; Failbeus in 669; Adamnan in 679; Conain in 704; and Dunchad in 710. No sooner had the papal power got footing in England, than it made attempts on our Irish church, but the Culdees, the most celebrated for learning and sanctity, opposed it, and their vigorous opposition retarded its success. It was not a doubtful ray of science and superstition, as the elegant (37) Historian of the Roman Empire remarks, that those Monks diffused over the northern regions. Superstition on the contrary found them her most determined foes, and of their learning, let the reader judge from Cumman's (38) letter to Segienus, Abbat of Hy. Cumman was desirous to bring the Culdees over to the Roman manner of celebrating the paschal festival, and (39) addresses his treatise to Segienus, as head of the Columbean monasteries, and the other Regents of these seminaries. He tells them he does not presumptuously or inconsiderately

(34) Bed. l. 3. c. 8. (35) Bed. l. 5. c. 10. Notk. Balb. ad 5. Id. Jun.

(+) "Repair," says the vision to Egbert, "ad Columbæ monasteria, quia aratra eorum non recte incedunt." Bed. l. 5. c. 10. A very gentle reprehension.

(36) Usser. p. 701, 702.

(37) Gibbon, V. 6. p. 220.

(38) Usser. Syllog. Epist. p. 24.

(39) Dominis sanctis & in Christo venerandis, Segieno Abbati Columbæ sancti & cæterorum sanctorum successorum. Usser. supra.

considerately offer this apology to them: nor was it disrespect for their customs, or the pride of worldly wisdom that induced him to undertake the discussion of the paschal controversy. That after the introduction of the Cycle of 532 years, he was silent for a year, neither presuming to praise or blame it. During this interval he examined the scriptures and the history of Cycles. The types of the paschal ceremonies in Exodus he illustrates by the comments of Origen and St. Jerome, and adverting to the oriental custom, with much acuteness he endeavours to evince the impropriety of the Irish manner of keeping Easter. He insists largely on the unity of the Roman, Jerusalem, Antiochian and Alexandrian churches, on the decrees of the Nicene council, and on that of Orleans on this subject. He cites St. Jerome warning the faithful, of Jews, heretics and conventicles entertaining perverse opinions. "Do you consider," says he, "which are the conventicles here spoken of, whether those who agree in the observation of the holy solemnities, or the Britons and Irish, placed on the extremity of the earth, are as it were a tetter on the globe." "You," addressing himself as before, "are the heads and eyes of the people; if through your means they continue obstinate in error, the blood of each soul shall be required of you! Our elders simply and faithfully observed what, in their days, they knew to be best; but they left it in command to try all things, and hold fast that which was right."

He then proceeds to establish the doctrine of the church's unity on the authority of scripture, reason, and on that of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cyprian and Gregory. He then enters on an account of the various Cycles, as those of Patrick, Anatolius, Theophilus, Dionysius, Cyril, Morinus, Austin, Victor, Pachomius and the Nicene. Throughout his letter, he every where discovers great ingenuity and erudition, with much knowledge of the sacred writings. The works of Jerome, Origen, Cyril, Cyprian and Gregory are often quoted by him, as are the acts of the Nicene, and other councils. Nor was he inattentive to his style, for in the conclusion he intreats them to correct whatever may appear uncouth or vitious in his composition. In this tract, we can discover Cummián's acquaintance with the doctrine of time, and the chronological characters. He is no stranger to the solar, lunar and bissextile years, to the epactal days and embolismal months, nor to the names of the Hebrew, Macedonian and Egyptian months. To examine the various cyclical systems and to point out their construction and errors required no mean abilities: a large portion of Greek and Latin literature was also indispensibly necessary. Though a man of learning, Cummián apostatized, and listened to Roman emissaries. Like all new converts, he sees nothing but error and corruption in the religion he left. He upbraids

braids the Irish with dissenting from the Greek, Hebrew, Scythian and Egyptian churches, and the Roman, in the observation of the paschal festival: that it was heretical pravity to affirm Rome erred, Jerusalem erred, and that the Britons and Scots were alone wise. He tells them that in the synod of Lene, or Leighlin, where the Abbats, the successors of Ailbe, Kiaran, Brendan, Neffan, and Lugid were assembled, it was determined to send to Rome to know how the festival was kept, which on their return they reported to be every where the same, and different from the Irish: that thereupon it was resolved to conform to the practice of the universal church. These missionaries brought back with them, from the Italian metropolis, holy relicks and sacred writings; "in which," says Cumman, "was proved to be the power of God: for I saw with mine eyes a blind maiden restored to her sight by them, a paralytic made to walk, and many evil spirits cast out. However," adds he, "there was a whited wall," supposed to be St. Munnu, "who recanted, and returned to the traditions of his fathers, whom God, I hope, will strike in some signal manner." Here we perceive the intolerance of Cumman's new religion.

In 635, Oswald, Prince of Northumberland, who had received (40) baptism among the Irish, and was no admirer of Roman (41) innovations, sent to Hy for a Culdee Bishop to instruct his people in evangelical truths. He took no notice of Paulinus, the ancient prelate of York, nor of James the Deacon, his companion, for they were devoted to Rome. Aidan, an Irishman and a Culdee of Hy, was consecrated and sent. "He was a man," says Bede, "of the greatest modesty, piety, and moderation; having a zeal for God, but not fully according to knowledge, for he kept the Lord's day of Easter, according to the custom of his country.—This abatement of his merit could not be passed over by an eleve of Rome, but it is conveyed in no rancorous or intolerent language. "The King," continues Bede, "gave the Bishop the Isle of Lindisfern on the coast of Northumberland, for his episcopal see. Gregory had before fixt the see at York: this nomination Aidan rejected for two reasons: first it was not agreeable to the spirit of Culdeism, which chose islands in preference to the mainland, as its master Columba did; and secondly, as it would be an acquiescence in the decision of the Roman Pontiff, which the Irish hierarchy, complete and independent in itself, never submitted to. Oswald personally attended Aidan's ministry. When the latter preached, not perfectly understanding the Anglo-Saxon tongue, the King was interpreter, for during his exile

(40) Bed. l. 3. c. 3.

(41) Principi institutis Scotticis imbuto, Romani forsitan minus cordi essent ritus. Langhorn. Chron. Ang. p. 187.

in Ireland he had learned the language of the Isle. Numbers of Culdees daily arrived from Ireland: those who were priests baptized the converted; numbers flocked to them, and the church of Christ was greatly enlarged. Aidan gave a luminous example of charity, piety, and abstinence, and recommended his doctrine by his (42) practice." Thus far Bede, whose third book of Ecclesiastical history is principally employed in praise of the Culdees. Wherever he mentions their dissent from Rome, (and this was their only crime,) he does it with great delicacy, and when he says it was from ignorance of synodical decrees, we have seen he endangers his veracity in framing such an excuse.

Aidan died in 651, he was succeeded by Finan (43), an Irishman and Culdee of Hy: he baptized Peada, prince of the middle Angles, and gave him Diuma, a Culdee, for his Bishop. After Diuma, Ceolla, another Culdee, was advanced to the episcopate of Mercia, but he resigned and retired to Hy. To the Apostolic labours of the Culdean missionaries were the Northern English indebted for their conversion, and Doctor Innet, in his learned *Origines Anglicanæ*, records their exertions in honorable terms.

Finan departed this life, A. D. 661, and Colman, a Culdee of Hy, came in his room. He was an intrepid opposer of papal doctrines, as his (44) disputation with the Romanists who supported them, fully proves. King Oswy, who presided at this conference at Whitby, had been too much tampered with by the Romish party to be a fair arbitrator. Colman, when (45) he found his opinions rejected, collected all the Irish Culdees at Lindisfern, and about thirty English Monks who were studying there, and stopping at Hy, he sailed to Ireland. Immediately the Culdees were every where expelled by Oswy, and replaced by (46) Benedictines. Not contented with this triumph, the Romish clergy used Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance, a few years after, on the dissenting Irish, an harmless and innocent people, (says Bede, pitying their calamities,) and always friendly to the English. Johnson, in his notes on the Saxon councils throws some light on the transactions at Whitby. "The conference was held in the presence of King Oswy, in a nunnery erected by Hilda, the Abbess. Two Irish bishops were there, but Colman was the principal advocate for the British and Irish Easter, and Wilfrid, chief speaker for the Roman. Oswy, who had kept the Irish manner yielded to Wilfrid, because

(42) The very words of Bede. *Doctrinam ejus id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter vivebat quam ipse docebat.* l. 3. c. 3.

(43) Bed. l. 3. c. 17.

(44) Bed. *supra*.

(45) Bed. l. 4. c. 4.

(46) Guil. Malmesb. l. 3.

because he was told St. Peter was the author of the Roman manner, and that he was the key-keeper of heaven, from which Oswy desired not to be excluded. The two Irish Bishops went away unconvinced; the King pronounced sentence for himself only and for his family, for before this he had kept his Easter sometimes, while his Queen, who was a Kentish Lady, and followed the Roman manner, was in her Palm Sunday. Oswy passed sentence, not in consideration of the merits of the cause, but in honour of St. Peter. Theodore made great exertions for the observance of this Roman Easter, yet the Welsh continued their old practice till about the year 800, and then Elbodeus, a Bishop of their own brought them into it." The controversy on this subject may be seen in Usher, and other ecclesiastical writers. At length Adamnan, the Culdean Abbat of Hy (48), apostatized, and by the instigations of Ceolfred, Abbat of Girwy, Naitan, King of the Picts, expelled the Culdees from Hy. This happened A. D. 717. Thus expired those illustrious seminaries of Culdees at Hy and Lindisfern, after bravely preserving their tenets for more than a century against the secret machinations and open violence of their enemies; at length they fell a sacrifice to encroaching ambition and spiritual intolerance. A great access, says Cressy in an high tone of exultation, was made to the lustre of this year by the conversion (conversion!) of the Monks of Hy, and all the monasteries and churches subject to them, to the unity of the catholic church.

The monasteries of Columba were the bright constellations of our hemisphere, enlightening every part with the brilliant radiance of the gospel and learning. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, says Innet, set up schools in every place to out-do the Irish and break the interest of the Quartadecimans, for so the Culdees were called. The Culdees continued, as an excellent (49) writer observes, until a new race of monks arose, as inferior to them in learning and piety, as they surpassed them in wealth and ceremonies, by which they captivated the eyes, and infatuated the minds of men.

It would be doing injustice to the subject, and leaving this little history imperfect, to omit some practices of the Culdees, which deserve notice. They as well as the (50) British monks supported themselves by the labour of their hands. In this they resembled their Archetypes of the East. The Culdees were (51) married, but when it came to their turn to officiate they did not cohabit with their wives. By the 28th canon of the African Code, sub-deacons who handle the holy mysteries, deacons, priests

(48) Bed. l. 5. c. 23. Ull. p. 702.

(49) Buchan, *supra*, p. 127.

(50) Bed. *sup.* Toland, *supra*.

(51) Toland, *supra*.

priests and bishops are directed at their several terms to abstain from their wives. By terms, as explained by the 13th of the Trullan canons, are meant the times of their ministration; or as the old Scholiast on the 3d African understands it, some time before and after the Eucharist. A practice derived from (52) Egypt to the Jews, and from them adopted by Christians. Celibacy was unknown for the first 300 years of the church. Northumberland was converted by Irish Culdees: in 950, the priests of that country published canons; one was, "if a priest dismiss one wife and take another let him be an anathema!" Here the censure falls on second marriages. The Culdees in St. Andrew's were (53) married to the year 1100.

The registry of St. Andrew's informs us, that the Culdees relaxing in discipline were deprived of their possessions, but King Alexander restored them conditionally, that they should be more attentive in attending divine service, which they neglected, except when the King or Bishop was present, performing however their own office in their own way in a small (54) corner of the church. This account is obscure, merely because the truth is not related. For the registry acquaints us, when Alexander began the reform in the church of St. Andrew, there was no one to serve at the altar of the blessed Apostle St. Andrew, or to celebrate Mass. This shews, that the Culdees, who were settled there, paid no respect to these holy relicks or to the Mass, but chose rather to forfeit their church and property than desert their principles; preferring their ancient office with integrity of heart, in a corner, to the possession of the Choir and its superstitious pageantry. Their office was Gallican, and very different from the Roman. We are sure it was not the Mass, which Pope Gregory (55) confesses was the work of a private person, and not of Apostolic authority. The Anglo-Saxons accepted the Roman office, but the Britons and Irish retained their primitive forms.

The conduct of the Romanist towards the Culdees was uniformly persecuting in every place. A Charter (56) of David, King of Scotland, recites, that he had given to the Canons of St. Andrew the Isle of Lochleven to institute there the canonical rule, and that the Culdees, its ancient possessors, if they thought fit to conform to that rule, live peaceably and in subjection to the Canons, might continue there;

(52) Porphy. de Abst. p. 150. *Vino abstinebant, & in casto erant tempore ægyptiacæ suæ Ægyptii sacerdotes, perinde ut Ebraei.* Huet. Dem. Evang. T. II. La Croze, Christ. des Indes, p. 437. Regino, p. 155.

(53) Toland, *supra*.

(54) Keledei namque in angulo ecclesiæ suum officium suo more celebrabant. Dalrymple, *supra*.

(55) Epist. 63. l. 7

(56) Maitland, V. I. p. 162. Sibbald, *supra*.

- References.
- A. The Abbey Church.
 - B. Abbot's Apartments.
 - C. A Church.
 - D. Gr.
 - E. Site of the ancient Wood now a Bog.



Remains of the the Abbot's Orchard.



Published by John Jones N.º 90 Bridge St. Dublin.

there; but if they rejected these terms, they were to be expelled. This proposal, incompatible with their principles, not being acceded to, they were ejected. "In the greater churches in Ulster, as at Cluaninnis and Daminnis, and particularly at Armagh, in our memory," says Archbishop (57) Usher, "were priests called Culdees, who celebrated divine service in the Choir, their president was stiled Prior of the Culdees, and he acted as Præcentor." It was not easy to eradicate a reverence founded on solid piety, exemplary charity and superior learning; or to commit sudden violence on characters where such qualities were found. The Romish emissaries were therefore obliged to exert all their cunning to remove those favourable prejudices, and where force could not, seduction often prevailed. The alternative of expulsion or acquiescence must ever strongly operate on human imbecility: in a few instances the latter was chosen: thus about the year 1127, Gregory, (58) Abbat of the Culdean monastery of Dunkeld, and Andrew his successor, were made Bishops, the first of Dunkeld, the other of Caithness. The last cited intelligent Antiquary confirms the wary manner in which the Culdees were treated, as making their Abbats, Bishops, and preserving to those who had parishes their benefices during life. The same policy was followed in Ireland. The president of the Culdees was made Præcentor; he was to have the most (59) honourable seat at table, and every respect from his corps. Such little distinctions, while they flattered and saved appearances, were fatal to the Culdees; many breaches were made in their rights, and at last they (60) lost all their privileges, their old institute, and retained barely the name of their pristine celebrity. Such as they were in latter ages, they continued to exist, and so late as 1625, they had considerable property in Armagh, as seven townlands, with smaller parcels; a great number of Rectories, Vicarages, Tithes, Messuages, and Houses.

Let us now attend to the Antiquities of one of their ancient seats: this in old records is named Inchenemeo, corrupted from Innisnabeo, or the "Island of the living," but from its situation most commonly called Monaincha, or the "Boggy Isle:" it lies about a mile South from the road leading from Burros-in-Ossory to Roscrea, and about three miles from the latter. Giraldus Cambrensis, who came here with King John in 1185, thus speaks of (61) it: "In (62) North Munster is a lake containing two isles: in the greater is a church of the ancient religion, and in the lesser,

2 G

a chapel,

(57) Primord. p. 637.

(58) Dalrymple, *supra*, p. 246.(59) Priori Colideorum locus primus in mensa & a Colideis cæteris reverentia congrua debeatur. Usher. *supra*.

(60) Usher may be consulted, p. 659.

(61) Topog. 2. c. 4. p. 746.

(62) This was Thuomond, which was one of the seven independent provinces of Ireland, ruled by the O'Briens, at the Norman invasion. O'Connor, p. 172.

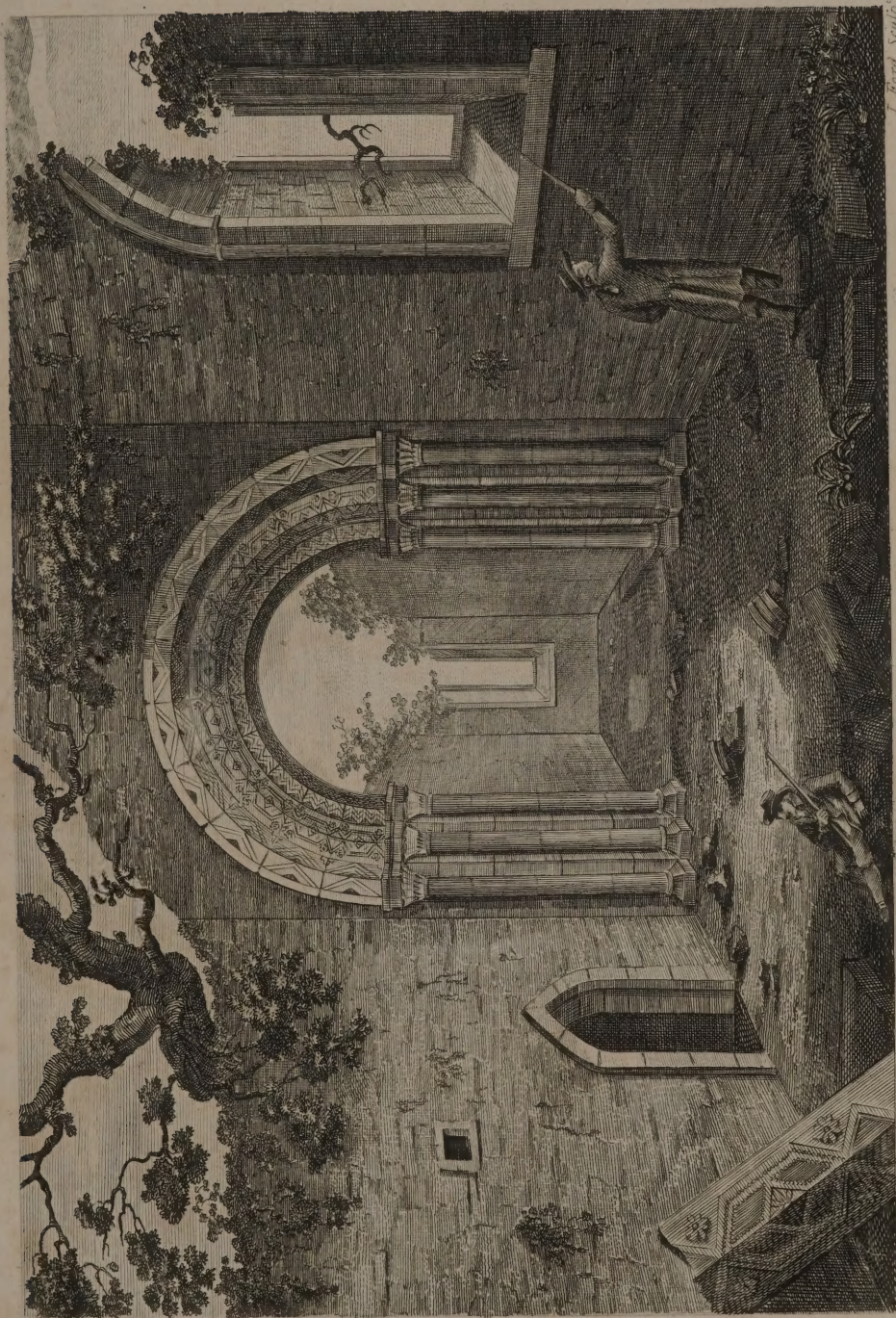
a chapel, wherein a few monks, called Culdees, devoutly serve God. In the greater, no woman or any animal of the feminine gender ever enters, but it immediately dies. This has been proved by many experiments. In the lesser isle, no one can die, hence it is called, 'Infula Viventum,' or the island of the living. Often people are afflicted with diseases in it, and are almost in the agonies of death: when all hopes of life are at an end, and that the sick would rather quit the world than lead longer a life of misery, they are put into a little boat and wafted over to the larger isle, where, as soon as they land, they expire." Thus far our Author. This *infula viventum* is exactly the same as the Icelandic *Udainfaker*, or the land of the immortals, and of which Bartholine tells us: that this place is situated in North Iceland: that the natives believe no one can die there, although labouring under a deadly sickness, (*etiamsi letali morbo infectum*), until he is carried out of its precincts: that therefore the inhabitants have deserted it, fearing all the terrors of death, without enjoying the prospect of release.

Monaincha is situated almost in the centre of a widely-extended bog, called the bog of Monela, and seems a continuation of the bog of Allen, which runs from East to West through the kingdom. Since the age of Cambrensis, and from the operation of natural causes, the lesser isle is now the greater, and Monaincha, which contains about two acres of dry arable ground, is of greater extent than the women's island. In the latter is a small chapel, and in the former the Culdean Abbey, and an Oratory to the East of it. Monaincha is elevated a little above the surrounding bog; the soil gravel and small stones. We may easily understand what Cambrensis means by the Church here being of the "old religion." The Culdees, its possessors, had not even at this period, when the Council of Cashel had decreed uniformity of faith and practice, conformed to the reigning superstition: they devoutly served God in this wild and dreary retreat, sacrificing all the flattering prospects of the world for their ancient doctrine and discipline. Their bitterest enemies bear testimony to their (63) extraordinary purity and piety. In more places than one of his Topography, Cambrensis mentions this ancient religion as existing in many parts of Ireland: his language breathes the vindictive spirit of their old persecutors. "There is," says (64) he, "a lake in Ulster, in which is an isle divided into two parts: in the one, which is pleasant and beautiful, is a church of the orthodox faith; the other rough and horrible, and inhabited by *dæmons*." In the latter the Culdees, no doubt, resided.

When

(63) *Devotè Deum deserviunt*, says Cambrensis of the Monaincha Culdees, and the Welsh Culdees he styles, *Monachi religiosissimi*. *Itiner. Camb.* p. 865.

(64) *Topog.* p. 717—728.



CHOIR ARCH at MONAINCHA.

Published by John Jones, N^o. 90 Bride St. Dublin.

When Columba selected islands above other places for his Monks, he closely imitated the first professors of the ascetic life. A Latin (65) poet thus writes about the year 417,

*Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit,
Squallit lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos, Graio cognomine, dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.*

The monasteries in the isles of (66) Canobus and Lerins were, very early, famous. The Scottish isles were filled with Culdees, and their insular establishments in Wales and Ireland were numerous.

Cambrensis tells us no one ever died or could die in Monaincha, thereby insinuating, that death, the only comfort of the wretched and diseased, was denied to the heretical isle. But this is a shameful and mean perversion of the honourable denomination of Innisnaboe, or the island of the Living, given from remote ages to Monaincha. Buchanan expressly assures us, the (67) cells of the Culdees were converted into churches: so that it was not in the gross and vulgar sense, given by Cambrensis, the name is to be understood, of no one ever dying there, but in a refined and spiritual one, of men acquiring immortality by the exercises of religion and the cultivation of virtue. In Scotland are many small isles, named the islands of Saints, wherein people have a most superstitious desire of being interred, which (68) Mr. Pennant erroneously supposes to arise from the fear of having their bodies devoured on the mainland by wolves: but the true reason is, the holiness of these places, sanctified by the residence of Culdees, and before them by the Druids.

The length of our Culdean Abbey in Monaincha is thirty-three feet, the breadth eighteen. The nave is lighted by two windows to the South, and the chancel by one at its East end. The former are contrasted arches, the latter fallen down. The height of the portal, or Western entrance, is seven feet three inches to the fillet, by four feet six inches wide. The arch of this, and that of the choir are semicircular. Sculpture seems here to have exhausted her treasures. A nebule moulding adorns the outward semicircle of the portal, a double nebule with beads the second, a chevron the

(65) Rutil. Itiner. l. i.

(66) Hieron. prolog. ad reg. Pachom. Savaro. Not. in Sid. Apoll. The Teutonic people held both islands and lakes sacred. Tacit. Ger. c. 40. Greg. Turon. de glor. conf. c. 2. Tacitus mentions a —castum nemus,— an unpolluted Druidic grove in an isle. The monks adopted the holiness of such places into their ritual.

(67) Tanta sanctitatis opinione apud omnes vixerunt ut vita sanctorum cellæ in templa commutarentur. Lib. 4. p. 126.

(68) Tour in Scotland.

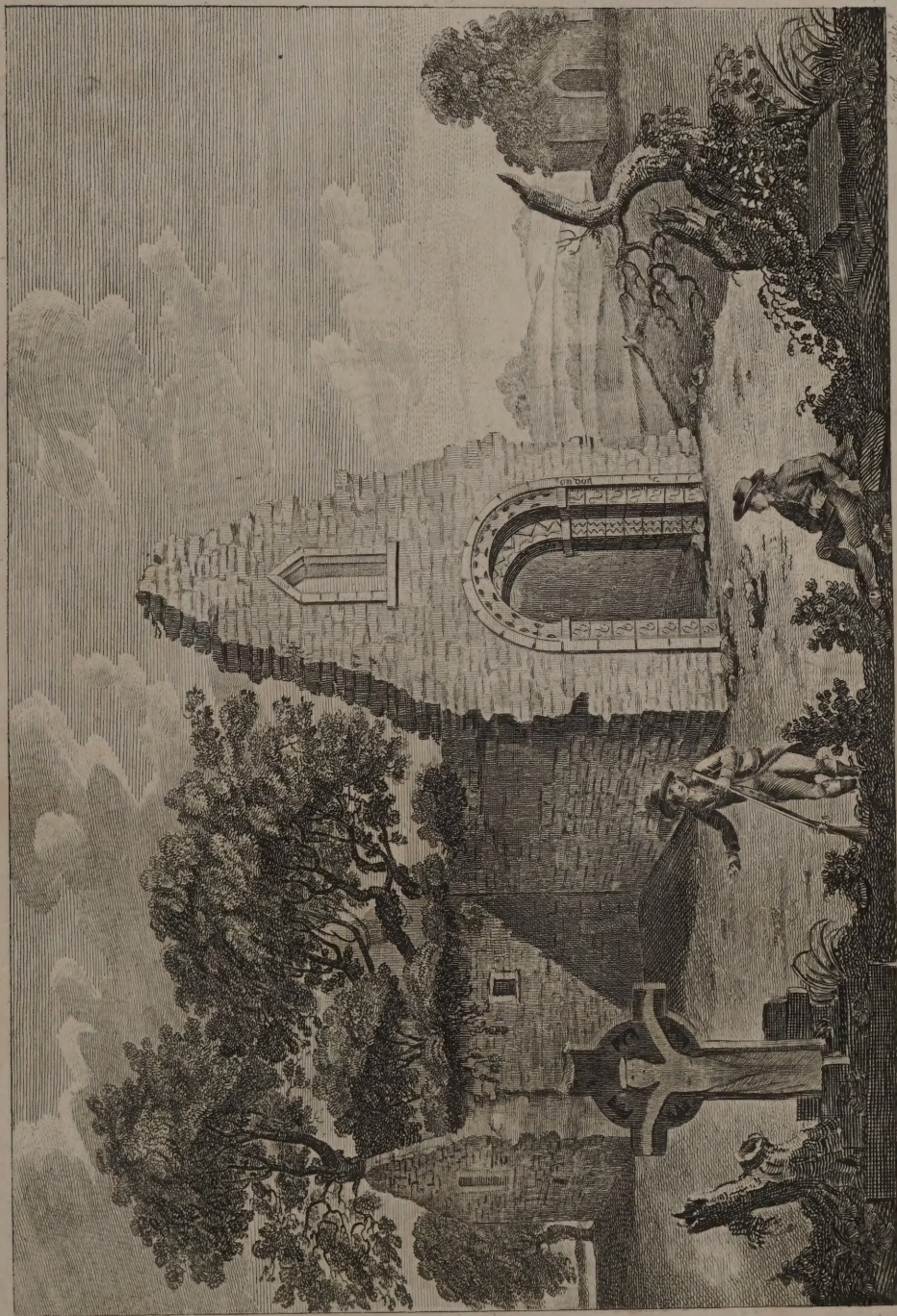
the third, interspersed with the triangular frette, roses and other ornaments. It is also decorated with chalices, artfully made at every section of the stone, so as to conceal the joint. The stones are of a whitish grit, brought from the neighbouring hills of Ballaghmore: being porous, they have suffered much from the weather; but the columns of the choir are of an harder texture, (though grits) close-grained and receiving a good polish. Being of a * reddish colour, they must have been handsome objects. They were quarried on the south-west side of the bog, and are a species of *lapidum schistarum*, splitting into laminæ, six feet long, with which most of the Abbey is cased without. By some accident ashen keys have been dropped on the walls of this building, in a number of years they have become large trees. Their roots have insinuated into every crevice, burst the walls every where, and threaten the whole with ruin. Such was the state of the Roman edifices, after the destruction of the capital by the Goths, as is minutely and affectedly described by (69) Cassiodorus.

It will readily occur, how great must have been the labour and expence of transporting the materials of this and the other structures in cots of excavated trees to Monaincha, and before this was done, the carrying them a great distance over a deep, miry and shaking bog, before they reached the margin of the water. It appears by the tradition of the old inhabitants, that about a century ago, the island was not accessible but in boats: every drain for the springs, and every passage for the river Nore being choked up with mud and fallen trees; the surface, in consequence to a vast extent was covered with water. Present appearances fully confirm this account.

Adjoining the Abbey on the north side was the Prior's chamber, which communicated with the church by a door with a Gothic arch, as exhibited in the Plate. There were a good garden and orchard, in the memory of living people, and many heaps of stones and some crosses, were dispersed over the Isle. One of the latter is given in the Plate; it has perforations, through which various parts of dress were drawn to assist women in labour, and to protect their wearers. I have been favoured with some ancient inscriptions, which I shall not transcribe, as they do not at present appear, nor am I certain of their authenticity: the pursuit of truth and genuine antiquities, so far as I am able to distinguish, are the sole and invariable objects

(*) Garnett's tour through the Highlands.

(69) *Virgulta quaque noxia importunitate nascentia evulsis cespitibus auferantur, ne radicum quidem capilli paulatim surgentes fabricarum visceribus inferantur, & more vipereo, prolem sibi fecunditate contraria nutrant, unde se compago celsura disrumpat, &c. Variar. p. 73. and Not. Foreril.*



WESTERN PORTAL at MONA INCHA.

Published by John Jones, No. 10, Bride Street, Dublin.

jects of these pages; and on my best endeavours to illustrate these, I alone found my hopes of public favour.

At what time the present Abbey of Monaincha was built is not easy to determine. The poverty and fewness of the Culdees in this isle in the age of Cambrensis, and his omission of their beautiful fabrick strongly incline me to think, that the Abbey was constructed after this author wrote. Mr. Bentham (70) describes the Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture in general use to the end of the first Henry's reign, A. D. 1135, to be constituted of circular round-headed doors, massive pillars, with a kind of regular base and capital, and thick walls. The arches were adorned with the various mouldings, like those already noticed on the western portal of our church. But besides this Saxon or early Norman, we discover plainly the Gothic style mixed with it at Monaincha, which style Doctor Ducarel (71) supposes to have been introduced about the end of the 12th century, and he farther observes, that this mixture of styles was frequently used for ornament or beauty. If we acquiesce in the opinion of these ingenious and learned Antiquaries, the date of our Abbey will be about the beginning of the 13th century. At which time (72) Augustinians were settled there, and the Culdees removed to (73) Corbally, a small distance from their former residence, where they erected a curious little chapel, of a cruciform shape, the windows long and very narrow: it still remains in tolerable preservation. The Augustinians did not appear in this kingdom until 1193, for at that time Earl Strongbow brought four from Bodmyn in Cornwall, to his (74) Abbey of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, which he had dedicated to this Order, so that here are circumstances and a coincidence in point of time agreeing very well with the conjecture respecting the age of our Monaincha Monastery. As to its being under the invocation of the blessed Virgin, St. Hilary and St. Donan, the Monks of St. Austin might have deserted it, and others of different orders possess it. Wherever the influence of Rome prevailed, the Culdees were removed, and Columba himself, was not supplicated in Ireland (75) as a Patron Saint before the year 1741. The compiler of his office has committed some wilful mistakes, which, for the sake of our enlightened Roman Catholic brethren, are here noticed.

2 H

I. It

(70) Antiquities of Ely, p. 34.

(72) Waræi Disquis. p. 240.

(74) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 361.

(71) Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102.

(73) Prior & Conventus loci sedem fixerunt Corballæ. Ware, supra.

(75) Officia propria Hib. Sanct. p. 92.

1. It is said he went to St. Etchene, a bishop in Leinster, to be consecrated to the episcopal order: but from a particular interposition of Heaven, this ordination did not take place. From the tenor of Columba's history in Bede, and which alone can be relied on, he never affected Prelacy.

2. The 5th lesson of his office informs us, that he resolved to go to Rome, (76) knowing that his preaching would be in vain, unless his doctrine was the same with that delivered by St. Peter. If St. Patrick was ordained and sent by Pope Celestine to this island, and the religion he propagated was conformable to the Roman, could there be any reason for Columba's going so far as Italy to be assured of what were the faith and practice of the church there? There certainly could not, especially as Columba was born but 29 years after the death of St. Patrick. But there is positive proof in Bede that the doctrine and discipline taught by Columba were different from that of the Romanists. "Columba, says Wilfrid in the conference at Whitby, was a devout servant of God, of pious intention though rustic simplicity. Shall his authority outweigh that of St. Peter?" This whole (77) chapter of the ecclesiastical historian demonstrates, and so do many other places, the distance there was between the belief of Columba, and those who professed to follow St. Peter.

3. In the 6th lesson we are (78) told, that being honourably received at Rome by St. Gregory the Great, and loaded with apostolical benedictions, he returned to his monastery of Hy. This is a palpable fiction, for the reasons given before. The Culdees we have seen strenuously opposing papal innovations and authority in every age, and that with so stubborn a pertinacity as brought on them numberless persecutions, and in the end a dissolution of their order. I need not insist on the age of Columba, which was sixty-eight, and which must have made so long a journey as to Rome, very irksome: nor on the difficulty and danger of passing through so many barbarous nations before he reached the Italian capital. The detection of these errors and many more that will, in the course of this work, be brought forward, cannot but have an happy influence in opening the eyes of every rational man, who must see with concern the unjustifiable attempts that have been made to enthrall the understanding by bold fictions and gross untruths.

In

(76) Certus se in vanum currere, nisi idem cum Petro prædicasset evangelium. Offic. supra. p. 98.

(77) Lib. 3. c. 25.

(78) Romæ a Sancto Gregorio Magno honorificè exceptus, &c. Offic. sup. p. 98.

In the chief Remembrancer's office is found a record relative to Monaincha, of which the following are the contents. It is an Inquisition taken at (79) Lemyvanane in Ely. O'Carrol's country, before Michael Fitz-Wyllyam and Francis Delahyde, Commissioners of our Lady the Queen, to inquire for the Queen of all land, tenements and hereditaments, and of all and singular other things that might be inquired into by Escheators and Barons of the Exchequer. Taken the 27th of December 1568 on the oaths of these good men, the Jury:

Thomas O'Flanagan,	Dermoyd O'Towgha,	Dermoyd oge O'Dolgen,
Thomas Mac Donell,	Moyell O'Rendall,	Malone O'Dolgen,
Donogh Mac Owens,	Lyfagh Mac Edmond,	Donogh O'Dolgen,
Owne Mac Kilfoyle,	Dough O'Trieftie,	Thomas Mac Teige.
Donogh Mac Kilfoyle,		

They find that the monastery of the Virgin Mary in Inchenemo, or island of the living, with all its appurtenances and profits belong to the Queen by virtue of an Act of Parliament: that the said isle contains three acres of moor land, wherein are two chapels, (80) belonging to the Priory; and near the isle is the village of Corballi, wherein the (81) Prior and convent dwelt, and where also was formerly a church that was Parochial as well as Monastic. The village consists of eight waste cottages, and the land of the Priory there, in arable and pasture, 180 acres, of the annual value of thirty-two shillings and six-pence: there are also one hundred and forty acres of unprofitable, and sixteen acres of wood and underwood, annual value, two shillings and eight pence. The village of Kerneyttys, now waste, and thirty acres of arable and pasture in it, annual value five shillings. The village of Cowleshyle, now waste, and thirty acres of arable and pasture, and twenty-four of wood and underwood, annual value ten shillings. The village of Lytter, now waste, and fifty-two acres of arable and pasture in it, annual value nine shillings. The village of Kylecolman, now waste, and twenty acres of arable and pasture, wood, underwood and moor, annual value four shillings. The village of Killenpersone and seventeen acres of arable and pasture, annual value fourteen shillings. The village of Ahancon, and twenty-four acres of arable and pasture, wood, underwood, and moor, annual value four shillings, all belonged to the said Monastery. As also the
rectories

(79) From Leim, a leap, now the Leap in the King's County.

(80) But one of these chapels now remains.

(81) This also came into the possession of the Augustinians on the suppression of the Culdees.

rectories of Corballi and Ballyshenagh, the third part of the rectory of Roscomroh, the rectories of Kymutze, Towomahone, Lytter, Kylecolman, with the vicarage of Ahancon, the whole, over and above stipends and incumbrances, of the annual value of forty shillings, (the villages being all waste) belonging to said Monastery.

This record exhibits a curious but affecting picture of the state of Ireland in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when five hundred and thirty-three acres of land were worth but four pounds two shillings and two pence, and ecclesiastical possessions were equally small. The (82) O'Mores, O'Conors, O'Dempseys and O'Carrols were, in those times, perpetually in arms against the English government: the country about Monaincha was alternately wasted by the British and Irish forces: the labours of the plough ceased, and the terrified peasants, almost starved, deserted their miserable cabbins, and withdrew to mountains, bogs and woods, to prolong a wretched existence.

(82) Sydney's state papers by Collins.



OF THE STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, AND AFTER.

THE first severe shock received by the Irish church was from the Ostmen after their conversion to christianity in the 9th century. The existence of a primatial see founded on the superstitious fiction of St. Patrick's reliques was unknown before that age and the domination of these strangers: for the religious tenets and ecclesiastical discipline of the Irish were very different from those of the Ostmen, as Usher and these pages fully evince. Instead of uniting in restoring the purity of our church, or of reviving the splendour of our institutions and literary seminaries which their pagan zeal had nearly annihilated, they introduced the Benedictine Order, which sought admiration more from the mummery of external performances than the cultivation of useful literature or substantial piety. This was in the 10th century; in the 11th, these piratical foreigners had (1) kings in almost every part of our isle. Sihtric, one of them, ruled Dublin in 1038, and erected a See there, making Donat, his countryman, its first Bishop. He received consecration, and the (2) episcopal dignity from the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the death of Donat, the clergy and people of Dublin elected Patrick, and recommended him to Lanfranc the English Primate for ordination, and they style Dublin the metropolis of Ireland. Here is abundant evidence of the early attachment of the Ostmen to the Roman See. How, it may be asked, is this to be reconciled with the making Dublin the metropolis, or in other words, the primatial See; when the same Ostmen had first the spiritual sovereignty of the Isle before at Armagh? One reason occurs which seems adequate to the solution of the difficulty; it is, that the Armachian Prelates, rejecting the rules and orders of the canon law, continued the custom, common, as I have shown, with the Irish and Ostmen, of hereditary succession, which the Dublinian Ostmen, better schooled, did not: the latter first accepting the erection of their city into a Bishoprick from, and after submitting the approbation of their

Bishops

(1) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 68—69.

(2) Antecessorum enim vestrorum magisterio semper nostros libenter subdimus a quo recordamur nostros accepisse dignitatem ecclesiasticam. Usher, Syllog. p. 100.

Bishops to the See of Canterbury. This canonical acquiescence weighed more in the estimation of so exact a disciplinarian as Lanfranc than the pretended reliques of St. Patrick or his holy legend. And hence Dublin and not Armagh came to be called the metropolis of Ireland. It is not less probable, that Armagh endeavoured to establish the independency of the Irish church, which the British Primate opposed, considering himself the supreme spiritual head of the Normen wherever (4) dispersed, for Lanfranc is styled, "Primate of the British Isles."

Besides the foregoing reasons for not acknowledging the supremacy of Armagh, the Oostmen had apopted many of the tenets held by the ancient Irish church and contrary to the Roman; so that a zealous Romanist was necessitated to reprobate both. These tenets appear in Lanfranc's (4) answers to questions proposed by Donat, the Oostman, Bishop of Dublin. The Primate tells him, it is expedient that all people, living and dying, should be fortified with the holy Sacrament; but if it should happen that a person baptized, died before he received the Sacrament, God forbid he should perish eternally. That if an Infant not baptized, so he be in the article of death, should be baptized by a Laic in defect of a Priest and die immediately after, that such infant should not be excluded from the body of the faithful. From these answers it is evident, that the Irish believed the reception of the Eucharist immediately after baptism indispensably necessary to salvation; and this was the opinion of the (5) primitive church, though not of the Roman in Lanfranc's age. Secondly, the British Primate allows laical baptism in the article of death, but the (6) Greek church, and the Irish derived from it, never admitted it: St. Basil (7) orders those to be re-baptized who received baptism from laics. The Irish and Britons administered this rite at Easter, Pentecost and Epiphany, the Romanists only at Easter and Pentecost. The latter used chrism, exorcism and other ceremonies which the others did not. It is recorded by (8) Benedict, Abbat of Peterborough and Brompton, about the middle of the 12th century, that the richer Irish immersed their children thrice in milk, the poorer thrice in water. The father or any other was the agent. The early christians, through the blindness and perverseness of their new converts, were obliged to retain practices which they abhorred: thus

(3) Usser. Sup. p. 118—162. (4) Ware's Bishops, p. 306.

(5) Bingham, sup. C. 12. c. 1. p. 529—531.

(6) Ἀλλ' ὥστε λαϊκοῖς ἐνιστάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔργων. Const. Apost. Lib. 3. c. 10.

(7) Ἀλλοιὶν βαπτισματι ἀνακαθαρίζεσθαι. Ep. ad Amphil. p. 759.

(8) Mos erat per diversa loca Hiberniæ, quod statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipse vel quilibet alius cum mergeret in aqua, & si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. Brompt. p. 1071.

thus they gave (9) milk and honey after baptism to infants as eucharistic elements, as the learned (10) Bingham has proved, though Salmasius and (11) Suicer support the contrary opinion. But none of them give a probable explanation of the origin of this custom, which prevailed in the church to the 9th, and in Ireland to the 12th century. Initiation into the sacred mysteries was looked on as a (12) regeneration, and the beginning of a new life; and hence, according to Apuleius, the Egyptian priests, as a significant symbol, gave milk to the initiated. The lacteal circle was also supposed to be made up of human souls, and therefore the Greeks in the (13) evocation of them used oblations of milk and honey. From this source our custom was derived.

It was usual with the Ostmen in the 10th and 11th ages to give the (14) first signation, that is the sign of the Cross, to new converts, whereby, says the writer, they were put in a situation to live either with pagans or christians: the meaning of which is, that they received the figure of a Cross on some part of their body not exposed to view. It is certain, christians must have had private marks whereby to know each other in times of persecution, and (15) Procopius assures us this was the cross punctured on their hands or arms.

Lanfranc accompanied the consecration of Bishop Patrick of Dublin with a letter to (16) Gothric the glorious King of Ireland, and another to (17) Turlogh the magnificent King of Ireland. I have before (18) shown why the Ostmen Princes were styled Kings of Ireland; and how their devotion to Lanfranc's religion intitled them to the epithet of glorious has already been declared. In his epistle to Gothric, the Primate states some customs which he desires him to correct, as the marriage of women too near a-kin by consanguinity and affinity, and the separation of wives from (19) their lawful husbands, and also the exchange of wives. O'Conor, in (20) his Dissertations, confesses, that in ages preceding the second century there were abominations among our Princes, which disgraced humanity, and that the Taltionian regulations

(9) Tertull. 37. Can. Afric. (10) Book 12. c. 4. (11) Thef. voc. Συναΐς.

(12) Warburton on the Eleusinian Mysteries. Div. Legation.

(13) Ω και σπινδιν αυταις της ψυχαραγωγης μελι κεκραμινον γαλαντι. Porphy. de antro Nymph. p. 267.

(14) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 32. Du Cange, voce Signati.

(15) Ετι χαρτων η βραχων η τε σταυρη το σημειον.

(16) He is also called Godred Crovan and Godred Mac Regnal. Johnstone, sup. p. 7—69.

(17) Magnifico Hiberniæ regi. Usser. Syll. p. 71.

(18) Antiquities of Ireland, supra.

(19) Alii legitime sibi copulati pro arbitrio relinquere. Usser. sup. p. 70.

(20) Pag. 113.

regulations permitted polygamy. The Suiones and other (21) northerns, who arrived here about that time, had each two, three or more wives; princes and rich men without number; nor was illegitimacy attached to the offspring of such connections. Nor had they reformed this practice in 1200, when Pope Innocent III. writ to the Archbishop of (22) Lunden. From the various colonies of these northerns settled from the earliest ages in this isle, it is not to be wondered at if the Irish had exactly their customs and manners. St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrensis assert we had no marriage-contracts, but the—conjuges legitimè copulatæ—of Lanfranc before, must remove this aspersión. Camden (23) assures us in his time beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted, that the Irish united and separated on the most trifling occasions, and that all had a wonderful propensity to incest. Against this evidence it is ridiculous for (24) Macpherson to argue, or attempt to extenuate the turpitude of such customs. Our municipal laws of gavelkind and tanistry confirmed the evil to a late age. By the first an inheritance was provided for the illegitimate, and by the last the clan was kept distinct from any other, so that marriage was constantly among near relations.

Lanfranc assured of the attachment of the Ostmen, endeavoured by the most flattering language to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the Irish monarch, Turlogh. He tells him, God bestows no greater mercies upon the earth than when he promotes to the government of souls and bodies such as affect peace, and love justice, and especially when he commits the kingdom of the world to good kings. From hence peace arises, discord is extinguished, and to sum up all, the observance of christian religion is established; which blessings every prudent observer perceives to have been conferred on the people of Ireland, when the omnipotent God granted to your Excellency the right of kingly power over the land. He adds, that Bishop Patrick had declared so many great and good things of him, that he loved him though unseen, as if he had known (25) him. All this is polite and handsome but full of insincerity, for nothing in the Irish church could please Lanfranc: her hierarchy acknowledged no subjection to him, her clergy were married and her rites and ceremonies not in unison with his. He artfully touches on matters which could give no great offence to the Irish clergy, and that in the gentlest manner: he

remarks

(21) Quisque secundum facultatem virium suarum duas aut tres vel amplius simul habet uxores, divites & principes absque numero; nam et filios ex tali conjunctione genitos habent legitimos. A. Brem. apud. Grot. Prolog. in Procep. p. 101.

(22) Grot. sup. p. 139.

(23) Britannia, in Ireland.

(24) Dissertation XI.

(25) Usser. Syllog. supra.

remarks their uncanonical marriages; that Bishops were consecrated but by one, and children baptized without chrism, and holy orders conferred for money. Lanfranc desires Turlogh to assemble a (26) synod of his Bishops and Clergy. This proves our monarchy and hierarchy were complete and independent, not subject to a Legate, the Primate of Canterbury or the Pope.

This correspondence with the English Primate was leaven to the Irish Clergy; it soured many of them against their old religion and disposed them to innovation. Dazzled with the recent success of the Normans in England, and perhaps terrified at the fate of that kingdom and the spiritual sovereignty claimed by the British Primate over this isle, they thought it better to show some condescension on this occasion than provoke a doubtful contest, and therefore at the end, or about the beginning of the 12th century they admitted Gille or Gillebert, or more correctly Giselbert, an Ostman as his (27) name intimates, as † Legate; he was at the same time Bishop of Limerick, a great Ostman settlement. The legatine authority could not be in safer hands, or more obsequious to the court of Rome and to Anselm, who succeeded Lanfranc, and with whom he was acquainted at (28) Rouen. He was a man of some ingenuity and learning, as his (29) tract in Usser evinces. It is a plain simple outline of the members and discipline of the Roman church, and obviously composed to instruct the Irish with what they before were not well acquainted, and to prevail on them to adopt an uniformity in the celebration of divine offices. In the prologue he says, “at the request and even command of many of you, dearly beloved, I have endeavoured to set down in writing the canonical custom in saying of hours and performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order; not presumptuously but through desire to serve your most godly command; to the end that those divers and schismatical orders wherewith, in a manner, all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office. What can appear more indecent and schismatical than that the most learned in one order shall be as ignorant as a layman in another? As the dispersion of tongues arose from pride, and were again joined in apostolic humility, so the confusion of Orders, from negligence or corruption, is to be brought by your pious endeavours to the holy rule of the

2 K

the

(6) Episcopos & religiosos quosque viros in unum convenire jubete, sacro eorum conventui præsentiam vestram cum vestris optimatibus exhibete. Usser. Syll. sup. p. 72.

(27) Kilian & Skinner in voce. Ware's Bishops, p. 504.

† St. Bernard does not speak positively as to the fact, though I think it probable. Quem aiunt prima sanctus legatione. Vit. Malach, 1936.

(28) Quoniam autem olim nos apud Rothomagum invicem cognovimus. Usser. Syll. p. 88.

(29) Usser. Syll. p. 77.

the Roman church. It is plain from many parts of Scripture how carefully the Faithful should preserve unity of profession. For all the members of the Church are subject to one Bishop, who is Christ, and to his blessed apostle, Peter, and to his apostolic representative in his seat, and they ought to be governed by them." This was written in 1090.

There are many things in this epistle deserving notice: I shall only touch on a few. It is addressed to the dissident Bishops and Presbyters of Ireland, for it had been an insult to the Romish ecclesiastics to have sent to them, as if novices, an elementary work. Throughout this long letter there is not a tittle of St. Patrick, his archiepiscopal or primatial see or rights, or the doctrine he delivered to the Irish church. These would have been flattering topics for Gislebert to enlarge on, and for the elites of Rome to press on the Irish. Instead of these he explicitly declares their schismatical orders differed from the Roman: that is, their ritual and forms of worship were quite unlike the Roman, for that is the meaning of the word, Order. This is supported very strongly by the learned Mosheim, who tells us, "the (30) form of public worship established at Rome had not in the 11th century been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious Pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world." From this author we farther learn, that about the time Gislebert was endeavouring to subvert our Orders, Pope Gregory was attempting the same with the Gothic liturgy, so that Rome was pushing on the same scheme at the same moment in every part of Europe: a circumstance very curious and confirming powerfully what is advanced in the epistle under consideration.

In 1094, Gislebert sends a (31) present of twenty-five pearls to Anselm, and congratulates him on his criminal triumph in the affair of (32) investitures. The Primate having, through the favour of our monarch, sent a legate hither, began to tamper with our clergy. In 1095, he addresses an (33) epistle to his reverend fellow-bishops in Ireland, and particularly mentions the senior Domnald and Donat, the last bishop of Dublin, the former of Armagh. He endeavours to excite their pity for his sufferings in the cause of the church; he exhorts them to vigilance and severity in ecclesiastical discipline, and adds, that if disputes about the consecration
of

(30) Ecc. Hist. Cent. II. c. 4.

(31) Usser. Syll. p. 82.

(32) Lyttleton's Hen. 2.

(33) Usser. Syll. supra.

of bishops, or other causes could not canonically be settled among them, to bring them before him. This assumption of supremacy over the Irish church, and the right of appeal effectually destroyed our ancient independence, and is complete proof, that every thing related of the Armachian primacy is a fiction. The Oistmen, who now possessed the see, either had embraced the tenets of the Irish, or were married, or held it by hereditary right; any of these sufficient reasons for nullifying in the eyes of a rigid canonist their pretensions to rank and dignity. He therefore styles our Bishop of Armagh, Senior, a term now gone into disuse, but which in the African canons denoted the dignity of Metropolitan.

Turlogh, our monarch, had virtually surrendered his regal rights to the Pope, through his delegate the English Primate, when he (34) recommended Donat to succeed Patrick in Dublin. Mortogh, who mounted the throne after Turlogh, joined his nobility and clergy in a similar act, when they sent (35) Malchus to be consecrated at Canterbury. Mortogh, involved in perpetual broils with his family and provincial kings, hoped to derive no small aid from the splendour, power, and friendship of the English court in awing his rebellious subjects. Anselm did not omit to cultivate this good disposition in our monarch, for he addressed to him two epistles, and there we find him first styled (36) the glorious king of Ireland. Anselm mentions in general the uncanonical state of our church, and specifies the instances noticed by his predecessor Lanfranc, and advises him to call a council to correct these errors and to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. This he did in 1111, when he convened the nobility and clergy to a place called Fiodh-Aongusa, or Aongus's Grove in the plain of Magh Breasail in Meath, where there was a wood (37) sacred to religion from the remotest ages, and from ancient prepossession now used for greater solemnity. The number of clergy, according to the (38) *Chronicon Scotorum*, was fifty-eight bishops, three hundred and seventeen priests and sixty deacons, with many of inferior orders. The same year another council was held in Meath under the presidency of the Pope's legate, when the numerous petty dioceses of that district were reduced to two, Clonmacnois and Clonard. Though (39) Keating from obscure annals has related the transactions of this council, there is some probability in what he delivers of the settlement of dioceses and the ascertaining their boundaries. Every attempt to reduce the number of our sees and augment their revenues, rendered the clergy more respectable, and the church more manageable by the Pope and

(34) Ware's Bishops, p. 309.

(35) Usser. Syll. supra.

(36) *Gloriose fili & in Deo charissime*. Usser. Syll. p. 95.

(37) *Antiquities of Ireland*, sup.

(38) *Collect. de reb. Hib. V. I. p. 553.*

(39) *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 100—102.

and his Legates. This required time to accomplish, and a beginning was now first made. Some of the regulations said to have been subscribed by the assembly, were that the clergy in future were to be exempt from taxation and secular laws; whatever they contributed was by way of free gift. The archbishops resigned the right they received from St. Patrick of consecrating bishops at pleasure. It was decreed that the number of bishops was hereafter to be twenty-eight, but without encroaching on the rights of the present possessors. It must occur to every one, that these decrees could not be esteemed the avowed sentiments of the national clergy, for but about a sixth part of the episcopal order consented to them, they were therefore the production solely of those who had embraced the Romish party, and we see how few they were, even after all the efforts of our monarch and his associates. The activity of the former proceeded partly from a secret motive. Robert de (40) Montgomery, Earl of Salop, and Arnulph his brother, Earl of Pembroke, rebelled against Henry I. Arnulph solicited Mortogh for his daughter and assistance; the former he obtained, but we are not told what aid he procured. We know he was unsuccessful and obliged to seek refuge in Ireland. Mortogh writes to Anselm, and thanks him for interceding for his (41) son-in-law, and adds, "be assured I will obey your commands." This was a spring that gave motion to Mortogh, and made him perfectly obedient to the English primate and court. "So devoted," says William of Malmesbury, "were Mortogh and his successors to Henry I. that they writ nothing but what flattered him, nor did any thing but what he directed." We need not therefore doubt but Anselm used his own and Henry's influence in urging our monarch to new model his church.

Matters however did not proceed so smoothly as they expected. The Irish clergy had been hitherto cajoled with schemes of reformation, which as they could not with decency oppose, they acquiesced in to a certain degree; but when they discovered the unreasonable length to which affairs were likely to be carried; that their ecclesiastical polity was to be dissolved and themselves and their church to be dependent on the nod of the Roman pontiff, they could no longer forbear expressing their resentment. Thus the (42) clergy and burghesses of Dublin tell Ralph, who succeeded Anselm in Canterbury, that the bishops of Ireland and especially he who resided at Armagh, had the greatest indignation towards them for not accepting their ordination,

(40) Hammer's Chron. p. 99.

(41) Sed & genero meo Ernulpho auxilio & interventione succurristi. Uff. Syll. p. 97.

(42) Uffer, Syll. p. 100.

ordination, and for desiring to be under his spiritual dominion. But it was too late: while they were apprehensive of, they were hastening to their fate.

Multi ad fatum

Venère suum, dum fata timent.

Our princes had lost their spirit and their power, and domestic discord suggested ambitious views to their designing neighbours.

The Armachian bishop who thus resented the interference of the English primate was Celsus; who, though well affected to Rome, could not be prevailed on to separate during his life from his wife and children: at his death he however was persuaded by the Romish party to send his crozier to Malachy O'Morgair, in token of his appointment to the see; he was a zealous stickler for the new religion, and after some dangerous struggles ascended the archiepiscopal chair. Malachy solicited the Pall for his see from Pope Innocent II. but this his holiness declined, for the Irish clergy were as yet very far from yielding obedience to the Roman Vice-deity; the Pall, so far from commanding respect, might have subjected the wearer to insult. Though Malachy sat but three years in Armagh, being driven from thence by the old family, he still was active in advancing the cause he had espoused. In 1140, he introduced the Cistercian Order into this kingdom by the advice and under the directions of St. Bernard, and settled it at Mellifont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Balinglas, Nenagh, and Cashel. St. Bernard prided himself much on these foundations; "the (43) oldest man," says he, "might have heard the name of monk, but before the days of Malachy never saw one." This, like (44) much of Congan's information to him, wants veracity. Malchus, a monk, was made bishop of Waterford in 1095; Samuel, bishop of Dublin, ejected monks from that city in 1110, and Donat, a monk, was made bishop of Dublin, evidences these, with others too numerous to recite, sufficient to convict our mellifluous doctor of misrepresentation, and to evince how trifling the most serious considerations were when put in competition with the holiness and honour of his favourite order. There is much more of truth in what he remarks of the Irish, by Malachy's means, conforming to the customs of the church of Rome and the chaunting the canonical hours. Popery was daily gaining ground from the criminal inattention of and inconsiderate sacrifices made by our princes and the unabating zeal of her supporters. This encouraged the court of Rome to send in 1152, John Paparo, Cardinal of St. Laurence in Damaso, into this

(43) Vit. Malach. c. 11. Again: Et in terra jam insueta imo & inexperta monasticæ religionis. Epist. ad Malach.

(44) Hammer's Chronicle, p. 104. Ware's writers, p. 71.

isle, to settle its hierarchy on a new and permanent plan. A council was held in Kells, wherein presided Christian, bishop of Lismore, who had been educated at Clarivaux, under St. Bernard, and of course had the papal interest much at heart. The following are the names of the prelates who were present, according to an old MS. cited by (45) Ware :

Giolla-Christ O'Conarchy, Bishop of Lismore, Legate ; Giolla Mac-liah, Primate of Ireland ; Domnald O'Lonargain, Archbishop of Munster, or Cashel ; Æda O'Hoffien, Archbishop of Connaught, or Tuam ; Greri, Bishop of Athacliath, or Dublin ; Giolla Na-nœmh, Bishop of Glendaloch ; Dungal O'Cellaid, Bishop of Leighlin ; Tuistius, Bishop of Waterford ; Domnald O'Fogartaic, Bishop of Offory ; Find Mac Tiarcaín, Bishop of Kildare ; Giolla Anchomdheh O'Ardmail, Bishop of Emly ; Giolla Æda O'Maigin, Bishop of Cork ; Macronan, Bishop of Kerry, or Ardfert ; Torgefius, Bishop of Limerick ; Muirchertach O'Melidar, Bishop of Clonmacnois ; Mæliofa O'Conachtain, Bishop of Airthir-conacht ; O'Ruadan, Bishop of Luigni, or Achonry ; Macraith O'Morain, Bishop of Conmacne, or Ardagh ; Ethru O'Miadachain, Bishop of Clonard ; Tuthal O'Connachtaig, Bishop of Huambruin, or Enaghdune ; Muridheach O'Cobthaig, Bishop of Ceanla-Eogain, or Derry ; Mæl Patrick O'Bainan, Bishop of Dailarid, or Connor ; Maliofa Mac Inclericuir, Bishop of Ullagh, or Down.

I have given this list on the authority of Ware and Keating, but I think it very incorrect and scarcely authentic : it favours, as all Irish MSS. do, of modern forgery. Let the reader determine from comparing two other accounts of our Sees, where the names are very different, and by no means coeval, even allowing for the uncertain orthography of these times. The first is taken from (46) Hovenden, where he relates the assembling of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbats of Ireland, to swear allegiance to Henry II. "It is to be known," says this annalist, "that there are four Archbishops and twenty-eight Bishops in Ireland, and (47) these are their names :

Gelasius, Armacensis Archiep. totius Hib. Primas. Odanus, episc. Mauritius, Charensis episc. Malethias, Thuensis episc. Neemias, Chonderensis episc. Gillebertus, Rathpotstensis episc. Thabeus, Ceneverfis. Christianus, Ardahachdensis, Eleutherius, Cluencradensis, episcopi. Donatus, Casselenfis Archiep. Christianus, Leismorensis episc. apost. fed. Legat. Ingmelleccensis episc. Cluanumensis episc. Arcmorensis

(45) Disquis. p. 87.

(46) Annal. p. 526. Edit. Saville.

(47) Quorum nomina hæc sunt. supra.

Arcmorensis episc. Lucapniarenfis episc. Kildarenensis episc. Waterfordensis episc. Archferdenfis episc. Rofensis episc. Finabrenfis episc. Laurentius, Dublinienfis Archiep. Biftagnenfis episc. Fernenfis episc. Leghglensfis episc. Kindarenfis episc. Erupolenfis episc. Catholicus Tuaimenfis Archiep. Kinfernensfis episc. Kinlathenfis episc. Maigonensfis episc. Aelfinenfis episc. Achatkourenfis episc.

Here eight Sees were subject to Armagh, ten to Cashel, five to Dublin, and five to Tuam, making, with the four Metropolitans, thirty-two episcopates. Roger Hoveden was a domestic of Henry II. and is in general well informed and accurate. As his catalogue was written but about twenty years after the Council of Kells, it is very extraordinary many of his names should differ so widely from the preceding, and that many of the Bishops are not to be found in Ware and Harris. This difference will be still more apparent from the names of our Sees as they stood in the papal tax-rolls about 1220.

Under ARMAGH were,

Conner,	-	Conner.	Ardachad,	-	Ardagh.
Dun-daleghlas,	-	Down.	Rathboth,	-	Raphoe.
Lugid,	-	Louth.	Rathlurig,	-	Rathlure.
Cluainiard,	-	Clonard.	Damliag,	-	Duleek.
Conanas,	-	Kells.	Darrich,	-	Derry.

Under DUBLIN were,

Clendelachi,	-	Glendaloch.	Leghlin,	-	Leighlin.
Fern,	-	Ferns.	Childar,	-	Kildare.
Cainic,	-	Offory.			

Under CASHEL were,

Cendaluan,	-	Killaloe.	Waltifordian,	-	Waterford.
Limerick,	-	Limerick.	Lifmor,	-	Lifmore.
Infula Gathay,	-	Inniscatty.	Cluainvanian,	-	Cloyne.
Cellumabrach,	-	Kilfenora.	Corcaia,	-	Cork.
Ole-imlech,	-	Emly.	Ros-ailithir,	-	Rofs.
Roscreen,	-	Roscrea.	Ardfert,	-	Ardfert.

Under TUAM were,

Mageo,	-	Mayo.	Achad,	-	Achonry.
Cell-alaid,	-	Killala.	Cinani,	-	Clonmacnois.
Roscoman,	-	Roscommon.	Celmun-duac,	-	Kilmacduagh.
Cluanfert,	-	Clonfert.			

Here

Here are thirty-eight Sees which paid Annates to Rome. In the (48) Roman provincial, compiled later, they are fifty-seven: the names are indeed so deformed that I have omitted them, but they may be seen in the author last cited and in Bingham. It may gratify the curiosity of many to bring under one view the situation and names of our ancient Bishopricks; and this view will demonstrate that until the arrival of the English, the number of our Sees, the succession of our Bishops and ecclesiastical affairs are involved in great obscurity. Ware's MS. gives us but twenty-three Bishops who met the Pope's Legate at Kells; so many acknowledged obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and submitted to the Metropolitans then appointed, and it is very probable new Dioceses were then formed for these Prelates, as the other lists strongly intimate. But neither the papal power nor the terror of the Monarch were able to divest the inferior Princes of their rights, or their Bishops of their Sees; if the latter acknowledged the spiritual dominion of the Pope and paid their Annates, the court of Rome cared little about their number. And this is proved by the number of our Sees in the Roman provincial being fifty-eight, which in the tax-rolls before were but thirty-eight.

The great object of Paparo's legation was to extinguish our ancient doctrines and discipline, to new model our hierarchy, and above all, lay the foundation of a revenue: none of these could be accomplished without altering the constitution of our church, and the first step towards effecting that was, by reducing the number of our Sees, which Bishop Rochfort's canons before cited fully declare. Paparo likewise bestowed four Palls on the four Metropolitans, those with the Bulls for the other Bishops brought a (49) large sum into the Cardinal's coffers. He also established the payment of tithes by apostolic, that is, by papal authority. Omnipotence was the characteristic of the Pope at this time. Of Pope Paschall II. it was said,

Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subiecta potenter.

Corpora terrena teneo, cœlestia mente.

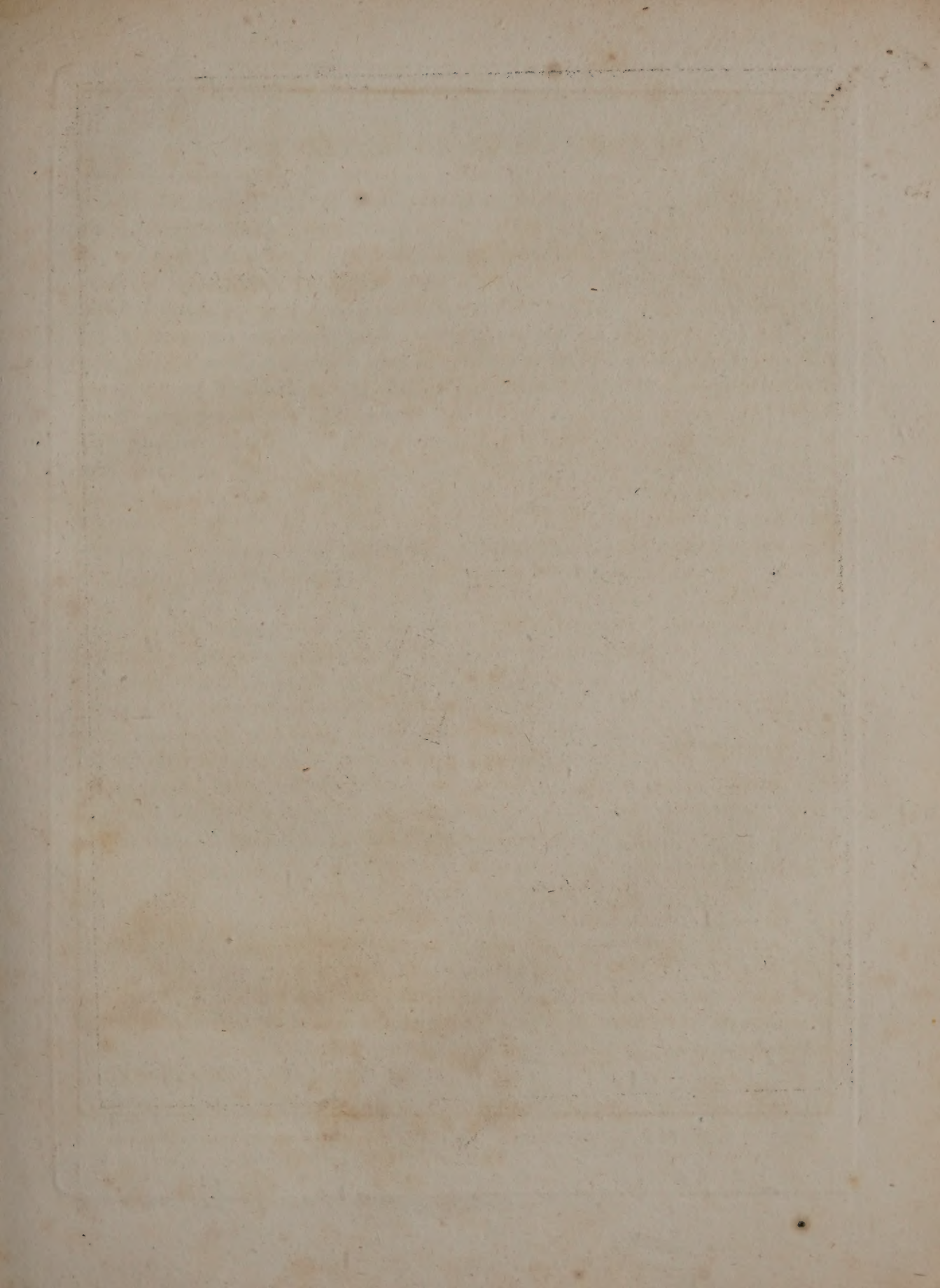
Unde tenendo polum, salvo ligoque solum (50).

Without insisting on the divine right of tithes, they are mentioned by Origen in the 3d century, by St. Jerome in the 4th, and from the Council of Mascon, it is plain they were established in France in the 5th and 6th, that is, as soon as christianity obtained in any place a firm footing, tithes became immediately an ecclesiastical

(48) Car. a Sancto Paulo Geograp. Append.

(49) See Putter's develop. of the German Empire, v. 2. p. 189. Note, c. where is a curious notice to this purpose.

(50) Godf. Viterb. Chron. Univ.



A
PLAN
of the
ISLAND
And
Saint Patrick's
PURGATORY



Explanation

- A The Church or Monastery
- B St. Patrick's Purgatory
- C Chappels or Cells
- D The Bed or Circle of St. Patrick
- E D^o of St. Abogi & Malaistri
- F D^o of St. Brendan
- G D^o of St. Columb
- H D^o of St. Catharine
- I D^o of St. Krigid
- K Heaps of Stones serving as Sepulchres for the Dead

A VIEW of the PURGATORY.

fiastical revenue, nor has human wisdom yet discovered a more equitable and less burdensome provision for the Clergy.

The Council of Kells endeavoured to extirpate Simony. This vice was prevalent in Europe in the middle (51) ages. In France, as with us, the great Lords, who erected Sees and endowed them out of their estates, bequeathed them to their wives and children, and publicly sold them to the best bidder. Abbacies were disposed of in the same manner, and so were benefices of every kind. As this conduct greatly injured the rights of Bishops and was contrary to ancient discipline, it was justly and severely reprobated. This traffick was more advantageously carried on here by those Lords who had embraced the Romish tenets and party, because they found more purchasers than in their own Sept. Even in their own Sept candidates were not wanting for benefices, as in Wales, of which Giraldus Cambrensis supplies (52) instances.

Paparo also endeavoured to abolish usury. Reasonable interest for money lent has been permitted by every government; this is very different from (53) usury, which is the pest of society. Without commerce Ireland had only landed gentry, whose prodigality and expence made a continued demand for borrowing, consequently the lenders were very few and the interest exorbitant. Before (54) the Council of Nice, Bishops and Priests were allowed to take interest for money, but after, the church denounced the severest punishments against those who received it, as excommunication, a rejection of their oblations and a prohibition of christian burial.

To render the Irish more obedient and submissive an attempt was made to fetter their minds with religious terrors, a pagan tale of purgatory was trumped up with every circumstance that could work on their hopes and fears. The very year after the Council of Kells, A. D. 1153, Matt. Paris relates the visions of Owen, an Irish soldier, which he saw in St. Patrick's purgatory. The story was taken up by Henry, a Cistercian Monk, and varnished with all the powers of his ingenuity. Christ, says he, appeared to St. Patrick, and leading him to a desert place showed him a deep hole, and told him, whoever repented and was armed with true faith,

2 M

and

(51) Mosheim. Cent. XI. And Baluze: Quo fiebat, ut qui ecclesias obtinere a patronis volebant, eas vel numerata pecunia, vel sædis obsequiis acquirerent. Not. ad Regin. p. 544. Wini purchased from Wulfere the See of London in 666. Bed. l. 3. c. 7.

(52) Wharton. Ang. Sac. p. 530.

(53) Fæus among canonists is legal interest, Usura, is illegal extortion. Regin. p. 133.

(54) Ante hanc etiam sanctionem Nicænæ synodi, episcopi ac Presbyteri sænerabantur, sicut alii homines, singulis centesimis καὶ διανεύοντες εκατόντας ἀπαιτοῖσι. Salmas. de modo usurar. p. 272. Balsamo disertè tradit, usuras laicis permissas esse, clericis solis vetitas. Salmas. de sæn. trapezet. p. 71.

and entering that pit continued there a night and a day, should be purged from all his sins; and also, during his abode there, should not only see the pains of the damned, but the joys of the blessed. St. Patrick immediately built a church on the spot, and placed therein regular canons of St. Austin.

This impious fiction, for many ages firmly believed, confutes itself by mentioning regular canons, which are well known to have had no existence, as Mabillion (55) observes, before the 10th century. The ground-work of this story and many of the particulars are taken from (56) Bede, and so is the name, Owen: less than these were enough for a monkish fable. It has been well (57) remarked, that no account of this purgatory is to be found in Probus or Joceline, or any other writer previous to the 12th century. It has been discredited by many popish ecclesiastics, and on St. Patrick's day in the year 1497, it was demolished by order of Pope Alexander VI. The place is still frequented in the (58) months of May, June, and July; nor is this to be wondered at, when the late Pope Benedict XIV. was an admirer of this purgatory, and preached and (59) published a sermon on its virtues. Such is the infallibility of Popes, and such the effects (60) of superstition on weak and credulous minds. Here I should have closed the account of this celebrated place, was it not necessary to add a few words in explanation of the plate. This purgatory is in a small isle in Lough Derg, in the southern part of Donegal. The isle is but 126 yards long by 44 broad, and the cave is sixteen feet and a half by two wide, and so low that a tall man cannot stand erect in it. It holds nine persons, a tenth could not remain in it without great inconvenience. The floor is the natural rock, and the whole is covered with large stones and fods. There are seven chapels and circles dedicated to St. Patrick, St. Abage, St. Molafs, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Catherine and St. Bridget.

The Roman Pontiff, finding the success of Paparo's legateship very problematical, resolved to place Ireland in more powerful hands, and for this end he issued a (61) Bull, A. D. 1155. In this Pope Adrian claims the sovereignty of our islands, and bestows Ireland on Henry II. that he might extend the borders of the church and of religion,

(55) Mabillonio nuper dicitur ignotus ante sæculum decimum. Spanheim, *Isag. hist. ecc.* T. 2, p. 492. Mosheim, *supra*.

(56) *Lib.* 5. c. 13. *Lib.* 4. c. 3.

(57) Richardson on the folly of pilgrimages, chap. 3.

(58) Burke, *Hibern. Domin.* p. 4.

(59) De eo Sermonem habuit ad populum, ut me memini Romæ inter sermones suos typis vulgatos legisse. — Burke, *supra*, p. 5.

(60) No one has noticed how exactly the ceremonies at the Purgatory, as described by Messingham, agree with those practised at the Oracle and Cave of Trophimus. Pausan. *Beet.* p. 603—604. Edit. Sylburg. Vandale. de Orac.

(61) Usser. *Syll.* p. 109.

religion, extirpate vice and reform evil manners, provided he yearly pays to St. Peter a penny for each house and preserves the rights of churches. "Voilà," exclaims (62) Mac Geoghegan, "un arrêt prononcé contre l'Irlande, par lequel le droit des gens & les loix les plus sacrées sont violées sous le specieux prétexte de religion & de réformation des mœurs. Les Irlandois ne doivent plus avoir une patrie : cette nation qui n'avoit jamais subi un joug étranger est condamnée sans être entendue à perdre sa liberté. Mais peut-on soupçonner le Vicaire de Jésus Christ d'une injustice si criante ? Peut-on le croire capable d'avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleversé toute une nation, qui a dépossédé de leurs patrimoines tant d'anciens propriétaires, qui a fait répandre tant de sang, & qui a été cause enfin de la ruine de la religion dans cette île."

Our Abbé and (63) Lynch endeavour to remove the odium of this papal act by declaring the Bull a forgery : but the (64) confirmation of it by Pope Alexander in 1172, and a recital of (65) it by Pope John in 1319, place its authority beyond doubt. Modern Roman Catholics perceive, what their ancestors did not, some deviations from infallible rectitude in the Roman Vice-Deity, and do not speak so (66) respectfully of these transactions. Furnished with these omnipotent charters, Henry arrived in this kingdom in 1172, and after accepting the allegiance of the Irish, hastened to Cashel to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. The canons made in this council have before been concisely given : the principal of them is that which decrees uniformity of divine offices in the King's dominions of England and Ireland. This was a wise law ; for the first step towards reconciling the natives of both countries to each other was, to make them of one religion : their submission to the ecclesiastical naturally led to an acquiescence in the common law of their new masters ; and the event would have been answerable to the expectation but for the subsequent weakness of the English government, which then, and almost ever since, instead of applying radical cures to public disorders, contented itself with palliatives and temporary expedients, to appease some present clamour or get rid of some present inconvenience.

Thus have I endeavoured to collect a few fragments, and they are no more, of our ecclesiastical antiquities : if they should add any thing to the general stock, or illustrate obscure points the labour is amply recompensed. The orientalisms of the Irish and British churches though noticed, as was before observed, by many learned men,

(62) Hist. d'Irlande. T. I. p. 440.

(63) Cambrens. Evers. p. 166—193.

(64) Usser. Syllog. supra.

(65) Wilkins. Conc. v. 2. p. 491.

(66) Jus. Primat. Armac. sup. O'Connor's Dissert. 1st Edit.

men, has never been so far investigated as to give a tolerable idea of its particulars, for most of these writers have confined themselves to that of the paschal festival. In the foregoing pages an attempt is made to supply this defect, and also to confirm the testimony of (67) Tertullian and Origen in the 3d, and Chrysostom and Eusebius in the 4th century, of the early propagation of christianity in the British isles by Greek missionaries. This is a point which could not be pleasing to Roman Catholics of former times, who wished to refer all our religious obligations to Rome. And hence we need not wonder at (68) O'Flaherty pronouncing our "Greek Church and Greek Easter imaginary whimsies." Our author was a good scholar and antiquary, and not unskilled in literary warfare :

Affuetus longo muros defendere bello.

If therefore substantial evidence could be brought to shew the orientalism of our church an imaginary whimsey, he was as capable as any other to produce it. But instead of direct and positive proofs, his learning and ingenuity could afford him but one, and that superficial, evasive, and illogical. It is this : " St. Patrick," says he, " living for some years a canon in the Lateran, knew of no other manner of observing Easter but that he saw precisely practised at Rome : the Britons and Picts used the same, as did the northern Picts converted by Columba, and this uniformity continued to the time of Dionysius Exiguus, A. D. 532."

Columba, I have shewn, did not keep the Roman Easter, nor was Saint Patrick ever in the Lateran. Under what then can O'Flaherty shelter himself from the imputation of either gross ignorance, or gross misrepresentation. Simply under this, that there was no Cycle, but the Jewish of 84 years, for keeping Easter invented till Dionysius Exiguus formed one, and therefore the British, Irish, and Roman churches and indeed every church observed Easter in the same manner. This is such a firm tone of deception, and so shameful an evasion of truth, as could only be found in a desperate partizan of a desperate cause. What brought Polycarp from Asia in the 2d century to Pope Anicetus, but to confer on the time of observing the (69) paschal festival, and to terminate the violent disputes concerning it ? What made Pope Victor, at the end of the same century, fulminate excommunication against the Asiatic Bishops, but that the latter did not keep Easter like the former ?

1

If

(67) Tertull. adv. Judæos, c. 7. Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech. and hom. 6. in Luc. c. 1. Chrysost. t. 6, p. 635. Euseb. dem. evang. l. 3.

(68) Ogyg. vind. p. 225.

(69) Euseb. Hist. eccles. l. 4. c. 14 l. 3. c. 24.

If there was no diversity, why did the Council of (70) Nice decree the exact time of celebrating this festival? All these events happened before the age of St. Patrick. Do they denote an harmonious uniformity in the eastern and western churches on this subject? No one knew better than O'Flaherty that they do not; and yet we must lament, that no literary eminence, no mental improvement are able totally to prevent a bias to party and opinions to which education and long habits incline men. Our author writ at a time (1687) when religious and civil dissention prevailed, embittered the minds of men and left no time for cool inquiry or reflection. It was scarcely possible to escape the general infection:

Uvaeque conspectâ livorem ducit ab uvâ.

But had he lived at the present day, and more minutely examined the matter, he would have freely confessed the propagation of faith in this isle, to have been nearly, if not exactly as stated in these pages, and that a Greek church and Greek Easter here were not imaginary whimsies.

(70) If the canon relative to this be genuine. Dupin. Siecle 4. Richardson. Praelect. ecc. supra. Johnson's Councils in loco.



OF THE STONE-ROOFED CHURCHES OF THE ANCIENT IRISH, AND OF CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

IF (1) Vitruvius, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion Cassius and Herodian, who professedly or incidently treat of the domestication of the Irish in their several ages, record nothing but traits of barbarism, incivility, and total want of architecture, where could the Irish acquire ideas of the (2) Egyptian and Grecian styles of building? There must be either a strange conspiracy among ancient writers, to misrepresent the truth, and deceive mankind, or what is delivered by Stukeley and Irish Antiquaries of the wonderful proficiency of the Druids in the Arts and Sciences, is destitute of reality. The latter had absurd systems to support, the former stated matters of fact and notoriety. Impartiality and truth are ever found among those who have no inducement to swerve from them.

*Vix equidem credar, sed cum sint præmia falsi
Nulla, ratam testis debet habere fidem.*

Mr. O'Connor grants our buildings in the 6th century were mean, and yet he speaks of magnificent ones many ages before, without condescending to explain the occult causes of this degradation, and at length final extinction of architecture among us. But this omission is not more remarkable than those on every subject touched on in his dissertations; where a copious flow of words supplies the place of information, and the Leavar Gabbala and Codex Lecanus mislead the reader with the show of authority.

Mr. Lynch (3) thinks we had stone houses very early, because Teamor or the palace of Tarah, is derived from Tea a house and mor a wall. Had any but an Irish scholar and seanachie advanced so foolish an etymology, how loudly would his ignorance of the Ibero-Celtic be proclaimed? Teamor is obviously the great house or palace. But if Mr. Lynch's authority is to be depended on, Ireland was but slenderly

(1) Vitruv. Archit. l. 2. c. 1. Strab. l. 12. Plin. l. 16. Tacit. Germ. c. 16. Dio. l. 39. Herod. l. 7. c. 4.

(2) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 771.

(3) Cambrens. Evers. p. 117. Rowlands remarks that Caer or Cahir and Mhuir or Mur import an inclosed place, p. 29. But that Tea should be added to commemorate an Irish queen, is wild and romantic.

derly inhabited before the Incarnation ; for he records it of Irialus, as a memorable public act, that he (4) cleared sixteen plains covered with wood ; and that Eochad Fibherglas and Oengus Olmucad performed similar important services : the inference is easy and certain, that such a country and its inhabitants must be in the rudest state, and that it had more of the ferine than the human species possessing it.

In the eyes of reason and learning then how weak and unfounded are the assertions of our natural historians ? They boast of extensive buildings and high degrees of civilization above two thousand years ago. The construction of Eamania, says O'Connor, forms a remarkable epoch. Not in history, I am bold to say, but in Irish romance, for this was 350 years before our æra, when the Roman state was in its infancy, and Europe but thinly peopled by wandering Celtes. To find at this period and in this corner of the world, a nation flourishing in all the arts of peace and settled society, is a tale not to be listened to, much less believed. If the magnificence and splendour of the palace of Tarah were such as described by Keating and his blind followers ; if they continued from its erection to throw a lustre on the taste and opulence of Irish monarchy to the year of our Lord 427, can any reason be assigned for the silence of Geographers and historians on so curious and interesting a subject, or on such unusual power, wealth and civility ? Would the Romans, a people intelligent and curious, and who held the dominion of Britain for 476 years, have been strangers to such a nation ? It must instantly be decided, that they would not.

The Celtes were, as their (5) name intimates, Woodlanders : in forests they found houses, food and security : occupied in the chase and supported by the spontaneous produce of the earth, and above all living, as hunters ever do, in families and these widely dispersed, they never dreamed of stone edifices, or felt the want of them. The Firbolgs or Belgic colonies, who succeeded them, were a very different and more civilized people. Like their brethren in Germany, they dwelt a great part of the year in (6) natural souterrains, or artificial caves, and the number of these discovered in Ireland evinces that they practised the same here, and that they knew very well how to form chambers with dry stones, and arch them over with long projecting flags. The first christian missionaries endeavoured to estrange the minds of
the

(4) Cambrens. Evers. p. 59 Rowlands says the same of the Welsh. p. 20.

(5) Whitaker's Manchester, Vol. 1. and Britons asserted, p. 114. Baxter. Gloss. in Novantæ. Archæol. V. 2. p. 421. We have many places called Pallice or Peillice, which O'Brien (in voce) supposes to have been a booth made up of earth and branches of trees, and covered with skins.

(6) Pelloutier, hist. des Celtes, tom. 1.

the natives from their old idolatry, by building wooden churches. Thus Palladius, it is (7) said, founded in 431, three wooden oratories. The year after, St. Patrick erected the church of Saul, in the county of Down: it was called † Sgibol Phadraig, or Patrick's Barn, a name at once conveying to us its shape and materials. Concubran, describing the old chapel of Monenna at Kilsieve, in the county of Armagh, A. D. 630, tells us it was made of (8) smoothed timber, according to the Irish fashion, for they had no stone fabrics. About 635, Finian, an Irishman, and Bishop of Lindisfern, built a church in that isle for his episcopal see: it was made of (9) split oak and covered with reeds. Eadbert, his successor, ordered the thatch to be taken off, and both the roof and walls to be sheeted with lead. Bede says, Finan's church was after the Irish fashion, being of wood, whereas the (10) Roman was with stone. In 684, Cuthbert, an (11) Irishman, and also Bishop of Lindisfern, constructed an edifice, of which Bede gives this (12) description. The building was round, four or five perches wide between wall and wall. The wall on the outside, was the height of a man, on the inside higher, so made by sinking of an huge rock, which was done to prevent the thoughts from rambling, by restraining the sight. The wall was neither of squared stone or brick, or cemented with mortar, but of rough unpolished stone, with turf dug up in the middle of the place, and banked on both sides of the stone all round. Some of the stones were so big that four men could hardly lift one. Within the walls he constructed two houses and a chapel, together with a room for common uses. The roofs he made of unhewn timber, and thatched them. Without the walls, was a large house to receive strangers, and near it a fountain of water.

The paroxysm of zeal for the monastic profession alternately possessed the eastern and western world. Egypt, about the end of the 4th century, boasted (13) of seventy-six thousand Monks, and twenty-one thousand Nuns. In this island, in the 7th century, the age we are speaking of, St. Nathalus and St. Maidoc separately ruled

(7) Uffer, Primord. p. 737, & seq.

† Ecclesie tunc apud Hibernos fuere parvæ, in forma quadræ oblongæ redactæ, & viminibus, &c. Pinkerton, vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 39.

(8) Tabulis dedolatis, juxta morem Scoticarum gentium, eo quod macerias Scoti non solent facere. Uffer. supra.

(9) Quam more Scotorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine textit. Eadbertus, ablata arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum & ipsos quoque parietes ejus cooperire curavit. Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

(10) Archaeologia, Vol. 8. p. 168—169.

(11) Regio dicitur natus sanguine in Hibernia, patre Muriardacho, matre vero Sabina. Godwyn, de præfal. p. 95.

(12) Vit. Cudberti, p. 243.

(13) Raffin, c. 5. p. 459. Fleury, Tom. 30.



DUN AENGUS.

Engraved by John Jones, No. 9, Bride Street, Dublin.

Antiquities of Ireland, page 139

(14) ruled one hundred and fifty Monks, and St. Manchene and St. Monenna, as many Nuns. Three hundred Monks obeyed St. Tehan; eight hundred and seventy-six, St. Carthag; a thousand, St. Goban; a thousand five hundred, St. Laferian; three hundred, St. Brendan; three thousand, St. Finan; as many, St. Congel and St. Gerald; so that Bishop Nicholson might well (15) say, the secular and regular clergy were almost as numerous as men of every other denomination. In the little isle of Bute were twelve (16) churches or chapels, and thirty hermitages; and in Unst and the other Hebrides, religious phrenzy equally extended her reign. Hence the Irish acquired a fondness for, and a propensity to monachism, which remarkably distinguished them through (17) every age. Though the number of Monks and Nuns now recited is by no means to be depended on, yet it suggested to their presidents the necessity of stone inclosures or closes, these in the East were called Mandræ. The word originally (18) imported a sheep-fold, and was applied to those monastic buildings, wherein the Archimandrite presided over his disciples, as the shepherd superintended his flock in the fold. There are many of these Mandræ dispersed over this kingdom hitherto unnoticed; one remarkable is Dun Aengus. This is in the greater isle of Arran, on the coast of Galway, situated on a high cliff over the sea, and is a * circle of monstrous stones, without cement, and capable of containing 200 cows. The tradition † relative to it is, that Aengus, King of Cashel, about 490, granted this isle, called Arran Naomh, or Arran of the Saints, to St. Enna or Endeus, to build ten churches on.

The 7th and 8th centuries were brilliant periods in the history of Irish literature. It is therefore surprising amid such a superiority, not to find other useful branches of human knowledge cultivated in this isle. However, other people were similarly circumstanced. Doctor Johnson (19) remarks, “that he knew not whether it was peculiar to the Scots to have attained the liberal without the manual arts, to have excelled in ornamental knowledge, and to have wanted not only the elegancies but the conveniencies of common life. Yet men thus ingenious and inquisitive, are

20 content

(14) Cambren. Evers. p. 138. Colgan adds much to this catalogue. Act. Sanct. Hib. passim.

(15) Irish Historical Library, Preface.

(16) Campbell's political Survey, V. 2. p. 578.

(17) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, par. 2. p. 91. Archdall, sup. Introduction.

(18) Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 460—461. Du Cange & Suicer. in voce.

* Ingens opus lapideum sine cemento tamen, quod ducentas vaccas in area contineret, supra altissimam maris crepidinem, e vastæ molis rupibus erectum. O'Flah. Ogyg. p. 175. Macpherson's crit. diss. p. 294.

† Archdall's Monast. Hib. p. 271.

(19) Journey to the Western Islands.

content to live in total ignorance of the trades, by which the human wants are supplied, and to supply them by the grossest means." To the same purpose, Doctor Woodward, from Diodorus Siculus, (20) observes it as a mighty paradox, that the Egyptians should take little care of the structure of their houses, when they wasted so much time, labour, and expence in adorning their sepulchres.—But the solution of these paradoxical appearances is not so difficult. The climate has some influence on the architecture of a country, but its political constitution the greatest. Where this is unfavourable to industry, to commerce, to arts and manufactures, there we are not to look for neatness or convenience in apparel, in building, or any other instance of civil improvement.

From every evidence supplied by antiquity it is certain, the Irish had neither domestic edifices nor religious structures of lime and stone, antecedent to the great northern invasion in the 9th century. Some years before the birth of Christ, Drusus erected fifty (21) castles or forts along the Rhine, so that the calcination of stone and the preparation of mortar, could not be unknown to the natives, and yet an hundred years after, (22) Tacitus assures us, the Germans did not use cement or mortar. A century later (23) Herodion and Dion Cassius declare the same. Tacitus does not say, the Germans were ignorant of mortar and its composition, that would have been impossible from their intercourse with the Romans, he only denies them the use of it: their riches, as this writer observes, were their flocks and herds, their life was pastoral; a state of society wherein no one expects to find durable structures. And yet they had skill enough to form subterranean granaries and antrile chambers to secure (24) their corn, and soften the severity of the winter's cold. Such was exactly the case with the Irish. Whatever change christianity operated in the religious sentiments of the latter, it made no alteration in the political constitution of the country, of course things remained in their ancient state as to the arts of civil life.

But the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church were averse from stone fabrics. Celsus, that bitter enemy of christianity, (25) objects to the first believers, that they had no dedications or consecrations of altars, statues, or churches. Four centuries had almost (26) elapsed before the usage here noticed began. In this interval, the

Gospel

(20) Archæologia, V. 4. p. 230.

(21) Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

(22) Ne cœmentorum quidem apud illos usus. Germ. c. 16.

(23) Pelloutier, supra.

(24) Suffugium hyemi & receptaculum frugibus. Per subterranea occulta, fossasque multifidas, multi Germani latebant. Tac. Germ. c. 16. In the fossis multifidis, we see the origin of our subterranean rooms in the numerous caves in this isle, made by the Firbolgs, or Belgic colonists.

(25) Origen. Cont. Cels. l. 8. M. Fæl. Octav. Arnob. l. 6. Lactant. l. 2. c. 2.

(26) Compare Euseb. vit. Constant. l. 2. c. 47. Durand, Rat. Div. Offic. c. 6. P. Virgil. de Invent. l. 6. c. 8.

Gospel was propagated in this isle by Greek missionaries or their disciples. It was in the 6th age, churches were anointed with chrism, and in 787, reliques (27) were placed in them, and they assumed the name of some patron Saint or Martyr. While corruptions were creeping into religion on the continent, ours was pure and primitive. Retentive of the faith delivered to us, and precluded from access to Rome by the convulsions of the Empire, we were strangers to the innovations of foreign churches; when time discovered them to us, we beheld them with horror and detestation. Such is the tenor of our ecclesiastical history. Lanfranc (28) complains in 1074, that we did not use chrism in baptism, and we may conclude, that it was not applied in inferior sacred offices, as consecrating a church or altar. By Archbishop Comyn's (29) canons, made in 1186, it appears that our altars were of wood, and therefore incapable of chrismation; for the councils of Aige in 506, and of Epaon in 517, forbid the (30) holy oil to be applied but to structures of stone. Here are proofs of our churches being generally of wood even in the 12th century, and that their consecration was solely by prayer, agreeably to the custom of the purest ages.

The Britons, who symbolized with the Irish in religious tenets, had only (31) wattled and wooden churches. The ancient chapel at Glastonbury, preserved in (32) Spelman, and that of (33) Greested in the county of Essex, exhibit specimens of the old Irish and British style. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon church, founded by an eleve of Rome, early adopted the masses, stations, litanies, singing, reliques, pilgrimages, and other superstitious practices, flowing in a full tide from that imperial city, and with these that mode of building peculiarly suited to them.

The Irish Ostmén being converted in the 9th century, embraced the faith of their countrymen in England. We find them in subsequent ages corresponding with (34) Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and sending to the Metropolitans of that see their

(27) Concil. Nic. 2. cau. 7. Reliques are defended by the Romanists on the text (Revelations, chap. vi. ver. 9.) of a book of very suspicious authority. Even this text is perverted, for does the soul and body remain together in the grave? What is said by St. Austin, (Serm. de Sanct.) and by St. Jerome, (in Vigilant.) they are interpolations, and of no weight.

(28) Usser. Syllog. p. 71. On what authority is chrism or unction supported? On a prophane and ridiculous supposition. Spirituales intelligi volebant sacris mysteriis ineffe pinguedinem. Cyprian. c. 14.

(29) Ware's Bishops, p. 316.

(30) Altaria nisi lapidea infusione chrismatis non sacrentur. Conc. Epaon. c. 26. Why? Durandus answers: Non de ligno, quia cum sit porosum et spongiosum corpus sanguinem absorberet, sup. p. 18. The portable stone-altar of the 9th and 10th centuries, was usually a slate. Baluz. in Rhegin. p. 561—562.

(31) E lapide enim sacras ædes efficiere tam Scotis quam Britonibus morem fuisse insolitum. Usser. sup. p. 737. Eo quod, ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerat. Bed. l. 3. c. 4.

(32) Concil. V. 1. p. 11.

(33) Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 100.

(34) Usser. Syll. p. 119.

their Bishops for consecration. This predilection might be reasonably expected among people issuing from the same country, and connected by affinity and language. Accordingly the first structures of the Ostmen in Ireland, and the first buildings with (35) mortar, were stone-roofed chapels for reliques. I shall only add one very remarkable circumstance, and that is the close imitation of British crypts in their sculptures by our Irish architects. Let the learned reader compare the sculptural ornaments of (36) the undercroft at Canterbury, with those in some of our chapels, and he will be convinced of the truth of what is here advanced. As our over-ground cryptical chapels have been hitherto unnoticed by Irish Antiquaries, and as they are objects extremely curious, I shall now communicate what authentic information has occurred to me concerning them.

Near the Cathedral of Killaloe, is a stone-roofed chapel, in it were probably deposited the reliques of St. Flannan, though after translated to the cathedral. This patron Saint is (37) said to have been disciple of St. Molua, the founder of this chapel, which from him was called, Kil da Lua, and the patron himself, Mo-Lua, or My Molua, a pronoun added by way of endearment. This childish analysis is as contemptible as the other elucidations of hagiographers. St. Molua is an ideal personage, and may be added to the other Saints of imagination. (38) Kil-le-lua, is literally the church upon or near the water, the water here is the Shannon: a rational and obvious origin of the name. This place, being but eleven miles from the great Ostman settlement at Limerick, was perhaps as early built as any other in the isle.

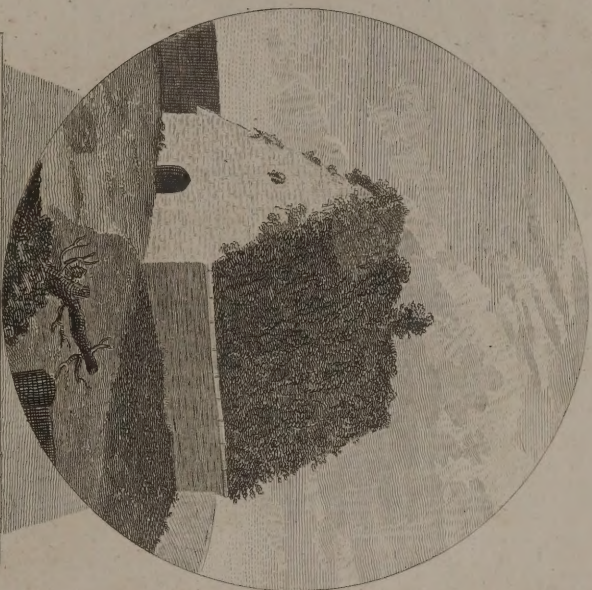
The church of St. Doulach, situated about four miles to the East of Dublin, on the road to Malahide, is a curious structure. It is forty-eight feet long, by eighteen wide. There is a double stone roof, the external which covers the building, and that which divides the lower from the upper story. You enter this crypt through a small door to the South. Just as you enter, the tomb of St. Doulach presents itself. The tomb projects so far into the room, that together with the stairs of the tower and legs of the arches, it can contain but few people: it seems designed for no other use but the separate admission of those, who came to make their prayers and offerings to the Saint. From this room, by stooping, you pass a narrow way and enter the

(35) The Ordo Romanus, compiled in the 9th century, directs the mortar used for inclosing reliques within an altar to be made with holy water. *Tunc faciat maltam cum ipsa aqua benedicta ad occludendas Sanctorum reliquias in loco altaris.* Du Cange in Malta.

(36) Archaeologia, V. 8.

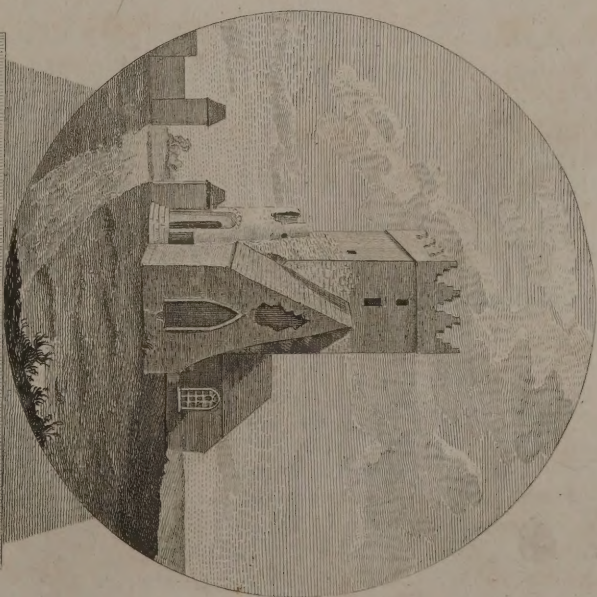
(37) Ware's Bishops, p. 390.

(38) O'Brien's Irish Dict. voce Lia.



OLD Church of KILLINLOE.

W. B. M. 1845



ST. DONAGH'S CHURCH.

J. E. 1845

Published by John Power, No. 90, Bridge St. Dublin.

the chapel. This is twenty-two feet by twelve, and lighted by three windows, one at the East, and two at the South; the arches pointed and decorations Gothic, these with the tower are later additions. The roof is of stone and carried up like a wedge. The stones which cover it are not large, but so well bedded in mortar, that after many centuries this roof transmits neither light nor water. There is a well in an octagon inclosure, with some emblematic fresco paintings, and a bath supplied from the well. The cryptical sepulchres and oratories in Gregory of Tours and Bede are the exact archetypes of ours. These were secured from vulgar approach by (39) doors and chancels; the suppliant was permitted only to put his head into a little window, and there invoke the Saint, and take with his fingers a pinch of the sacred dust. Under the ancient church of Rippon, founded (40) by Wilfrid, A. D. 660, is an arched chapel, ten feet six inches long, seven feet six inches broad, and nine feet high. There are nine steps down to it, and there is a little hole, called St. Wilfrid's needle, through which people are drawn into the (41) chapel. In all these instances, there is a remarkable uniformity, proving that they sprang from one common origin.

The crenellated square tower at St. Doulach's, if not a later addition, must have been constructed by some of the Fingallian or Dublin Ostman Princes of the eleventh century. And this I conclude as well from the building as from the name of the Saint to whom it is dedicated. St. Tulloch or St. Doulach is a (42) corruption of St. Olave. Now St. Olave was (43) born A. D. 993, and died at the age of thirty-five, so that this chapel could not be older than the beginning of the 11th century. About 1038, Sihtric, the Ostman King of Dublin, built the (44) church of the holy Trinity, or Christ Church in that city, and his Bishop Donat was animated with not less zeal, for he founded the chapels of St. Michael and St. Nicholas. Tulloch's or Olave's lane probably received its name at this time; it ran from the end of Fishamble-street to the Wood-quay, and as was usual in those ages, had a cross, a well, or oratory, dedicated to this Saint. It might well be expected that the northerns would particularly venerate a Saint of their own country, and endeavour to procure some of his reliques. St. Doulach's chapel is an existing monument of this fact, as well as of their superstition.

(39) Sed qui orare desiderat, referatis cancellis quibus locus ille ambitur, &c. Fenestella parvula patefacta, immittit intorsum capite, quæ necessitas promit, efflagitat. Greg. Tur. de glor. Confess. p. 925. Edit. Ruinart. Habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent manum suam immittere, ac partem pulveris inde adsumere. Bed. l. 4. c. 3.

(40) Tanner's Notitia Mon. in Yorkshire.

(41) Gent's history of Rippon, p. 120.

(42) History of Dublin, p. 86.

(43) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 292.

(44) History of Dublin, p. 371.

St. Doulach's well was the baptistery, it is at a small distance from the chapel. All the old baptismal fonts were octagonal. There was something mystical in the (45) number eight. Among christians the idea of this figure seems to have been taken from the (46) eighth or baptismal day. Thus (47) St. Ambrose.

Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus,

Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Hoc numero decuit sacri baptismatis aulam

Surgere, quo populis vera salus rediit.

The emblematic fresco paintings, with which this baptistery is adorned, were directly copied from a Roman original. Thus Prudentius (48) speaks of the Vatican font.

Omnicolor vitreas pictura superne tingit undas.

Musci relucent & virefcit aurum.

Cyaneusque latex umbram trahit imminentis ostri,

Credas moveri fluctibus lacunar.

As a supplement to what has been said of St. Doulach and his chapel, I beg leave to add an account of both from an anonymous, though well informed author, who in 1747, published a concise survey of the ecclesiastical state of Dublin and its diocese.

"In Bove-street, now called Fishamble-street, stood formerly a chapel of ease to St. John's church dedicated to St. Doulach, an anchoret whose feast is celebrated on the first of August; on which day and during its octave, is visited a famous well in Fingal between Belgriffin and Kinsaly, about five miles from Dublin, contiguous to a church sacred to the memory of this venerable solitary, whose life was formerly preserved at Malahide, but now not to be met with. The building of the hermitage is still covered, and in it is an altar, which some look upon to have been the tomb of that holy recluse; near which is a hole, where many put in their heads to get rid of the head-ach. Up two pair of stone-stairs is shewn his bed, not much larger than a small oven, scarce sufficient to contain a person of a moderate size: it is held in great repute by women in pregnancy, who turn thrice in said bed, hoping thereby they may not die in child-bed. The steeple is still up, as is also the church, which is now much smaller than formerly. Divine service is performed there once a fortnight, and the tithes belong to the Chapter of Christ Church. Near this church

(45) Rhodogin, l. 22. c. 13.

(46) Cyprian, epist. 59, ad Fidum.

(47) Inscrip. ad font. S. Teclæ. Du Gange in Octava. Durand. sup. l. 7. c. 1.

(48) Perisseph. hym. 12.

church is a well of most lucid and delightful water, inclosed and arched over, and formerly embellished at the expence of Peter Fagan, brother of John Fagan of Feltrim, Esq. with the decorations of gilding and painting. The descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles was represented on the top: the effigies of St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Bridget, much after the manner they are engraved in Messingham's title-page to his *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, as also of St. Doulach, in a hermit's habit. On the walls was the following inscription, engraved on a marble stone.

*“Piscinæ Solymis claræ decus efferat alter,
Et medicas populus jactet Hebræus aquas.
Grata Deo patrium celebrat Fingallia fontem,
Doulachi precibus munera nacta piis.
Morbos ille fugat promptus, viresque reponit,
Ægris, & causas mille salutis habet.
Scilicet æquus agit mediis Doulachus in undis,
Angelus ut fontem, sic movet ille suum.
O Fons! noster amor, si te negleximus olim
Mox erit, ut nomen sit super astra tuum.*

“Bethsaida's sacred pool, let others tell
With healing virtues how her waters swell,
An equal glory shall Fingallia claim,
Nor be less grateful for her blisful stream.
Thy pray'rs, Doulachus, mounted up to heav'n,
Thence to thy well the mighty pow'r is giv'n
To drive the fiery fever far away,
Strength to replace, and rescue from decay,
In ev'ry malady to life a stay.
The cherub wond'rous moves his wat'ry sphere,
The faint behold who stirs the fountain here.
Hail! lovely font, if long unfung thy name,
It hence shall rise above the starry frame.

“Doctor Patrick Ruffel, Archbishop (titular) of Dublin, granted forty days indulgence to those who would say devoutly, on their bare knees, at St. Doulach's well, five times the Lord's prayer, Ave Maria, and at the end of said prayers the Apostles creed, and that a fortnight must intervene between each time of saying the

the aforeſaid prayers to gain the indulgence, as appears from an inſcription which had been formerly on a ſtone which imported the ſame. At the back of St. Dou-
lach's well, there is another for bathing, which is vaulted, and called after St. Ca-
tharine."

Thus far our author, who in his account of this little cryptical chapel and its founder, exhibits a picture of ſuperſtition and bigotry as remote from common ſenſe as from genuine chriſtianity.

Near the (49) church of Portaferry ſtands a chapel; a coarſe building, ſays the writer, of an odd contrivance, being a room thirty-ſeven feet in length, ſixteen broad, and twenty high; covered with a coved arch of ſtone, ſo cloſe and firmly cemented, that it does not appear to admit any water. Adjoining is a ſimilar ſtructure, divided into two apartments. There is a very ancient over-ground crypt in an iſland in the Shannon not far from Killaloe. Malachy O'Morgair, about 1135, erected at the Abbey of Saul, two ſtone-roofed crypts, ſeven feet high, ſix long and two and a half wide, with a ſmall window at one ſide. But that of the greateſt magnitude and beſt architecture is Cormac's chapel at (50) Caſhel.

Irish romantic hiſtory tells us, that he was deſcended from Olliol-Olum, King of Munſter of the Eugenic race, and that he was proclaimed King of Caſhel, A. D. 902, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, exerciſing at the ſame time the archi-epiſcopal functions. That in 906, he was ſuddenly attacked by Flan, King of Meath, and by Carubhal, King of Leinſter, who plundered his country. That in 907, he defeated theſe enemies on the plains of Moylena in Meath, but in 908, he was again invaded, and fell in battle on the plain of Moyailbhe, not far from Leighlin. I rely more on the teſtimony of Caradoc of Lhancarvan, for his exiſtence than the plauſible fictions of national writers; and I think what this Welch chronicler relates of his being ſlain by the Danes moſt likely, for in his time they were (51) ravaging every part of the kingdom. Irish writers praiſe his learning, piety, valour, and magnificence; after pompouſly detailing theſe, they are not aſhamed at confeſſing their total (52) ignorance of his ſucceſſors in Caſhel for one hundred years. As uſual, they are perfectly acquainted with the minuteſt tranſactions of the remoteſt ages, of which there are no annals or documents remaining, but where light might be expected from the latter in ſubſequent periods, there nothing but darkneſs reigns.

Caſhel

(49) Hiſt. of the County of Down, p. 46.

(50) Caſhal, in Irish, is a rock. O'Brien in voce.

(51) Johnſtone, ſupra, p. 66.

(52) Ware's Biſhops, p. 467.



A. Curran's Engraving.

A South East View of the ROCK of CASHEL.

Published by John Jones, 1790, Dublin.

Printed by J. Jones, 1790.

Cashel seems to have been dedicated to religion in times of paganism; for on the site of heathen fanes early christianity erected her churches. Ware relates a tradition, that the kings of Munster were proclaimed on a large stone there. This was a Firbolgian custom introduced from the North, where the people reared (53) great stones, or stone-circles for the election and inauguration of their princes, the electors themselves also standing on stones while giving their suffrages. Formerly in (54) Scotland, when a chief entered on the government of his clan, he was mounted on an heap of stones in the form of a pyramid, his followers standing in a circle round him. Manus Odonnel, Lord of Tyrconnel, was inaugurated on a rock near Kilmacrenan church in 1537, as Cox informs us. And M'Donald, King of the Isles, was crowned standing on a stone. Our Liafail or (55) Stone of Fate, is very celebrated in Irish romantic history; on it our monarchs were seated for inauguration, and if he was the true successor, the stone groaned in sign of approbation. This stone was brought into Ireland by the Tuatha de Danans, from the city of (56) Falia in the north of Germany. This tradition, connected with the acknowledged practice of the Northerns, proves the custom to be of Scandinavian origin, and very different from the Celtic, which used a tree and not a stone. Thus the (57) Bile Magh Adhair, was a remarkable tree in the plain of Adhair in the county of Clare, under which the Dalcaissian princes were inaugurated. Every solemn and holy office was performed by the Celtes in groves; by the Firbolgs in stone circles. Here we have an eminent instance of the distinction between those people, in religious rights and civil usages, so much insisted on in these papers.

That Cashel was an ancient Mandra, the wall surrounding its summit, its situation and the monastic spirit of christianity prevalent in this kingdom, give reasonable grounds to believe. The stone-roofed chapel before described, and denominated from Cormac, I think, must have been constructed posterior to the age of this prelate. Because, if things were conducted in the common manner, he must have been first canonized, and his reliques afterwards be deposited in this crypt. So that unless he could have fore-known that he was to be dubbed the patron of Cashel, he hardly would have built this chapel for his own remains. Or if this chapel had been once dedicated to (58) St. Patrick, the lesser would never have dispossessed the

2 Q

greater

(53) Worm. Mon. Dan. l. i. c. 12. J. Magn. Hist. Goth. initio. Sax. Gram. l. i. Krantz. Meurs. et alios.

(54) Martin's Western Islands, p. 102—241—324.

(55) O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 19. Harris's Ware, p. 10—124.

(56) O'Flahert. sup. p. 12—19.

(57) O'Brien, upra, voce Bile.

(58) Ware's Bishops, p. 463.

greater spiritual hero. It is therefore probable, that some other person erected this fabric to his memory, and enshrined his bones there, as a martyr who fell in defence of his religion and country against pagan invaders. Who this person was, or the time is not easy to determine. The dimensions of this chapel are thus stated.—

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of the nave,	30	— 0
Breadth,	18	— 0
Length of the choir,	13	— 8
Breadth,	11	— 6
Breadth of the grand arch leading into the choir,	9	— 0
Width of the north door,	2	— 7
Of the south door,	3	— 4
Of the west door,	4	— 6
Mean thickness of the walls,	4	— 1
Length of the square tower,	10	— 0
Breadth,	6	— 8
Height,	68	— 0
Height of the stone roof from the ground,	52	— 0
Slant of the roof,	24	— 0
Diameter of the columns of the grand arch,	0	— 6
Height,	8	— 0
Height of the intire arch,	12	— 6
Breadth of the archivolt,	3	— 6
Length of the chapel inside,	47	— 8
Length outside.	53	— 0

This is certainly one of the most curious fabrics in these kingdoms. It is a regular church, divided into nave and choir, the latter narrowing in breadth, and separated from the former by a wide arch. Under the altar, tradition places the bones of St. Cormac. There is a striking resemblance between this chapel and the church of St. Peter at Oxford, with Grymbald's crypt beneath it. This (59) church is supposed to be the oldest stone church in England, and said to be built by Grymbald about the end of the 9th century. It consists of a nave with a square tower at the west end; at the east is the chancel, and on its extremities stand two round towers,



SECTION of CORMAC'S CHAPEL
Published by John Jones, N^o 30, Bride Street, Dublin.

towers, terminating at top in a cone. The crypt is arched, and the columns supporting it are short and massy. The square tower is about eighty feet high, and the round towers from the parapet about twelve. Let these (60) particulars be compared with similar ones at Cormac's chapel, and a strong likeness will be perceived; only our chapel is infinitely more curious, by uniting under its stone-roof a church and crypt. Notwithstanding this agreement, I think the ornaments in Cormac's chapel speak it to be a construction later than that of St. Peter's. The grotesques on the capitals in the crypt of the latter are not seen in our chapel. Over a door indeed is an archer mounted on some ideal quadruped. High square towers were certainly known and in use in England when Cormac's chapel was built, because there is one there; but it could not be placed on the intersection of the cross, for our chapel is not cruciform; besides, if there were cross ailes it would not have answered the idea of a crypt. High towers are (61) dated about the reign of Edgar, towards the end of the 10th century. So that, on the whole, it is not unreasonable to suppose, about this time, or the beginning of the next age, Cormac's chapel was erected by some of his successors in Cashel, and that prior to the introduction of the Norman or Gothic styles, for in every respect it is purely Saxon. These hints may perhaps remove some difficulties, and lead to some happier conjectures on this subject.

The (62) annals of the priory of All Saints inform us, that the church, after the restoration of it, was solemnly consecrated, and a synod held in it in the year 1134. About thirty-five years after, Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, built a new church in Cashel from the foundation, converting Cormac's old church into a chapel or chapter-house, on the South side of the choir. Here the church noticed in the annals seems to be Cormac's, which probably had been desecrated in the wars of those (63) times. Or shall we say, that a cathedral was erected in 1101, when Mortogh Mor O'Brien solemnly granted and dedicated the town of Cashel to God and St. Patrick. If so, Mortogh's fabric must have been mean and trifling, since it went to decay in about thirty years; for it cannot be supposed, Donald O'Brien would have constructed a new church had his predecessor's continued in good preservation. I therefore imagine there was no religious edifice of stone on the rock but Cormac's, antecedent to Donald's church. Notwithstanding the former
might

(60) Views of St. Peter's church and Grymbald's crypt may be seen in *Archæologia*, Vol. I. Leland's Collect. V. 1. p. 151. Edit. Ayloff.

(61) Grose, V. 1. p. 113.

(62) Ware's Bishops, p. 464.

(63) *Collectanea*, No. 4. p. 546, et sequent.

might have been used as a chapter-house, the builders had the strongest reason for uniting the cathedral with the chapel, and that was the sanctity of the latter. Had the chapel been smaller, it would have been inclosed in the new building. Thus Edwin, King of Northumberland, made a small wooden oratory, afterwards he built a church of stone, inclosing the oratory (64) within it. The old chapel at Glastonbury had a divine odour exhaling from it: Augustin did not attempt to demolish it, but very much (65) adorned it. In all parts the veneration for these old chapels and crypts was the same.

Donald O'Brien founded a cathedral at Cashel about 1169. This was certainly of stone; for it did not want any great repairs for two hundred and fifty years, when Archbishop O'Hedian rebuilt those parts which had been injured by age, and modernized the whole, as the long lancet windows and other gothic ornaments testify.

But neither the fame of St. Cormac, nor the curious remains at Cashel, have made it so memorable as the (66) Synod held there in the year 1172, when every Archbishop and Bishop gave sealed charters to Henry II. conferring on him and his heirs for ever the kingdom of Ireland, which charters were confirmed by Pope Alexander. At the same time, on the King's part were offered and accepted, the English laws; these the Irish solemnly swore to observe, and for their better execution the kingdom was divided into shires. Political wisdom was never more eminently displayed than on this occasion. The natives, how attached soever by long habits, could not but feel the heavy, grievous, and arbitrary exactions of their Lords; from these, by the laws of England, they would be exonerated. For though the feudal incidents were severe enough, yet they were certain and fixed. Another striking advantage would have been the securing inheritances. These two objects, if there were none other, were of the last importance towards introducing civility among a rude people: and that the Irish understood the operation of these laws, we may learn from the historian's remarking, that they thankfully received them.

The canons made in this synod deserve notice. They forbid marriages within the prohibited degrees: they exempt the church lands from secular exactions: they release the clergy from Eric for murder: they command children to be baptized in
the

(64) Bed. l. 2. c. 14.

(65) Egit nimirum prædicabilis viri solertia, ut nihil decederet sanctitati, & plurimum accederet ornatui. Guil. Malmesb.

(66) Ware's Bishops, p. 468. Lyttleton's Hen. 2. V. 2. p. 89.

the font : they order tithes of cattle and corn to be paid to the parish church : they point out the distribution of a dying man's property : they decree, that every christian be brought to the church and decently buried, and lastly they enjoin an uniformity of divine offices with those in England.

Leland attempts to exhibit this synod of Cashel as a (67) solemn farce, and to ridicule its proceedings ; in doing so he proves how little he was acquainted with Irish ecclesiastical history. Rome wanted a revenue, as the bulls of Adrian and Alexander unequivocally declare ; this could not be procured without eradicating the ancient faith and practice of the Irish ; to accomplish which purpose the interposition of a foreign power was indispensably necessary. To justify the foregoing censure, it has been shewn that the rites and ceremonies of the Irish totally differed from those established at Cashel. Let one instance suffice. It has before been seen, that the Irish and Britons agreed in religious matters. Augustine in Bede objects to the Britons, that they did not administer baptism according to the custom of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church ; which must mean, that they either did not observe the usual seasons for administering this rite, or they made no use of chrism, exorcism or imposition of hands. Besides this, Brompton and Benedict, Abbots of Peterborough, who lived at the very time this synod was held in Cashel, expressly assure us, that the Irish who were rich baptized their children by immersing them thrice in milk, as those who were poor did thrice in water. This was not a barbarous custom as a superficial reader may imagine. The authors last cited tell us, it was the father that dipped the child. Laical baptism was common in the East in early ages, but was forbidden by the (68) Apostolic Constitutions and also by St. Basil. We know from (69) Tertullian, that after baptism, milk and honey were given to the infant, and by the 37th canon of the African code, milk and honey were laid on the altar for baptismal use, and they were consecrated by a peculiar form. The Egyptians, according to Apuleius, gave milk to those whom they initiated into their mysteries. Without proceeding farther, we may observe, that the Irish received from their first teachers the Oriental customs of lay-baptism and milk and honey ; the latter, in a course of years, was changed for immersion into milk.

2 R

These

(67) History of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 75—76. Edit. 8vo.

(68) Lib. 3. c. 10. S. Basil. epist. ad Amphil. p. 759.

(69) Deinde egressos lactis & mellis prægulare. De Coron. mil. c. 3.

These usages and many others similar, scandalized the Roman Catholic church, nor can I think so ill of the zeal and sincerity of its members, as not to perceive the reformation of them was a principal motive of their attempts on Ireland. However they proceeded too far, instead of correcting abuses and retaining what was blameless, they introduced a ritual corrupted in every part, and to force this on a reluctant people was the object of Henry's Irish crusade.





KILLOSSY.



Door of KILDARE.



Timahoe.



S^t Kevin's KITCHEN Glendaloch.



Ivy CHURCH Glendaloch.



Door at Timahoe.

OF THE ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND.

THERE is a very just observation in an excellent monthly (1) production too applicable, I confess, to modern antiquaries, and from the truth and severity of which none of us can claim exemption: It is, "that as the final cause of the principle of curiosity is the acquisition of knowledge, it is a perversion much to be lamented, that it should so often be found to fasten most keenly on those objects about which little or nothing can be known. A mere scrap of something, between knowledge and conjecture, if it be but obtained with sufficient difficulty, appears far more valuable to persons of this description than abundance of real information, if easily acquired, and if as easily gained by others as themselves."

In the wreck of ages some materials of ancient structures have survived: though it is impossible with them or every adscititious help to restore them to their original utility and beauty, yet by putting what remains together, in many instances, we may form a notion tolerably correct of their proportion and architecture: the same may be said of ancient manners, customs, sciences and arts. Thus far the very sensible writer now cited will not deny us some portion of praise. While we proceed on authentic and solid grounds and reject idle hypotheses and conjectures, antiquarian disquisitions become a rational study, and interest every reader.

To apply these reflections to the present subject, we shall soon see strong cause to admire how men eminent in literature should be so miserably defective in judgment as to despise or neglect the real information respecting our Round Towers lying before them, and to seek for it in barren ways and thorny paths where it cannot be found. Their original designation is too obvious ever to be mistaken; of this if any doubt could possibly exist, where should we look for its removal but in ancient writers? If ancient writers are unanimous, and well informed moderns agree with them as to their authors and use, will any say these points are not drawn from obscurity, or that we have not gone beyond verisimilitude and arrived at some degree of

(1) Monthly Review for Feb. 1790, p. 123.

of certainty? Let the candid and learned reader determine for himself from the evidence now to be submitted to him.

Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1185, is the first who mentions our Round Towers. He (2) calls them "Ecclesiastical Towers, which in a style or fashion peculiar to the country, are narrow, high and round." Though this passage has been frequently quoted, yet no one has observed, that from its (3) grammatical construction we may fairly infer that Cambrensis saw the Irish in the very act of building these towers. It was a singular and striking spectacle for our author to behold so great a number of them dispersed over the country; all of the same figure and fashion, contiguous to wooden churches and supporting bells to summon the vicinity to religious duties, or to warn them of approaching danger. Surely it must be esteemed a gross perversion of common sense to extract from Cambrensis's plain words any other meaning than that now given: he was fully competent to deliver a simple fact, nor did the objects he was describing require the microscopic eyes of some modern Irish Antiquaries.

John Lynch, in 1662, is the next who speaks of our towers. His words are: "(4) the Danes, who entered Ireland according to Giraldus in 838, are reported to be the authors of our orbicular narrow towers. They were called Clochtheach, that is, the house of the bell."

Peter Walsh, in 1684, observes: "(5) that it is most certain those high, round narrow towers of stone, built cylinder-wise, were never known or built in Ireland (as indeed no more were any castles, houses, or even churches of stone, at least in the North of Ireland,) before the year of Christ 838, when the heathen Danes, possessing a great part of the country, built them in several places to serve themselves as watch-towers against the natives. Though ere long the Danes being expelled, the christian Irish turned them to another and much better (because a holy) use, that is to steeple-houses or belfries. From which latter use made of them it is, that ever since to the present day they are called in Irish Clochtheachs, that is, belfries or bell-houses; cloc or clog, signifying a bell, and theach a house in that language."

"It

(2) *Turres ecclesiasticas, quæ, more patrio, arctæ sunt & altæ, necnon & rotundæ.* Topog. p. 720.

(3) See Voss. de Constr. ferm. p. 504. Amf. 1662.

(4) *Exiguas illas orbiculares arctasque turres, Dani Hiberniam, Giraldo auctore, A. D. 838, primum ingressi, primi crexisse dicuntur. Clochtheach enim perinde est ac domus campanæ.* Cambrens. Evers. p. 133.

(5) Prospect. p. 416—417.

It may not be (6) improper to add, says Doctor Molyneux in 1727, to these remarks upon Danish mounts and forts, some observations on the slender, high round towers here in Ireland, though they are less ancient, since they are so peculiar to the country and seems remains of the same people, the Ostmen or Danes. These we find common every where, spread over all the country, erected near the oldest churches founded before the Conquest; but I could never learn that any building of this sort is to be met with throughout all (7) England, or in Scotland. That the native Irish had but little intercourse with their neighbours, and much less commerce with those at greater distance before the Danes came hither and settled among them is pretty certain; and that the Danes were the first introducers of coin as well as trade, and founders of the chief towns and cities of this kingdom, inclosing them with walls for safer dwelling, is generally agreed on all hands; and it seems no way less probable, that the same nation too must have introduced at first from countries where they trafficked, the art of masonry, or building with lime and stone. For that there were lime and stone buildings here before the Conquest by the English in Henry II's reign is certain, notwithstanding some, and these reputed knowing men in the affairs of Ireland, have hastily asserted the contrary. For it appears beyond all controversy, that these high round steeples we are speaking of were erected long before Henry's time from a plain passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, who was in Ireland in that Prince's reign, and came over with his son, King John, whom he served as Secretary in his expedition hither: he speaks of them in his account of this island as standing then, and I am apt to think few of these kind of towers have been built since that time. And since we find this kind of church-building, though frequent here, resembling nothing of this sort in Great Britain, from whence the christian faith, the fashion of our churches and all their rites and customs, it is plain, were first brought hither, the model of these towers must have been taken up some other way; and it seems probable the Danes, the earliest artificers in masonry, upon their first conversion to christianity, might fancy and affect to raise these fashioned steeples in this peculiar form, standing at a distance from their churches, as bearing some resemblance to the round tapering figure of their old monumental stones and obelisks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were so fond in time of paganism. And Sir James Ware, cursorily speaking of one of these round steeples at Cork, in his Antiquities, chap. 29,

2 s

says

(6) Boate's and Molyneux's Nat. Hist. p. 210—211.

(7) This is a mistake as will hereafter appear.

says "there prevailed a tradition in that country that ascribed the building of that tower to the Oistmen, who were inhabitants of Cork; and we might well presume, that had the old native Irish been the authors of this kind of architecture, they surely would have raised such towers as these in several parts of Scotland also, where they have been planted and settled many ages past, but there we hear of none of them.

Their figure somewhat resembles those slender high round steeples described by travellers in Turkey that are called minarets, adjoining to their mosques or temples. Cloghachd, the name by which they are still called among the native Irish, gives us a further proof of their original, that they were founded first by Oistmen: for the Irish word Cloghachd is taken from a foreign tongue, and being a term of art imports the thing it signifies must likewise be derived from foreigners, as were it necessary might be made appear by many instances. Now the Irish word does plainly owe its etymology to Clugga, a German-Saxon word that signifies a bell; from whence we have borrowed our modern word a clock; this appellation also shews the end for which these towers were built, for belfries or steeples, wherein was hung a bell to call the people to religious worship: but the cavity or hollow space within being so narrow, we must conclude the bell must needs be small, one of a larger size not having room to ring out or turn round, which argues too they are ancient, for the larger bells are an invention of later times, and were not used in the earlier ages of the church. These towers, the better to let out the sound, and make the bell heard at a greater distance, have all of them towards the summit four openings or windows, opposite to one another, that regard the several quarters of the heavens, and though they agree much in their shape, yet they so far differ in their model, that some remarkable distinction may easily be observed between one tower and another." Thus far Molyneux, in whose sentiments we perceive a perfect coincidence with the plan of this work, and whose words now given are rich in antiquarian knowledge.

Let it now be remarked, that the opinion of every author, who has spoken of our Round Towers for the space of 542 years, that is, from Cambrensis to Molyneux, is uniform in pronouncing them Oistman or Danish works. No silly conjectures or absurd refinements had as yet been introduced into the study of Antiquities; writers only sought after and recorded matters of fact. All these authors, it will be said, follow Cambrensis, I grant they do, but would any of them adopt his notions was it possible to substitute better or more authentic in their room? The answer is positive and direct, that they would not, and here is the proof. In 1584, Stanihurst

ted the way in severely criticizing many of his positions. In 1662, John Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, entered on a formal examination of his Topography; not a page, scarcely a paragraph escaping his morose and carping pen, and yet Lynch was a good scholar and antiquary. In his time Irish MSS. were more numerous and collected than since, consequently the means of information more ample, and yet he discovered nothing in his extensive reading to contradict what *Cambrensis* had delivered.

Walsh's disposition to tread in the steps of Giraldus may be judged from these words in the Preface to his Prospect. "What I would say on the whole is, that if hatred, enmity, open professed hostility, special interest and actual engagement in the destruction of the ancient Irish nation; if ignorance of their language and wilful passing their History, even the most authentic of their records: if these can render *Cambrensis* an author of credit, then no writer how idle, unwarrantable, incredible, false or injurious, is to be rejected." From this and much more passionate language no one will affirm, that our learned Franciscan would have embraced *Cambrensis*'s ideas, were they not founded on the best grounds. These grounds are partly stated by himself and more fully by Molyneux: both show the Irish, previous to the great northern invasion in the 8th and 9th century, had no commerce, no coin, no mechanic arts, particularly that of masonry. Nothing more, I believe, can or need be added as to the authors and use of Round Towers; the Ostmen began them, and they were imitated by the Irish.

But as later writers, led astray by a warm imagination, or the affectation of singularity, have raised many objections to, and involved in doubt the plainest matter, I am doomed to the irksome task of examining and confuting their whimsies. And here I must note an error of Walsh, which he has lapsed into from following Ware: the latter places the conversion of the Ostmen in 948, whereas from a coin of Ivar it appears they were Christians in 853. Walsh, not knowing this, imagined from the construction of our Towers in 838 to the evangelizing these Ostmen in 948, these steeples must have been used for watch-towers, which their situation in vallies makes highly improbable. But from the coin before it now appears, there was but an interval of fifteen years, from the date of their erection in 838 to the time of Ivar's coin in 853, and this is nothing, if we consider the loss of ancient memorials, and that if they had survived, we should have found the time of their conversion and of building these towers exactly synchronized. Though they were not built for watch-towers, they certainly might have occasionally served to alarm the vicinity.

By the words "turres ecclesiasticæ," Cambrensis precisely determines their shape and appropriation. A tower, in the (8) middle ages, was a tall, round tapering figure, and very accurately expressed that of a Round Tower. He would not call it Campanile, for that was a square fabric, and first (9) used for bells of considerable magnitude. The Anglo-Saxon *steopyl*, *stypel*, and the Franco-Gallic (10) *basfroy* and *befroi* are equivalent to the Latin *turris*; *befroi* when applied to a bell-tower was corrupted into *Belfry*; the last syllable of which can no otherwise be explained but by its junction with the first. The Irish *Clog-teach* is an hybrid compound: the first word is the Teutonic *Klocke*, which originally (11) signified a long scyphon or cup, in this hung the clapper or tongue: many of these ancient bells were in (12) possession of the celebrated Dutch antiquary, Smetius. So that the Latin *Campanile*, the Anglo-Saxon *Bell-hus*, the Teutonic *Klock-torre*, and the Irish *Clog-teach*, seem to be all contemporary names of the same thing, and all invented and first used in the 9th century. Though there are numerous passages in classical writers of the common use of bells in civil and religious affairs, I do *not recollect any direct proof of their suspension in towers except one in Parthenius be esteemed such. He lived about the Incarnation, and tells us a bell was placed in a (13) fortress in the city of Heraclea in Italy, which a lover, as an arduous attempt and an evidence of his gallantry, undertook to (14) throw down. The bells in the Dodonæan (15) grove, and over the tomb of Porfenna, king of Etruria, were certainly suspended, as were those in Baths and Market-places, but not in appropriated buildings. Bells were hung up in Monasteries in the 7th and 8th centuries, and founded by pulling a (16) rope. In the pontificate of Stephen, A. D. 754, Christian congregations were collected by sound of trumpets.

Ære

(8) *Turres vocatæ, quod teretes sint & longæ: teres enim est aliquid rotundum cum proceritate, ut columnæ. Isidor. Orig. l. 15. c. 2.*

(9) This word, I believe, is not older than 870. Anastas. in Leone IV.

(10) Skinner's Etym. Lacombe, dict. du vieux Francois, in *befroi*.

(11) Kilian. Dic. Teut. in voce. Mag. de tintinab. c. 8.

(12) Braun. de Vestit. Heb. T. 1. p. 570.

* I forgot Plin. l. 36. c. 13. which corrects what I here advance, as to the suspension of bells. The passage is curious.

(13) *Ερριμνι κρηνη. Parthen. Eror. p. 356. Edit. Gale.*

(14) *Τον κωδωνα κατακορμισαι. Parthen. supra. The Greek Κωδων is nearly allied to Κωδων, urceolus, a cup or basin, and as these were sonorous and a bell-shape, they might have suggested the idea of the other. Du Cange. Gloss. med. & infim. Græcit. voce Κωδωνιον.*

(15) Vandal. de Orac. p. 476. Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

(16) *Perstitit ille restim trahendæ campanæ, sed sonum exprimere non potuit. S. Audoen. vit. S. Elig. l. 2. c. 2. This was in 650. In the next age Bede says: Audivit subito in ære notum campanæ sonum. About the middle of the 6th century, Columba says to one of his attendants—Cloccam pulsa. Pinkerton. Vit. S. Scot. p. 65. See an excellent article in Spelman, Gloss. in Campana.*

(17) *Ære tubas fuso attollit, quibus agmina plebis,*

Admoneat laudes, & vota referre tonanti.

However his successor, Stephen III. about 780, erected a tower on the church of St. Peter at Rome, and placed in it (18) three bells; and in 850, Leo IV. built a belfry, and set in it a bell with a golden hammer. From the example of these Pontiffs towers multiplied throughout Europe in the 9th century, and at this time were constructed by the Ostmen in this Isle.

A capitular of Charlemagne, A. D. 787, forbids the horrible practice of (19) baptizing bells. From being constantly used in holy offices, a peculiar sanctity was ascribed to them: they were believed by their sound to remove thunder and appease tempests, and banish the evil spirits who caused them: in the same superstitious prepossession they were rung on the death and interment of persons, and in many parts of the church-service. A people just emerging from idolatry eagerly embraced a corrupt religion so congenial in many parts to that they formerly professed, and hence the Ostmen did not esteem themselves Christians without bells and belfries; protected by these and the reliques of saints in their crypts, they defied the power of visible and invisible enemies.

The only difficulty attending this inquiry concerning Round Towers is, satisfactorily to account for their shape. Molyneux's opinion is, (and it is a very plausible and ingenious one) that the round figure bore a resemblance to their old monumental stones and obelisks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were so fond in times of paganism. To do justice to this idea I must remark, that it is the same entertained by a (20) learned Scotch Antiquary, who thinks the circular buildings in the north of Scotland were places of religious worship and constructed by the Scandinavians. However, confining myself, as I ever wish to do to matters of fact, and knowing that belfries abroad were (21) distinct from the Church, and that the two Round Towers at Grymbald's crypt at Oxford, and the Round Steeple to the Church of Aix la Chapelle, exhibited by Montfaucon in his Monuments of the French monarchy belong to the 9th century, I conclude the rotund figure of our Towers was adopted from the Continent, between which and Ireland a

2 T

constant

(17) Flodoard. in Stephen. 2.

(18) Anastas. in Steph. 3. and Leon. 4.

(19) Ut elementum aquæ mysterialiter baptismo commodum S. Spiritus sui sanctitate reddatur. Ord. Rom. This Ordo was compiled in the 9th century. At this day, in the Church of Rome, bells have sponsors, and are baptized. Hospinian de templis. Durand. Rational. Div. Offic. passim.

(20) Mr. Anderson apud Archæologia, v. 5. p. 251.

(21) Prope valvas majoris ecclesiæ campanarium crexit. Du Cange. voce campana. καμπανιον κατα τον αγιον ναον. Du Cange. supra.

constant intercourse was maintained, particularly in that age. "Our writers, says (22) O'Flaherty, glory in many missionaries of religion, professors of learning and piety, bred and born in Ireland, who were famous in France as well in Charles the Great's time, as before and after him." These missionaries, who frequently re-visited their native country, might have taken the hint of our Round Towers from what they saw abroad. If this was the case, as it probably was, such structures might have become fashionable in Ireland without any necessity for the same practice being followed by the ecclesiastics of other countries, where the art of masonry was not cultivated. "A local invention, says Mr. Pinkerton, speaking of the circular buildings in Scotland, might have taken place among the Norwegians there, and yet not extend to their other possessions." There are in Caithness and the Hebudes, according to Doctor Macpherson, Mr. Cordiner and Mr. Anderson, thousands of circular buildings, shaped like a glass-house, but without cement. If these were religious edifices, they show a different style or fashion from our Towers, at the same time they incontestibly evince the predilection of the Northerners in favour of rotundity, for Caithness where these buildings abound, was so long subject to the Norwegians and other northern rovers, that the language of the people at present may be derived from Norwegian roots. It is very remarkable, that the drawing of a Scottish Sheelin, as given by Mr. Pennant, has the same glass-house shape, and such were the houses of the Belgic Gauls, as described by Strabo. I come now to examine the opinion of learned men relative to our Round Towers.

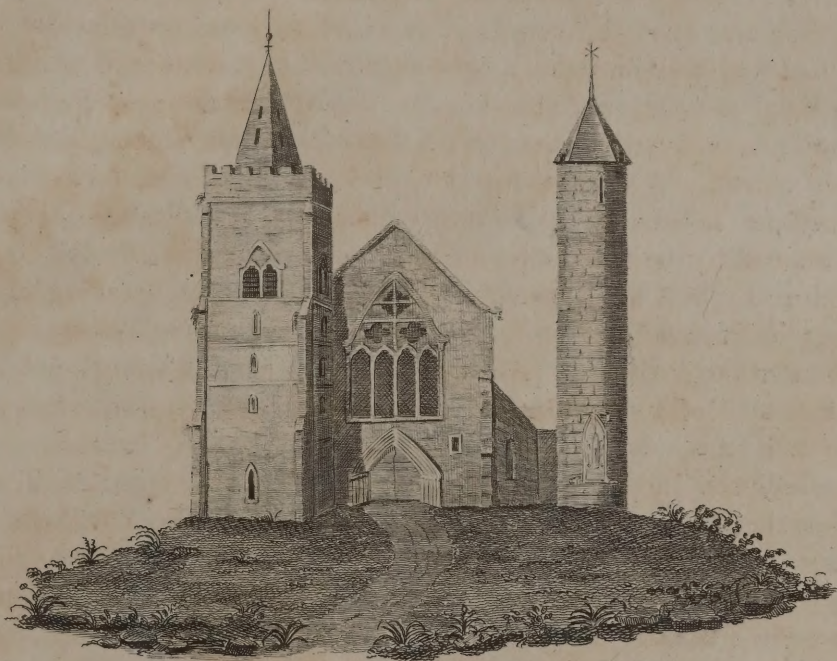
Mr. Gordon (23) gives an account of two in Scotland, one at Abernethy, the other at Brechin. The last has the figure of our Saviour on the Cross over the door, with two little images or statues towards the middle, which clearly show it to have been the work of a Christian architect. He tells us the vulgar notion is, that they are Pictish structures, and that he would have believed it, were there not such towers in Ireland where the Picts never were settled. This seems to be an error, for the Picts were Scandinavians and early arrived in Ireland, as has been before stated.

Mr. Harris (24) is certain because no Round Towers are seen in Denmark or England, therefore they could not be of Danish erection: but this argument is far from being conclusive. Our author therefore proposes a notion started by a Dean Richardson as more probable, that they were the residence of anachorite Monks.

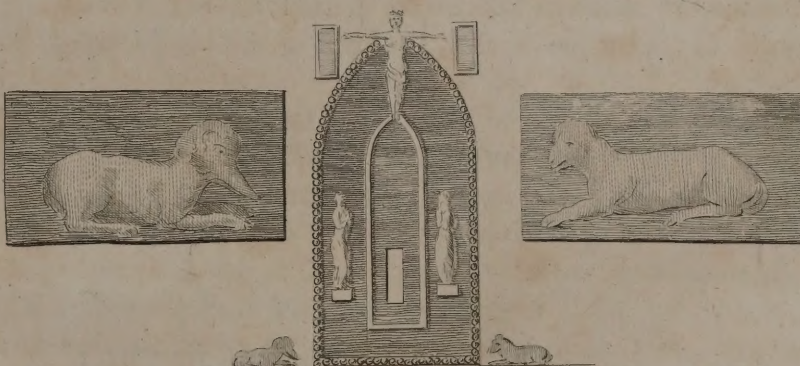
(22) Ogygia vindicated, p. 271—272.

(23) Itinerar. Septent. p. 164.

24) Harris's Ware. p. 129.



West Front of Brechin Church



Door of the Round Tower

R. Gordon.

Published by John Jones, N^o 90, Bride St. Dublin.

J. B. 1800.

Monks. In support of this idle whimsey he alleges Evagrius's account of Simeon Stylites. "The (25) fabric of Simeon's church, says the Historian, represents the form of a Cross, beautified with porticos of four sides; opposite these are placed pillars curiously made of polished stone, whereon a roof is gracefully raised to an height. In the midst of these porticos is an open court, wrought with much art, in which court stands the pillar forty cubits high, whereon that incarnate angel upon earth leads a celestial life." It must require a warm imagination to point out the similarity between this pillar and our tower; the one was solid, the other hollow: the one was square, the other circular: the ascetic there was placed without on the pillar, with us inclosed in the tower. He adds, these habitations of Anachorites were called *Inclusoria*, or *arcti Inclusorii ergastula*, but these were very different from our Round Towers, for he mistakes Raderus on whom he depends, and who (26) says, the house of the Recluse ought to be of stone, the length and breadth twelve feet, with three windows; one facing the Choir, through which he may receive the body of Christ, the other opposite, through which food is conveyed to him, and the third for the admission of light, the latter to be always covered with glass or horn. Harris speaking of Donchad O'Brien, abbot of Clonmacnois, who shut himself up in one of these cells, adds, "I will not take upon me to affirm that it was in one of these towers of Clonmacnois he was inclosed." It must have been the strangest perversion of words and ideas to have attempted it. Is it not astonishing that a reverie thus destitute of truth, and founded on wilful mistakes of the plainest passages should have been attended to and even be, for some time, believed?

When Mr. Smith published his *Natural and Civil History of Waterford* in 1746, he only tells us, "that there was no doubt but the Round Tower at Ardmore was used for a belfry, there being towards the top not only four opposite windows to let out the sound, but also three pieces of oak still remaining on which the bell was hung; there were also two channels cut in the cill of the door where the rope came out, the ringer standing below the door on the outside." How quickly, in the eye of reason, does the finest-spun hypothesis disappear before this decisive evidence? Here is a plain and candid statement of a matter of fact which speaks the original designation and use of these towers. This writer at this time was not refined enough in antiquarian speculations to be whimsical; however the case was otherwise in 1750, when he gave us his *History of Cork*, for there he tells us, he
formerly

(25) Lib. i. c. 14. Hammer's Translation.

(26) In *Bavaria Sancta*.

formerly thought these towers were the retreats of Anachorites, (whereas he positively pronounced them belfries) but that an Irish MS. informed him they were penitential towers, the Penitent descending from one floor to the other as his penance became lighter, until he came to the door which always faced the East, where he received absolution. This was the waking dream of some ignorant ecclesiastic, and yet it had its day of fashion like other absurdities. Mr. Collinson, in 1763, drew up a (27) Memoir relative to our Round Towers, it is little more than a transcript of Smith. In the same year Mr. Brereton (28) examined Mr. Collinson's account, and rejects the penitential use of our Towers, and imagines them to be rather Irish than Pictish or Danish structures, and deems their antiquity greatly anterior to the use of cast bells, and from an old trumpet being found in one of them conjectures such instruments were used for assembling the faithful to divine worship. These sorts of guesses merit very little regard, because the era of the casting of bells ought to have been ascertained, and how far the metallurgic skill of the ancients reached in this respect, and whether the bells used in markets, baths and camps were cast or not. These points should have been elucidated previous to the delivery of any opinion on the subject. We have seen bells of some magnitude suspended in the French monasteries in the 7th century, and they must have greatly improved in size in the 8th and 9th, for it could not be for uncast bells, if ever such there were, that Popes Stephen and Leo erected belfries in 780 and 850. The diameter of our Towers within at the base are generally nine feet, suppose they diminish at top to four, it will be found that a bell of considerable size, but of a rounder shape than that now used, might very well be suspended and rung so as to give a loud sound. A man with a trumpet would occupy as large a space, and I do not deny but trumpets might have been occasionally used, but never I think, for religious but other purposes in this Isle.

Mr. Gough's Memoir follows Mr. Brereton's in the Volume of the *Archaeologia* last cited: he very judiciously corrects Mr. Gordon's description of the Brechin Round Tower, which has on its western front two arches one within the other in relief; on the point of the outermost is a crucifix, and between both towards the middle, are figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, the latter holding a cup and a lamb: at the bottom of the outer arch are two beasts couchant. Mr. Pennant (29) thinks this and the other Towers could not be designed for belfries, because they are placed near the steeples of churches, infinitely more commodious for that end.

(27) *Archaeologia*, v. 1. p. 395.(28) *Archaeologia*, v. 2. p. 80—83.(29) *Tour in Scotland*.

end. This remark might pass very well from an hasty traveller, but is unworthy the pen of our ingenious Tourist; because it supposes the steeples of churches and round towers to be coeval: in this point of view the latter must have been constructed for some other purpose than that of belfries. But in fact these towers were built when churches were of wood, and when the campanile was a distinct edifice, and long before it was usual to connect the steeple with the church.

Mr. Harmer has (30) given "observations on the Round Towers in Ireland," which, as far as I can perceive, have no relation to the subject. He tells us of a square tower at the monastery of St. Sabba, seven miles from Jerusalem, three stories high and twelve yards in diameter, in which two or three hermits shut themselves up and lead an austere life. This was originally a watch-tower, and so it continues at present.

I shall now close this chronological account of learned conjectures with the revelations of a living author, whose wild flights go beyond all his predecessors, or even those of the celebrated Knight of La Mancha. The latter imagined, that mounted on a wooden horse he was carried through the air to succour the injured Doloris. Just so our literary Quixote, mounted on his papyraceous steed, made up of oriental Lexicons, travels in search of his long-lost Irish: fortunately he finds traces of them in the wilds of Scythia among the Magogians; then in India, among the Hindus; then in Africa among the Shilenfis, and lately he has positively (31) discovered a very large colony of them in Egypt.

Notwithstanding the crosses on the caps of many of our round towers, and christian symbols worked in the body of the structure of others, and the late introduction of masonry into this Isle, our author begins his career by (32) affirming our towers to be the same as the Persian Pyratheia, and that merely from Mr. Hanway's saying there were round towers in the country of the (33) Gaurs. Now if the Gaurs came hither their monuments would have been similar to those described by Strabo, which "were (34) inclosures of great compass, in the middle were altars, and on them the Magi preserved much ashes and a perpetual fire." The Greek words throw not the smallest light on the figure of the Pyratheia, much less can it be inferred they were of lime and stone, or of the altitude of our Towers. Even Hyde, from whom he takes the shape of the modern Parsee fire-temples, would have informed

* 2 U

him,

(30) Archaeologia, v. 9. p. 268.

(31) Collectanea de reb. Hib. v. 5. initio.

(32) Collectanea, No. p. 206.

(33) Travels into Persia, part. 2. c. 43.

(34) Σηκκί τινος ἀρχαίολογία. Geograph. l. 15.

him, that the ancient Persians had (35) no temples, nor even a name for them in their language. What the Parsees now use were taken from Christian or Mahometan archetypes.

Our author next (36) assures us that these towers were certainly Phenician. I do not recollect in any ancient writer a description of a Phenician temple; but as the Phenicians derived much of their religion from the Egyptians, the sacred edifices of both people may well be supposed to be the same. These consisted of (37) four parts, making a figure very different from our Round Towers, but approaching the oblong shape of our present Churches, as the learned reader will see by casting his eyes on the margin.

Every writer who wishes to acquire public favour and a literary reputation, ought minutely to examine and carefully consider every part of his subject, and even then, with diffidence, give the result to the world. But the Editor of the *Collectanea* despises such vulgar conduct, spiritedly dashing into print whatever light fancies are floating in his mind at the time of publication. Thus at one time our Round Towers are (38) fire-temples;—then they are constructed by Connuing, a Carthaginian general on *Tor-inis*, an isle on the coast of Donegal;—then they are sorcerers' towers,—then the fact is, these towers were for celestial observations;—then Cormac assures us the approaching festivals were from them proclaimed;—and lastly, the Irish Druids observed the revolutions of the year by dancing round them. Thus our Author with sportive jocularly dances his readers and purchasers through the Fairy labyrinth of absurdity, dimpling their cheeks with smiles at the profundity of his remarks and the fecundity of his genius. Thrice happy,—

Qui quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes.

A LIST

(35) *Nulla erant templa veterum Persarum, quippe qui omnia sua sacra sub dio peragebant, ideoque in sua religione & lingua non habebant templi nomen.* Hyde *de relig. vet. Pers.* p. 359. Edit. Costard.

(36) *Collectanea*, No. 8. p. 285.

(37) *Λιθόρατον ἰδαφος, Προπύλον μεγά, Καὶ ο Νᾶος.* Strab. l. 7.

(38) *Collectanea*, No. 12. pref. p. 70—134—145—482—487. I had almost forgot our Author's Bulgarian round tower, which was a Turkish minaret. He should have known that the Turks or Magiars colonized Bulgaria in 889. Gibbon's *Rom. Hist.* v. 6. p. 34. note 2. that then they were tolerably civilized. Forster's *Northern Voyages*, p. 39. Note. That Arabic inscriptions in Turkish mosques are common. Tollii *Epist. Itiner.* p. 150. And that those on the Bulgarian tower are not old, Forster *supra*. The Turks received the idea of belfries or their minarets from the Greeks A. D. 784. Sabellic. *Eunecd.* 9. l. 1. Here are materials for a dissertation to convict our Author of the grossest ignorance, or unpardonable inattention.

A LIST of the ROUND TOWERS that have hitherto been discovered in IRELAND.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Counties.</i>
Aghadoe, -	Kerry.	Kilcullen, -	Kildare.
Aghagower, -	Mayo.	Kildare, -	Kildare.
Antrim, -	Antrim.	Kilkenny, -	Kilkenny.
Ardfert, -	Kerry.	Killala, -	Mayo.
Ardmore, -	Waterford.	Kilmacduagh, -	Galway.
Ballagh, -	Mayo.	Kineth, -	Cork.
Ball, -	Sligo.	Kilree, -	Kilkenny.
Ballygaddy, -	Galway.	Limerick, -	Limerick.
Boyle, -	Roscommon.	Lusk, -	Dublin.
Brigoon, -	Cork.	Mahera, -	Down.
Ballywerk, -	Cork.	Melic, -	Galway.
Caitre-Isle, -	Clare.	St. Michael, -	Dublin.
Cahel, -	Tipperary.	Moat, -	Sligo.
Castledermot, -	Kildare.	Monafterboice, -	Louth.
Clondalkin, -	Dublin.	Newcastle, -	Mayo.
Clones, -	Monaghan.	Nohovel, -	Cork.
Clonmacnois, two,	Westmeath.	Oran, -	Roscommon.
Cloyne, -	Cork.	Oughterard, -	Kildare.
Cork, -	Cork.	Ram Isle, -	Antrim.
Devenish, -	Fermanagh.	Rathmichael, -	Dublin.
Donoghmore, -	Meath.	Rattoo, -	Kerry.
Downpatrick, -	Down.	Roscrea, two,	Tipperary.
Drumboe, -	Down.	Scattery, -	Clare.
Drumcliff, -	Sligo.	Sligo, two, -	Sligo.
Drumiskin, -	Louth.	Swords, -	Dublin.
Drumlahan, -	Cavan.	Teghadow, -	Kildare.
Dyfart, -	Queen's Co.	Timahoe, -	Queen's County.
Ferbene, two, -	King's County.	Tulloherin, -	Kilkenny.
Fertagh, -	Kilkenny.	Turlogh, -	Mayo.
Glendaloch, two,	Wicklow.	West Carbury, -	Cork.
Kilbennan,	Galway.		

Round

<i>Round Towers.</i>	Height.	Circumference.	Thickness of the Walls.		Door from the Ground.	
	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Inches.</i>	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Inches.</i>
Cloyne, - - -	92	50	3	8	13	0
Fertagh, - - -	112	48	3	8	10	0
Kilcullen, - - -	40	44	3	6	7	0
Kilmacduagh, - - -	110	57			24	0
Teghadow, - - -	71	38	3	8	11	6
Downpatrick, - - -	66	47	3	0		
Devenish, - - -	76	41	3	6		
Monasterboice, - - -	110	51	3	6	6	0
Timahoe, - - -	35	53	4	4	14	0
Kildare, - - -	110	54	3	6	13	0
Oughterard, - - -	25	48	3	0	8	0
Cashel, - - -		54	4	0	11	0
Swords, - - -		55	4	8	2	0
Abernethy, - - -	57	47				
Brechin, - - -	85					
Drumiskin, - - -	130					
Kenith, - - -	70					
Kells, - - -	99					

A very ingenious friend remarks, that almost all our Round Towers are divided into stories of different heights: the floors supported in some by projecting stones, in others by joists put in the wall at building, and in many they were placed upon rests. The last are from four to six inches, carried round and taken off the thickness of the wall in the story above. And he very probably conjectures, these rests do not diminish the thickness of the wall as they ascend, because then it would not have

have been sufficiently strong to bear storms or support the conical cap. They seem therefore to be swellings in the wall which rather add to its thickness upwards, and this is confirmed by the Round Tower at Lusk, whose wall is three feet thick at top.

Cashel Tower is divided into five stories, with holes for joists.

Fertagh has five stories and one rest.

Kilcullen has three stories and one rest.

Kildare has six stories and projecting stones for each.

Monasterboice has six stories and projecting stones.

Oughterard has five stories and projecting stones.

Teghadown has six stories, the upper has projecting stones, the others rests.

Timohoe has seven stories, the second has projecting stones, the others rests.

The door of Cashel Tower faces the SE. those of Kildare and Kilkenny the S. and the others vary.

Kenith Tower stands 124 feet, Drumboe 20, Downpatrick 48, Kildare 90, Kilkenny 8, and Drumiskin 90 feet, from their respective churches. Ardmore, Castledermot, Cloyne and other Towers were formerly and at present are used for belfries.

Monaghan tower is sixty feet high, and fifteen in diameter. The door five feet high by two wide.

Sligo. There is here only a stump, and two crosses with bas reliefs. On one is a Scarabæus.

Mayo tower is eighty-four feet high, fifty-one in circumference, the door plain, and five feet and an half high, by two and an half wide, and eleven from the ground. A hole was made by lightning in the middle of the tower, and the roof damaged.

The sculptures at Brechin have been before described. The two beasts couchant are well explained by (39) Eusebius in his life of Constantine. The church of Brechin (40) is supposed to be founded, A. D. 990, its round tower is probably a century earlier; for in Ireland the latter preceded the erection of sees by many ages. The Irish clergy were the only teachers of religion among the Picts in those times: Tuathal Mac Artgusa, being called archbishop of Pictland in 864, as Tighernac, the annals of Ulster and Mr. Pinkerton declare. Brechin is in the same shire of Angus with Dunkeld, over which Artgusa presided, so that the round tower of Brechin can be ascribed to no other founders than the Irish missionaries who constructed such in their native land.

(39) Lib. 3. c. 3. Edit. Valefiii, where the reason of this representation is given at some length.

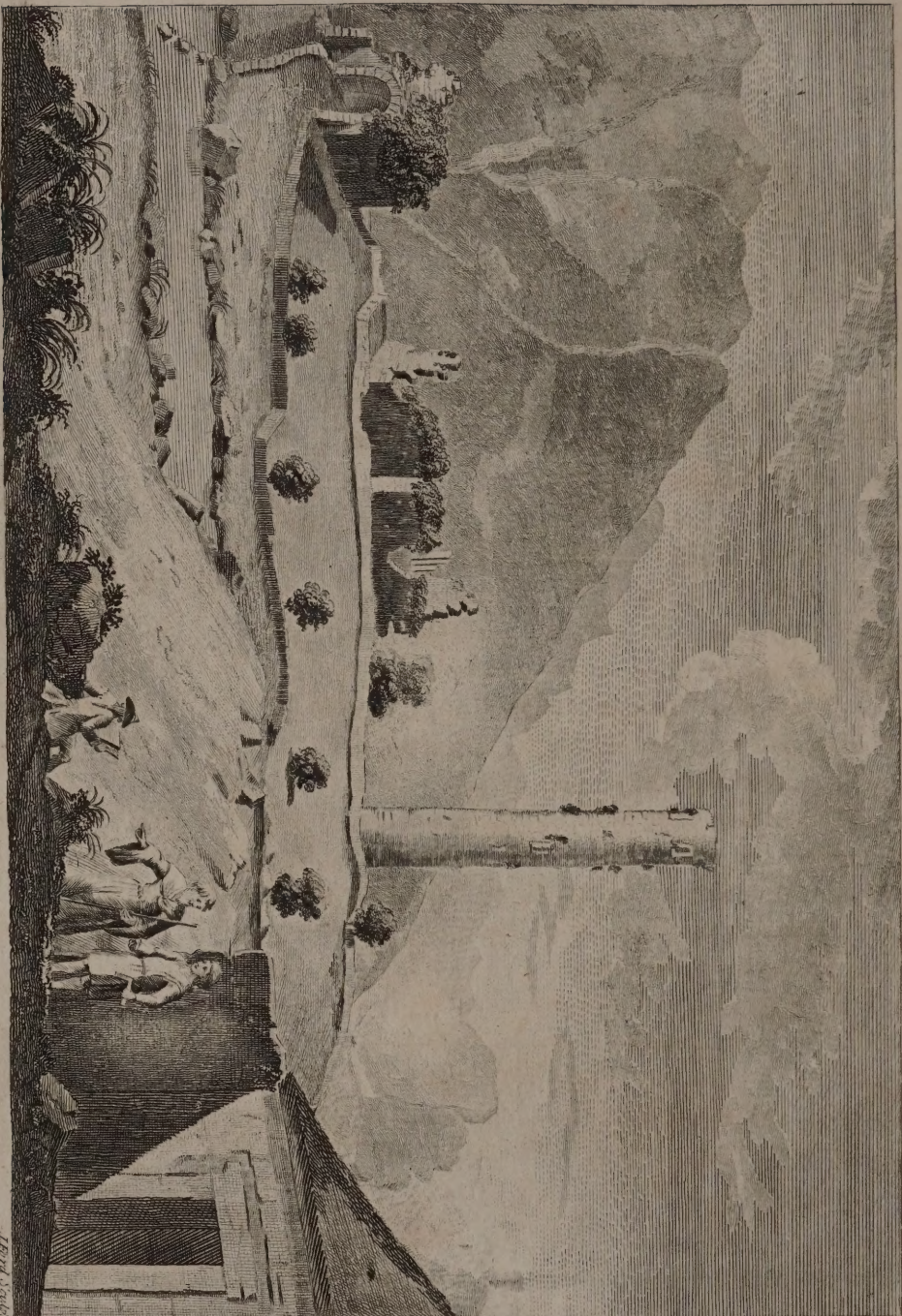
(40) Pinkerton's Scotland, v. 2. p. 268.

A view of the Ivy Church is given to show a most curious and ancient example of the approximation of the round tower belfry to the church, this in St. Kevin's kitchen becomes part of the building. It must be extremely pleasing to the lover of Antiquities to be able to trace in existing monuments the insulated belfry gradually advancing to a junction with the body of the church, and that this happened in very remote times the stone-roofed fabrics to which it is attached sufficiently demonstrate. From this origin the round steeple at Killoffy in the county of Kildare is derived; those at Halling in Kent, and Little Saxham and many others (41) in Suffolk are from Irish missionaries. From the ornaments on the arches of the doors at Timohoe and Kildare we perceive our ancient architects were no strangers to the Saxon style of decoration: the arches themselves are semicircular, and this circumstance points out their date.

(41) Antiquarian Repertory, V. 2. p. 327.

(42) Archæologia, v. 8. p. 193.





W. Marshall & A. M. Martin

J. Ford & Co.

GLANDFLOCH, from the NORTH.
Published by John Jones, No. 10 Bridge Street, Dublin.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF GLENDALOECH IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

FROM the earliest ages, Glendaloech seems to have been a favourite seat of superstition. The tribe of wild and ignorant savages who here first fixed their abode, deprived of the light of letters; unoccupied in any amusing or profitable employment, and wandering among human forms as uncivilized and barbarous as themselves, were a prey to melancholy thoughts and the basest passions. Their fears animated every rustling leaf and whispering gale, and invisible beings multiplied with the objects of their senses.

*Quicquid humus, pelagus, cælum mirabile gignunt,
Id duxere Deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammæ.*

PRUDENT.

The gloomy vale, the dark cave, the thick forest and cloud-capt mountain were the chosen seats of these aerial spirits, and there they celebrated their nocturnal Orgies. These superstitious and idle fears could only be appeased by the bold claims of pagan priests to mystic and supernatural powers equal to the protection of the terrified rustic and the taming the most obstinate Dæmon.

The first christian preachers among these barbarians, whatever might have been the purity of their faith or the ardour of their zeal, were forced to adopt the high pretensions and conjuring tricks of their heathen predecessors; and by thus yielding to human prepossessions and imbecility, indirectly and imperceptibly introduce the great truths of Revelation.

As superstition had filled Glendaloech with evil spirits, and its lakes with great and devouring serpents, the Christian missionaries found it indispensably necessary to procure some saint, under whose protection the inhabitants might live secure from temporal and spiritual evils. At a loss for a Patron, they adopted a practice derived from paganism, and pursued (1) to great extent in the corrupt ages of christianity.

Thus

(1) And thus defended by Baronius. Quid mirum, si inolitæ apud gentes consuetudines, a quibus eos, quamvis christiani effecti essent, penitus posse divelli impossibile videretur, easdem in veri dei cultum transferri sanctissimi episcopi concesserunt.

Thus the Rhine, like our Shannon, was (2) personified and adored; and Gildas (3) assures us, the Britons worshipped mountains, hills and rivers. Thus of a mountain at Glendaloech, which in the (4) Celtic is Cevn, Kevn or Kevin, a Saint was made, as of the Shannon, Saint Senanus, and of Down, Saint Dunus. Just such (5) Saints were St. Bron, St. Lhygad or Lugad, St. Genocus, St. Brecas and others. Though it is a positive fact, that very few of the Saints who adorn our Legends ever had existence, but are personifications of inanimate things, and even of passions and qualities, yet the History of Glendaloech would be esteemed very imperfect without transcribing the monkish tales concerning St. Coemgene, the reputed founder of its Churches and City. I shall therefore give them, as handed down to us, first touching briefly on the name and topography of the place.

Glendaloech or Glendalough in the barony of Ballynacor in the county of Wicklow, is twenty-two miles south of Dublin, and eleven north-west of Wicklow. Its name seems to be (6) an Anglo-Saxon compound, referring to its lakes in the valley; a name which it derived from its first Firbolgian possessors the Totilas, Tuathals, or Tools, for in a (7) life of one of this family it is said to be situated in a region called Fortuatha, in the eastern part of Leinster, which we know was held by the Fertuathals, or the Sept of the Tuathals, or Tools, the ancient proprietaries of this district. That this is the true origin of the name seems to be confirmed by Hoveden, who was chaplain to Henry II. and who calls it equivalently in Latin—*Episcopatus Bistagnensis*—the Bishoprick of the two Lakes.

Glendaloech is surrounded on all sides, except to the East, by stupendous mountains, whose vast perpendicular height throws a gloom on the Vale below, well suited to inspire religious dread and horror. Covered with brown heath or more fable peat, their summits reflect no light. On the south, are the mountains Lugduff and Derrybawn, separated only by a small Cataract. Opposite to Lugduff, and on the other side of the lake is Kemyderry, between which and Broccagh on the north side is a road leading from Hollywood to Wicklow. At the west end of the upper lake a cascade, called Glancola Brook, falls from the hill. St. Kevin's keeve

is

cesserunt. Another Roman catholic tells us: *Romani pontifices in templorum dedicatione in alicujus sancti honorem ut plurimum consuevissent quandam habere regulam, ut ii Sancti, qui in idolorum deturbatorum locum substituebantur, exteriorem haberent uniformitatem* Hanc similitudinem aliquando observarunt in nominibus, unde scimus Apollinis templum S. Apollinaris in honorem dictum fuisse. Ciampini vet. mon. t. 1. p. 55. Aringhi Rom. subterr. pass.

(2) Rheni numen summa religione colebatur. Keyser, sup.

(3) Cap. 2.

(4) Camden in Radnor.

(5) Compare Lhuyd's advers. sub. fin. Baxteri Gloss. p. 268.

(6) Glen a Valley, and Luh a Lake.

(7) Vit. S. Laurent. apud Surium.

is a small stream from Glendafan river, which rising about three miles from Glendaloch out of a lake, called Lochnahanfan, runs on the north side of the Seven Churches to Arklow. In its course, it falls into Glendaloch, and is named St. Kevin's keeve; in it weak and sickly children are dipped every Sunday and Thursday before sun-rise, and on St. Kevin's day, the 3d of June. Glaneola brook, Glendafan river, St. Kevin's keeve and other cataracts form a junction in the valley, and assume the name of Avonmore, or the great river. This, frequently swelled by torrents, is rapid and dangerous. The two lakes in the vale are divided from each other by a rich meadow; the rest of the soil is so rocky as to be incapable of tillage by the plough. The crops are rye and oats, which (8) best agree with the place. The names Derrybawn, Kemyderry and Kyle, demonstrate that great forests of oaks and other timber clothed these mountains. Between the Cathedral and upper lake is a group of thorns of a great size, and their plantation is ascribed to St. Kevin. Near the Cathedral is the trunk of an aged Yew, it measures three yards in diameter. About twenty years ago, a gentleman lopped its branches to make furniture, since which it has annually declined. From what can now be discovered of the ancient City by its walls above, and foundations below the surface of the earth, it probably extended from the Refeart church to the Ivy church, on both sides of the river. The only street appearing, is the road leading from the Market-place into the county of Kildare: it is in good preservation, being paved with stones placed edge-wise, and ten feet in breadth.

To this dreary and sequestered Vale our Saint retired. He was (9) born in 498, baptized by St. Cronan, and at the age of seven years put under the tuition of Petrocus, a Briton. "St. Coemgenus, says (10) another shall next be spoken of, in Latin as much as to say,—Pulchrogenitus—He was ordered by Bishop Lugidus, and led an heremetical life in a cell, in a place of old called Cluayn Duach, where he was born and brought up: now the place is called Gleandalach, faith mine author—vallis duorum stagnorum—where one Dymnach, Lord of the soil, founded a church in honour of St. Coemgenus, joined thereunto a fair church-yard, with other edifices and divers buildings, the which, in mine author Legendi Sti Coemgeni, is termed—Civitas de Glandelagh."—A few remarks on this account are necessary.

(8) Stillingfleet's Tracts on Nat. History.

(9) Ware's Bishops, p. 373. Uffer. Primord. p. 938.

(10) Hammer's Chronicle, p. 60, 61.

1. If Coemgene is the name of this imaginary Saint in Irish, the interpretation is (11) wrong, for it does not intimate his beauty but diminutive size. It is evidently an hybrid compound formed by the Monks, whereon to found some pretty stories and allusions. The pliability of the Irish language and the uncertainty of its orthography and orthoëpy may warrant the melting down Coemgene into Kevin, but the corruption of this tongue should warn us against acquiescing too easily in such anomalous mutations. Besides as one Legend is as good authority as another, in that (12) of St. Berach he is called Koemin, Caymin, &c.

2. As the uncertainty of the name and its erroneous interpretation suggest suspicions unfavourable to the existence of our Saint, so these are augmented by the confident, plausible but fallacious genealogy given of him by his (13) biographers. To believe that a barbarous people, naked and ignorant as American Indians, should have preserved the pedigree of St. Kevin, is too much for the most stupid credulity.

3. When Giraldus Cambrensis came here in 1185, St. Kevin was the patron of Glendaloech. He (14) names him St. Keiwin, Keiwin or Keivin, as Brompton (15) does Keywin. In an (16) Icelandic Chronicle of the 12th century, he is called St. Kævinus, and in an authentic record of the year 1214, he is (17) styled St. Keywin. These names prove, that Coemgene was then unknown, for it was as easy for these authors to have written Coemgene as Kevin, but as they did not, the conclusion is inevitable, that the name Coemgene and his Legend were fabrications posterior to the 13th century; and that a mountain at Glendaloech was personified and made a Saint is highly probable.

4. Neither will the following miracles tend to establish the credibility of St. Kevin's legend or his reality. "There was, says the Icelandic MS. before cited, in Ireland one, among the body of Saints, named Kævinus, a kind of hermit, inhabiting the town of Glumelhagam (Glendaloech) who when that happened which we are about to relate, had in his house a young man, his relation, greatly beloved by him. This young man being attacked by a disease which seemed mortal, at that time of the year when diseases are most dangerous, namely in the month of March; and

(11) Coemh little, small. O'Brien's Irish Dic. in voce. Gein. conception, offspring, plainly from Genus. Coemgene in Cressy is called Kegnius, p. 223.

(12) Colgan, - Act. Sanct. Tom. 1. p. 341.

(13) Apud Ware's Bishops, supra.

(14) Topog. p. 726.

(15) Pag. 1077.

(16) Antiquarian Repertory, V. 2. p. 235. The same story is in Gir. Cambrensis and Brompton, p. 1077.

(17) Ware's Bishops, p. 376.

and taking it into his head that an apple would prove a remedy for his disorder, earnestly besought his relation Kævinus to give him one. At that time no apples were easily to be had, the trees having just then began to put forth their leaves. But Kævinus grieving much at his relation's sickness, and particularly at not being able to procure him the remedy required, he, at length, prostrated himself in prayer, and besought the Lord to grant him some relief for his kinsman. After his prayer he went out of the house, and looking about him saw a large tree, a *salix* or willow, whose branches he examined, and as if for the expected remedy, when he observed the tree to be full of a kind of apples just ripe. Three of these he gathered, and carried to the young man: when the youth had eaten part of these apples, he felt his disorder gradually abate, and was at length restored to his former health. The tree seemed to rejoice in this gift of God, and bears every year a fruit like an apple, which from that time have been called St. Kævin's apples, and are carried over all Ireland, that those labouring under any disease may eat them; and it is notorious from various relations, that they are the most wholesome medicine against all disorders to which mankind are liable; and it must be observed, that it is not so much for the sweetness of their flavour as their efficacy in medicine for which they are esteemed, and as at first for which they are sought. There were many other things which were suddenly effected by the virtue of this holy man."—Perhaps this story arose from exhibiting the bark, leaves and catkins of the willow, which the (18) Irish believed to be efficacious in dysenteries.

Cambrensis tells us, that in the time of Lent St. Kevin retreated from the commerce of the world to a little hut in a desert to enjoy meditation, reading and prayer. On a certain time putting his hand out of the window, and lifting it up to heaven according to custom, a blackbird perched on it, and using it as a nest, dropped her eggs there. The Saint pitied the bird, and neither closed or drew his hand in, but indefatigably kept it stretched out until she brought forth her young. In memory of this all the images of St. Kevin have a hand extended and a bird sitting on it.

St. Kevin, as tradition reports, going up a neighbouring hill, in time of dearth, met a woman with a sack on her head, containing five loaves. He inquired what she was carrying, she answered, stones; I pray, says the Saint, they may become stones,

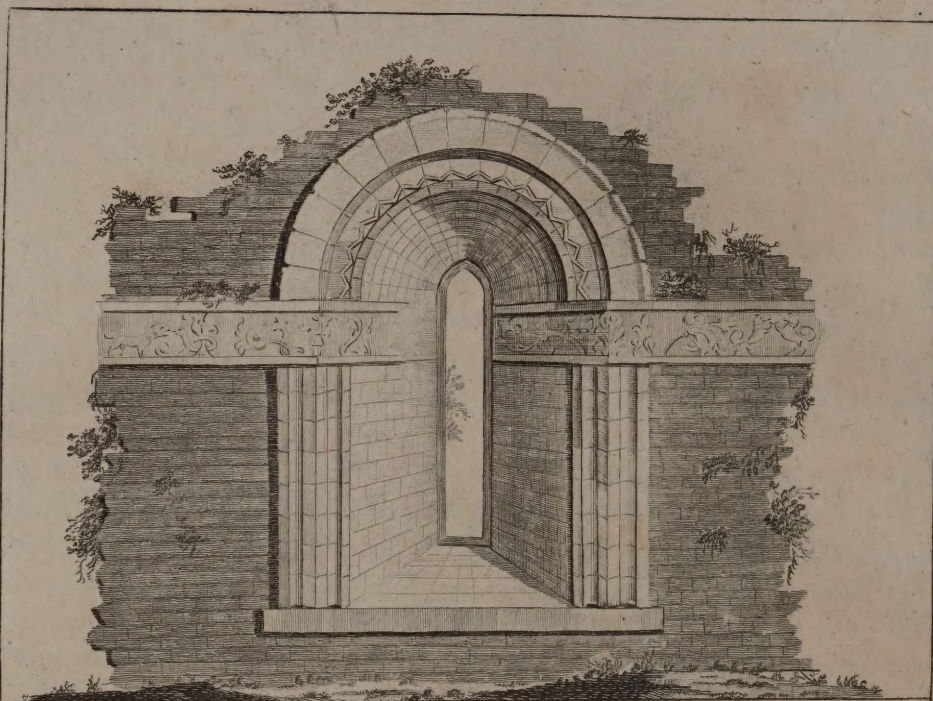
(18) Threlkeld's Synopsis, voce *salix*.

stones, when (19) instantly five stones tumbled out. These were kept as sacred reliques for many years in the Refectory church, but are now in the valley, at a considerable distance from it: they weigh about 28 pounds each, are shaped as loaves, with the marks of their junction in the oven. Let these impious and foolish tales of ignorant and superstitious ecclesiastics suffice, and let them warn us of that miserable degradation of the human mind, which alone could give them currency and credit. Let us now attend to the remains of ancient art which this celebrated Glen offers to us.

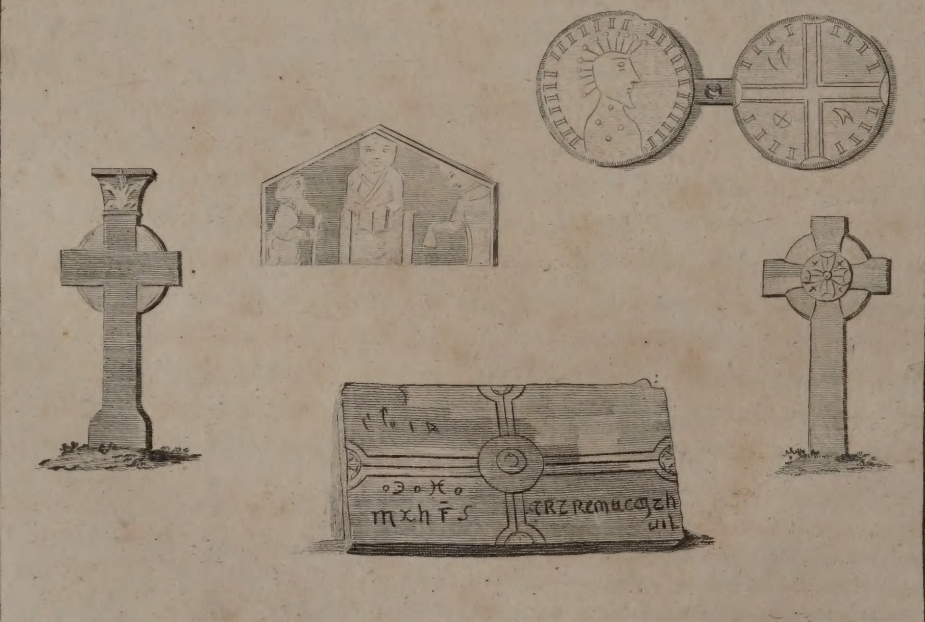
On entering it from the East, we first reach the Ivy church, so called from being enveloped in the umbrage of this plant. The belfry is circular, and shows one of the first attempts to unite the Round Tower with the body of the church. South-east from this, and on the opposite side of the river is the Eastern church, or the Priory of Saint Saviour. Near this is a stone-roofed chapel discovered a few years ago by Samuel Hayes, Esq. About a furlong West from the Ivy church, and on the same side of the river, is a small square, which was the market place. In its center was a stone cross, the pedestal only remaining. South from the market-place, you pass Glendafan river on stepping-stones, where formerly was a bridge, and then you arrive at the Cemetery, which is entered by a gate-way through a semicircular arch, and in this inclosure stands the Cathedral. The nave is 48 feet long by 20 wide; a semicircular arch forms the chancel. The Eastern window is a round arch, ornamented with a chevron moulding. The sculptures of the impost mouldings are legendary. On one part a dog is devouring a serpent. Tradition tells us, that a great serpent inhabited the lake, and it is at this day called Loch-na-piaist, or the serpent-loch, and being destructive of men and cattle was (20) killed by St. Kevin. In another part the Saint appears embracing his favourite Willow, and among the foliage may be discovered the medicinal apple. The window itself is very singular, running to a narrow spike-hole: neither it or any other at Glendaloech seems to have been glazed. Under a window on the South side of the Choir is a tomb of free-stone adorned with carving, but without any inscription. Not far from the Cathedral is the Sacristy, otherwise called the Priest's house. The closet,

(19) This seems to be transcribed from a monkish tale in Matt. Westm. Eodem tempore pauper quidam cum a nautia elemosynam peteret, nec acciperet, dicente naucleto, non nihil hic præter lapides habemus, subiecit pauper, omnia ergo vertantur in lapides! Quo dicto, quicquid manducabile in navi erat in lapides conversum est, colore & forma eandem permanente.

(20) Such notions, in times of superstition, were common. A snake appears on the tomb of Sir John Conyers, which was slain by the falchion of that valiant Knight. Blunt's tenures by Beckwith, p. 200.



EAST WINDOW OF THE CATHEDRAL.



W. Beauford & M. delin.

J. Ford sculp.

ANTIQUITIES OF GLANDELOCH.
Published by John Jones, No. 90 Bride Street Dublin.

in which the vestments and holy utensils were kept, remains: the vulgar believe it an infallible cure for the head-ache to turn thrice round in it: a notion arising from the veneration paid to its sacred (21) furniture in times of predominant superstition.

Among the remnants of crosses and sculptures is a loose stone, showing in relieve three figures. The one in the middle is a Bishop or Priest sitting in a chair, and holding a (22) Penitential in his hand. On the right a Pilgrim leans on his staff, and on the left, a young man holds a purse of money to commute it for penance. This curious sculpture will be illustrated by citing a passage from Archbishop Stratford's (23) Extravagants.—“Because the offender has no dread of his fault, when money buys off the punishment, and the Archdeacons and some of their Superiors (the Bishops) do, for the sake of money, remit that corporal penance which should be inflicted for a terror to others, inasmuch as the offenders are called by some, Lessees of Sin: We forbid commutation of corporal penance for money to be made, without great and urgent cause.”—Chaucer alludes to this practice in his *Sompnour*.

He would suffer for a quart of wine,

A good fellow to have his Concubine.

To so shocking an excess had this custom of buying off sins arrived in the Romish Church, that a number of Leonine verses, engraven on a stone tablet in Gothic letters were affixed to a pillar of the High Altar in the church of St. Stephen at Bourges, promising pardon of sins and paradise to every generous benefactor to the church and clergy.

(24) *Hic des devotè, caelestibus affocio te.*

Mentes ægrota per munera sunt ibi lotæ.

Crede mihi, crede, cæli dominaberis æde.

Nam pro mercede Christo dices, mihi cede.

Hic datur exponi paradifus venditioni.

Qui servet hic parce, parce comprehendet in arce.

Pro solo nummo gaudebis in æthere summo.

2 Z

Here

(21) *Ut vasa sacrata Deo in magna veneratione habeantur* Rhægin. p. 44. Cambrensis says of the Irish:—*Sacramenta super hæc (sc. pastorales baculas, campanas, &c.) longe magis quam super Evangelia & præstare vereantur & pejerare.* Top. c. 33.

(22) *Solerter admonentes doctum quemque sacerdotem Christi, ut in universa, quæ hic adnotare reperit, sexum, ætatem, conditionem, statum, personam cujusque penitentiam agere volentis, curiose discernat.* Bed. *remed. peccat.*

(23) Wilkins. Concil. sub Ann. 1342. Johnson's Councils, and some curious statutes of Henning, Bishop of Camin, A. D. 1454. in Shoettgen's hist. Pomeran.

(24) The whole is extremely curious, and may be seen in—*L'Apologie pour Herodote*, per H. Estienne. p. 452—453.

Here is also a round tower 110 feet high, at the bottom 52 feet in girth, and the walls four feet thick. There was formerly the stump of another not far off.

St. Kevin's Kitchen is a stone-roofed oratory, the ridge of the roof is about 30 feet above the ground, and its angle sharp; at the west end is a round tower of about 45 feet in height.

Our Lady's church is the most westward of all the others, and nearly opposite the Cathedral. The Refectory church is literally the sepulchre of Kings, being the burial place of the O'Toole's; seven of these toparchs lying here interred, according to tradition. On a tomb is said to be the following inscription in Irish:

JESUS CHRIST

Mile deach feuch cort Re Mac Mthuil.

That is,

Behold the resting place of the body of King Mac Toole, who died in Jesus Christ, 1010.

These letters and words cannot now be made out after the utmost pains and attention, nor scarcely a single letter with any certainty. Besides if the whole was legible, it would not be in modern Irish, but in that dialect of it, which from its antiquity would not at present be easily understood.

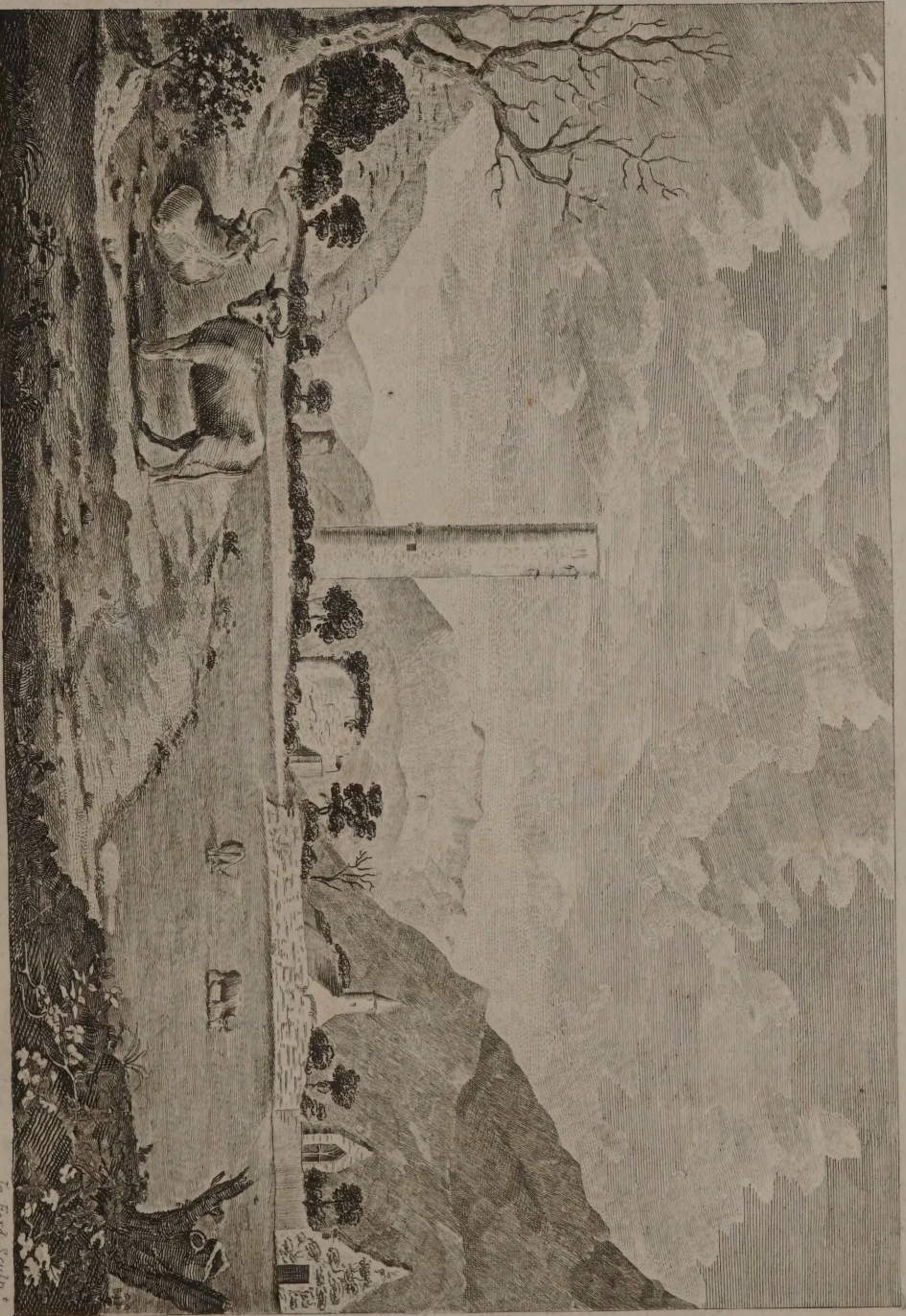
In returning from the Refectory church is a circle of stones piled up conically about three feet high; at and round these pilgrims performed penance.

In the recess of the south mountain is Teampall na Skellig, equivalently called in old records, the priory de rupe and the convent de deserto. St. Kevin's bed is above it. There are two rocky projections from the mountain, in one is St. Kevin's bed, excavated from the living rock. The path to it is extremely dangerous and difficult, and returning back more so from the narrowness of the path, the least slip precipitating the adventurer into the lake below. Nothing in short can be more frightful than a pilgrimage to the bed, and Teampall na Skellig church.*

Almost in the middle of the Glen are the ruins of the Abbey or Monastery, dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul. And north of the Abbey stands Trinity Church, at the end of which is part of a Round Tower, which was evidently used for a belfry. There were many smaller chapels and oratories. The seven churches for which Glendaloch was so celebrated seem to have been.

1. The

* This was one of the four principal places of pilgrimage in Ireland. Cumulus S. Patricii in Conatia; Purgatorium in Uleonia; patra S. Michaelis in Momonir: lectus S. Kaini in Lagenia. O'Kelly descrip. Hib. p. 50. Ex uno enim latere præcipua montis excelsa ambiebantur: una tantum eadenique arcta admodum via adiri poterat, &c. S. Sever, vit. S. Martin.



M. Deane's Plate

Jas. Ford Sculp.

GLENDOLCH FROM THE WEST.

Published by John Jones, No. 90, Bowd Street, Dublin.

1. The Abbey. 2. The Cathedral. 3. St. Kevin's Kitchen. 4. Teampall na Skellig. 5. Our Lady's Church. 6. Trinity Church. 7. The Ivy Church.

The others appear to be later constructions. The seven churches when approached by the bridge of Derrybawn form a very picturesque and pleasing scene. The bridge is thrown over the Avonmore, and is composed of three elliptic arches. Derrybawn, covered to a great extent with an oak coppice on one side and the huge Brocagh on the other, confines the view up the river to the valley; at the end of which the great round tower and the other ruins appear to great advantage. A remarkably smooth and high mountain makes a no less singular than agreeable background.

The number seven was mystical and sacred, and early consecrated to religion. It began with the creation of the world, and all the Jewish rites were (25) accommodated to it. It is found among the (26) Brachmans and Egyptians. The Greek fathers extol its power and efficacy, and the Latin, as usual, apply it to superstitious purposes. The church formed various septenaries. The following is extracted from Archbishop Peckham's constitutions made at Lambeth, A. D. 1281,—"The most high hath created a medicine for the body of man, repositied in seven vessels, that is, the seven sacraments of the Church. There are seven articles of faith belonging to the mystery of the Trinity. Seven articles belonging to Christ's humanity. There are seven commandments respecting man; seven capital sins, and seven principal virtues."—Much more to the same purpose is in Amalarius, Durandus and the Ritualists. The Irish entertained a similar veneration for this number, witness the seven churches at Glendaloch, Clonmacnois, Inniscathy, Inch Derrin, Inniskealtra, and the seven Altars at Clonfert and Holy Cross. Crowds were attracted to these places to celebrate the profoundest mysteries!

It is now time to inquire what are the origin and date of the buildings and celebrity of Glendaloch. And here the antiquities themselves, (and a richer store is no where to be found) will best enable us to determine these curious points.

From (27) Bede we learn, that the Irish and Britons agreed in religious opinions and discipline, and differed widely from those of Rome, and of this he supplies ample proofs in the years 604, 630, 639, and 661, and it has been seen that the Irish church continued separated from the Romish to the 12th century, and even later,

(25) See the Pentateuch, particularly Leviticus, and the Evangelists. Huet. Demons. Evang. p. 228. Edit. 8vo. In the laws of Hoel Dda, a person swears on seven altars, c. 26.

(26) Marham, Can. Chron. Sac. 9. p. 189—190.

(27) Lib. 2. c. 4, & alibi.

later, consequently that we did not adopt the use of Palls, the Mass, Purgatory, the unbloody sacrifice, prayers for the dead, reliques, pilgrimages, litanies, and numberless other superstitious practices, which the (28) Anglo-Saxons had embraced. In the second Nicene council it was decreed, A. D. 788, that no church should be consecrated that had not the reliques of some saint. It is (29) believed to have been two centuries before this rule was observed even by the Anglo-Saxons, and the cause that prevented its reception was, the want of stone edifices. If there was no other reason, the operation of the same cause was equally powerful in Ireland. The Ostmen of Ireland were converted to Christianity about the middle of the 9th century, but it was such christianity as their countrymen in England had been taught them by Romish missionaries, and of which the use of reliques was a capital article. To secure these from fire was their first care, and this was effected by (30) arching a crypt or small oratory with stone, in this the reliques were placed, and a tomb raised over them, which served for an altar. It was in a Bishop's power to canonize as many as he pleased. This practice is delivered by the (31) Romish writers, and hence we need not wonder how Saints were multiplied. As patron Saints were unknown till their (32) reliques were adored and thus deposited, and as this usage was first introduced by the Ostmen in the 9th century, so the date of our buildings of lime and stone confirms this fact. We had none of the latter, at least in any number, antecedent to the arrival of these Northerners in the 9th age, as is generally agreed. In the next essay the style of this crypt is particularly considered.

It would exceed our present limit to treat of the Round Towers of Glendaloch, or of the ages of these structures, but they shall be noticed hereafter: nor can I stay but to remark, that the coins here exhibited and others given by Ware, and discovered at Glendaloch, belong to the early Danish princes who had embraced Christianity. I shall now proceed with some historical collections relative to this celebrated place, referring the reader to another (33) work.

No

(28) Humphreys ad rat. 5. Campian. p. 626. Innes's Orig. Anglic. p. 53. Mosheim. V. 1. part. 2. c. 4.

(29) Balæi Cent. 2. c. 32. (30) Du Cange, voce Volutio.

(31) Antiquius mos est in ecclesia receptus, Sanctorum reliquias in cryptis subterraneis subtus altare collocandi, ubi sanctorum celebriorum sepulchra in antiquis basilicis etiam nunc visuntur. Hinc consuetudo manavit altaria erigendi super tumulos virorum piorum, quos Episcopi pro Sanctis haberi volebant, hicque erat olim Sanctos canonizandi ritus. Ruinat. Not. ad Greg. Tur. p. 751. Velli, T. 1. p. 443. Bed. 1. 5. c. 12. A custom copied from heathenism. Sub Cæsari-
bus altaria ponebant, præunte tantum Pontifice, Baxter. Gloss. voce Ara. A most remarkable imitation!

(32) Among Hagiographers the—Patrocinia Sanctorum—means their reliques. Du Cange, voce Patrocinium.

(33) Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, in Wicklow.

No sooner were the reliques of St. Kevin brought hither than his zealous and bigotted votaries proclaimed their virtues and miracles, and all flocked to the shrine of the new Saint: (34) a naked and barren wilderness was quickly filled with churches and good houses; a large and beautiful city (35) sprang up, and wealth flowed in from every quarter. A city abounding in riches and votive offerings was an object of plunder with the piratical freebooters of the North, who, as they subsisted solely by depredation, without reluctance frequently pillaged their own countrymen, so that the Irish annals are most probably right in what they relate of the spoiling of Glendaloch at different times. In 1162, Laurence O'Toole, whose ancestors had founded and endowed the Abbey and the other churches, was (36) elected Abbot. The (37) writer of his life tells us, he was named Laurence O'Tuathal, that his father was Muirchiortach O'Tuathal, Lord of Imaile. That at the age of twenty-five he was chosen Abbot, the revenues of the Abbacy vastly surpassing those of the Bishoprick. That every year, at the quadragesimal season, he retired into a most horrid but holy Wilderness, St. Kevin's rock, invironed on every side with dark woods, besides a deep lake on one side inclosing a perpendicular precipice of 60 cubits; on the other, one of thirty. In that side of the rock that hangs over the lake is a hollow made by St. Kevin's own hands, which served him for an oratory to pray in, and a repository when he would sleep. Here Laurence passed the forty days of Lent. Thus far our Hagiographer. Laurence was elected Bishop of Glendaloch, but this he refused; his ambition aspired to an higher dignity—the Pall and the See of Dublin, and he soon attained them.

In 1173, Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, the King's Deputy, granted to Thomas, nephew of Laurence O'Toole, the Abbey and Parsonage of Glendaloch. The (38) charter is one of the most valuable and ancient in this kingdom, as it preserves the possessions, privileges, and immunities of the Abbey. The names of the subscribers and other circumstances enable us to ascertain its date.

The second witness is Eva, daughter of King Dermot Macmurrough, and wife of Earl Richard. Walter de Ridel or Ridelford and Meyler Fitz Henry, the other witnesses, were companions of Strongbow in his Irish wars. The Earl styles himself Viceroy of Ireland. This office he must have assumed on the departure of

3 A

Henry

(34) *Eremum nudam et hispidam assignes, intra paucos annos non solum ecclesias et ædes insignes, verum etiam possessionum copias et opulentias multas ibidem invenies.* Gir. Cambrens. Itiner. Cambriæ. p. 831.

(35) *Clara et religiosa civitas in honore S. Coemgeni crevit.* Usser. p. 956.

(36) Archdall, *supra*.

(37) *Apud Walfsh's prospect, p. 294.*

(38) *In libro nig. Archiep. Dubl. fol. 92.*

Henry II. which was on Easter Monday, A. D. 1173. From hence it will appear, that the name of Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, to this charter is a mistake, for the first prelate of this name, who sat in the See of Dublin, lived more than 50 years after granting this charter. So that Luke should be Lawrence, who filled the archiepiscopal chair from 1162 to 1180.

Archbishop Lawrence went to England soon after the King, and was very little in Ireland during his reign. As he had been Abbot of Glendaloch, and considered it as belonging to his family, he naturally interested himself in securing its possessions, and having them confirmed by the new government. Another particular to be learned from the conclusion of the Charter is, the diffidence entertained of the clergy's veracity in secular concerns. The Earl does not allege their evidence in support of their property, but the solemn and regal testimony of King Dermot:—"Sicut in verbo veritatis Diarmicus rex testatus est."—The (39) Normans had been frequently imposed on by fictitious exemptions and forged charters, and therefore received such documents with the utmost caution. As soon as the Irish submitted to the Normans, the latter began to act the same part here which they were daily performing in England. They seized the churches, tithes and manors of the clergy. Cambrensis, an eye-witness, complains (40) in strong terms of their rapacity in this island. Robert Fitz Stephen, Hervey de Monte Marisco and John de Courcy having no children, he pronounces a just judgment on them for (40) depauperating the Irish church.

Pope Alexander III. by a Bull, A. D. 1179, confirmed the city of Glendaloch to Malchus its Bishop and his successors, saving the rights of the Abbot. In this are mentioned no less than 50 denominations of land, and among them Dublin is included. The Pope did not relish the arbitrary proceedings of the Normans, because they affected his treasury, and in this instance he attempted their restriction. By the following letter the original of which is in Ware's Bishops, we are informed that Cardinal Paparon's business here in 1152, was to render the Irish clergy more manageable, by reducing the number of sees, fixing some in the best towns, where hereditary possession was less liable to interrupt papal provisions.

A Letter

(39) Pet. Bles. epist. 68. Hickes. Diss. Epist. Stillingfleet's ecc. cases, and his British churches.

(40) Accessit & incommodum omnium majus, quod ecclesia Christi, novo principatu nostro, nihil de novo conferentes, non tantum principali largitione debitoque dignam honore non judicavimus, quinimo terris statim sublati & possessionibus, pristinas eidem dignitates & antiqua privilegia vel mutilare contendimus vel abrogare. Expugn. l. 2. c. 35.

(41) Nec mirum: mendicat enim in Insula miser clerus: lugent ecclesie cathedrales terris suis & prædiis amplis, quondam sibi fideliter & devote collatis, a prædictis & aliis cum ipsis, vel post ipsos advectis, spoliatae. Et sic ecclesiam exaltare verum est in ecclesiam spoliare vel expilare Supra. The last sentence is a sarcastic allusion to Pope Adrian's Bull.

A Letter concerning the Palls sent into Ireland.

“The testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam and his Suffragans. Master John Paparon, Legate of the Roman church, coming into Ireland found a Bishop dwelling in Dublin, who then exercised his episcopal function within the walls. He found in the same diocese another church in the mountains, which was also called a City, and had a certain rural Bishop: but the same Legate appointed Dublin, which was the best city, to be the metropolis of that Province; delivering the Pall to that Bishop who then governed the church of Dublin, and he appointed that the diocese in which both cities were, should be divided, that one part thereof should fall to the metropolis, and the other part should remain to him who lived in the mountains, to the intent, as we firmly believe, that that part should be annexed to the metropolis, upon the death of the Bishop, who then governed the church in the mountains; and this immediately he would have carried into execution, had he not been obstructed by the insolence of the Irish, who were then powerful in that territory.

“When our Lord, King Henry of England, came to be thoroughly informed of the intention of the Legate, he granted that church in the mountains to the Metropolis, adhering to the intention and will of the said Legate. In like manner, our present Lord, John King of England, having received evidence of the said fact, and of the intention of the said Legate from the great and worthy men of that territory, granted the said part to John, the predecessor of the present Bishop (of Dublin). Besides that holy church in the mountains, although anciently it was held in great veneration on account of St. Keywin, who lived a solitary life in that place, yet now (A. D. 1214) it is so waste and desolate, and hath been so forty years, that of a church it is become a den and nest of thieves and robbers; so that more murders are committed in that valley than in any other place in Ireland, occasioned by the waste and desert solitude thereof.”

The reason for adducing this record is to shew, by an authenticated deduction, some part of the history of Glendaloech and the changes it has suffered. From 1152, the time of Paparon's legation, nothing was done to the prejudice of the see until Pope Alexander made it suffragan to Dublin in 1179. But we have no proof of Archbishop Toole's wishing, or Henry's granting Glendaloech to Dublin, but this testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam, though the fact seems probable. For Dublin possessing a good harbour, being built and fortified by the Danes, and lying convenient for the schemes of the Normans on this kingdom, a British prince would naturally make it his residence, and endeavour its aggrandisement. On the other hand, Glendaloech was held by a fierce and resolute people, and a Sept, who

as founders presented both to See and Abbey, and who so far from submitting to the new-comers were, as we shall see in the sequel, their most determined enemies, it is therefore no wonder, if Henry and his son John should, at first, disserve and at length finally incorporate the whole bishoprick of Glendaloch with Dublin. Harris's conjecture, in his Edition of Ware's Bishops, deserves credit. He says, Archbishop Loundres, being Justiciary of Ireland, made use of that moment of power to effect this consolidation. The Normans were then gaining ground, and it was his duty to second them. Another (42) informs us, that the people of Glendaloch at first violently opposed this union, but being overcome by papal authority, they consented on condition, that another Cathedral, besides that of Christ Church, should be erected within their ancient diocese, and that for the future there should be an Archdeacon of Glendaloch as well as of Dublin. This being consented to, another church was begun without the walls, on the ancient site of the church of St. Nicholas, an Archdeacon was appointed, and the union took place.

In 1193, John (43) granted the see of Glendaloch for ever to Dublin, on the first vacancy, the Bishop of the latter providing a Pastor for the former church. This donation he made with the consent of his Barons solely, without any mention of the Pope's authority or approbation. This charter is dated the 24th of June, and about the end of the ensuing July, John made (44) another grant absolutely of the Bishoprick of Glendaloch, without the provision of vacancy expressed in the former. These two grants succeeding each other so quickly, in the space of a month, can no otherwise be accounted for but by supposing Malchus, the last Bishop but one, to have died; on which event, Archbishop Comyn thought it prudent to have the former donation revived, and a new confirmation made, omitting the conditional clause, now nugatory. There are grounds for believing this to be the case from the documents and their tenor, as well as from Mr. Harris's declaration, who confesses he does not know when Malchus died, or Piro succeeded.

William Piro or Peryn is said to have been the last legal Bishop of Glendaloch, and this is inferred by some episcopal acts done by him, recounted by Harris, who dates his sitting from 1192 to 1214, when he died. I fear this is said without proof; for how came Piro to intrude himself into the see after its final union with Glendaloch in 1193? It could not be the design of King John, or the court of Rome,

(42) *Hibernia Dominicana*. p. 186. Not. K.

(43) *Ex Regist. vocatò, Crede mihi*. fol. 87.

(44) *Ex Regist. supra*.

to divest a bishoprick of its possessions, and yet still keep up the title. The most probable solution is, that the O'Tooles did not, or would not relinquish their rights, when they perceived their acquiescence went to the annihilation of these rights.

A. D. 1214. It seems to have been considered as a violent stretch of power, the sinking the see of Glendaloech into that of Dublin, otherwise so many reasons to vindicate it would never have been sought for. The intentions of Cardinal Paparon are first alledged, then the fewness of the people in, and the poverty of the diocese of Dublin, with the propriety of extending the limits, and augmenting the revenues of the metropolitical church. But these motives, how plausible soever, did not satisfy the Irish, and therefore the testimony of O'Ruadan was procured. He was uncle of Roderic O'Conor, the last monarch of Ireland, and being allied to the Royal family, it was imagined, no native would object to his solemn evidence, or litigate a transaction supported by such authority. To give every colourable pretext for this union, it is asserted in O'Ruadan's letter, that Glendaloech, for forty years past, was a nest of thieves and murderers. This brings the commencement of nefarious acts there to the year 1173. The argument then turns out a most unfortunate one, as it directly proves those crimes to be coeval with, and derived from the establishment of the Norman power in this isle. Before this, the letter states, that Glendaloech was held in the utmost veneration, and of course the manners of the inhabitants were honest and peaceable. Can it be admired, that when the natives beheld the depredations of these foreigners on secular and ecclesiastical property, their morals should be debauched, and their simplicity corrupted by such pestilent examples?

In 1216, Pope Honorius III. confirmed what his predecessors and the Kings of England had done respecting the union of Glendaloech.

In Camden's Annals, at the end of his Britannia, we find the Toole's almost always in arms against the English, and there is reason to think they kept the see of Glendaloech constantly filled; for Wadding, in his Franciscan Annals, under the year 1494, informs us, that Pope Alexander VI. on the death of Bishop John, advanced Ivo Ruffi, a Minorite, to the see. And on the decease of Ruffi the next year, John or (45) Junon was made bishop of Glendaloech. In 1497, it is mentioned, (46) that Friar Dennis White had long been in possession of Glendaloech,

3 B

but

(45) Burk. Hibern. Dominic, p. 479, & Supplem. 1479.

(46) Ware's Bishops, supra.

but being old and infirm and touched in conscience, on the 30th of May this year, surrendered his right and claim in the Chapter-house of St. Patrick, Dublin, and acknowledged his fee had been united to Dublin since the reign of King John. Walter Fitz-Simons was now archbishop of Dublin, and in such favour with Henry VII. that he was made deputy to Jasper, duke of Bedford, governor of Ireland. In this plenitude of power he obliged White to make the foregoing recognition. I do not know how this can be reconciled with what Burk says, that Francis de Corduba was appointed to the fee by Pope Alexander.



OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS ON SAXON AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

WHEN many ingenious and learned men have delivered their sentiments on a subject, a writer must perceive the difficulty of advancing any thing novel on the same topic, as he must feel a delicacy in differing from them in opinion. Had there been any thing approaching unanimity in their decisions, very little could be added to their labours: but as the reader will see from a succinct review of what they have written, that the subject remains involved in its original obscurity, he will be inclined to receive an attempt to throw new light on it, not unfavourably, while from the review, he may select that system which seems best founded.

Sir Christopher Wren, (1) thinks what we call the Gothic style, ought rather to be termed the Saracenic, refined by the christians. This mode began in the East after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious success of those people that adhered to Mahomet's doctrine: who, out of zeal for their religion built Mosques, Caravanferas and Sepulchres wherever they came. These they contrived of a round form, because they would not imitate the christian figure of a cross, nor the old Greek manner, deemed by them idolatrous, and for that reason all sculpture became offensive to them. They thought columns and heavy cornishes impertinent, and might be omitted, and affecting the round from the Mosques, they elevated Cupolas, in some instances, with grace enough. The holy wars gave the christians, who had been there, an idea of the Saracen works, which were afterwards imitated by them in the west; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches.

Without extracting more from the Parentalia, we may observe, that it is a posthumous performance, and probably never designed for the public eye, as in every part it is obviously imperfect and incorrect.

The Saracen manner, he says, was round, with Cupolas, and that the Croiséés imitated it. Where it may be asked, are Gothic works in this style to be seen? Are all Mosques and Caravanferas round?

The

(1) Wren's Parentalia, p. 309.

The Saracenic works in the East, as remarked by Bentham and Grose, bear no affinity to the Gothic, if they had, some vestiges would still appear. Le Brun, in all his views, gives but one Gothic ruin of a church near Acre, with pointed arches, and erected by the christians. The Moors, who possessed Spain from the 8th to the 15th century, left no trace of an architecture, of which they are said to be the inventors. Mr. Swinburne, in his travels in Spain, speaking of the cathedral of Burgos, says—that in all the buildings he had an opportunity of examining in Spain and in Sicily, which are undoubtedly Saracenic, he has never been able to discover any thing like an original design, from which the Gothic ornaments might be supposed to be copied.—This opinion is not hastily given, or by a superficial observer: it is the result of experience and a masterly knowledge of the various styles of architecture, supported by ingenious and learned details and comparisons, and such as must for ever overthrow Wren's notions.

Wren tells us, the Italians, French, Germans, Flemings, with some Greek refugees, formed themselves into societies of Free-Masons, and ranged from one nation to another, in constructing churches. Now we know from Spons and Reinefius's inscriptions, that there were colleges of Masons among the Romans, and that they were attached to some legions. The Free-Masons were copies of these Roman societies, and not of the date given by Wren. Nor is it true, that they monopolized the building of churches, for the religious communities were equally well skilled. Thus Ranulph Flambard, a secular priest, and bishop of Durham, in 1100, was a great builder: he raised his church from its foundation to its covering, and made (2) many other great works. Felibien, (3) mentioning the Cistercian abbey of Notre Dame des Dunes, and its re-edification in 1262, says,—*Qu'il n'y eut que les religieux & les gens de monastere qui y mirent la main; qu'ils estoient au nombre de plus de quatre cens personnes, tant profez, convers que freres laïques & serviteurs; et que plusieurs d'entre eux s'appliquoient les uns au dessein, a la peinture, et a la sculpture et les autres a la maçonnerie, la charpenterie, la menuiserie, la ferrurerie et autres arts dependans de l'architecture.*—

Mr. Gray (4) thought there was nothing in the Gothic but the slender steeples that might be borrowed from the Saracens, and that if both styles were the same, then the Gothic would have cupolas: he adds, that the buildings in Persia, Turkey, and other parts of the East, are plainly corruptions of Greek architecture. Mr. Gray

(2) Godwyn de preful.

(3) Recueil historique, p. 214.

(4) Works by Maſon. Letter 20.

Gray forgot, that in our Saviour's time, the temple at Jerusalem had (5) pinnacles, columns, ornamented capitals and much pinnacled decoration, so that there was no necessity of deducing these from Saracenic works or later inventions. These existed in the original Jewish tabernacle, and in the christian Ciboria long before the Saracens established any style.

Bishop Warburton, accustomed to weave with a bold hand the slender web of hypothesis, discovers in his notes to Pope's epistle to Lord Burlington, some of those marks of genius and learning, which eminently distinguish the writings of this prelate. He says, our Saxon ancestors, in their pilgrimages to the Holy land, acquired their architectural ideas from the religious edifices there existing. But the Anglo-Saxons were not entirely converted until the (6) middle of the 7th century, consequently their pilgrimage could not be earlier.

In the account of the church of Hexham, built by Wilfred, bishop of York in 674, there is no intimation of oriental architects or architecture; the builders were (7) brought from Rome, Italy, France and other countries.

The drawings of churches in the Holy Land, the Bishop says, agree with our Saxon remains; and he particularly refers to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and those of the Knights Templars formed on its plan. Now Eusebius (8) is pretty full in his description of this church. It was a Basilica, and is so called by him (9) and Sulpicius Severus. These Basilicae were the Roman courts of justice, and in every province were (10) changed into christian temples. They had their pillars within the walls, as the heathen fanes had them without. If this be a true account, our ancestors need not seek in transmarine nations for models, for they abounded in Britain. The church of Hexham must be allowed to be a Saxon work: its profound crypts and subterranean oratories, the arch of the chancel and its decorations, its winding stairs and secret walks, which could conceal from (11) view a great number of men; its altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Michael, and St. John, are these similar to the church of the Holy Sepulchre? If not the whimsy falls to the ground.

3 c

The

(5) Περύπλοισι. Matt. 4. 5. Lightfoot. descrip. templi.

(6) Ethelwerd. l. 2. c. 6. Smith. flor. hist. p. 92.

(7) De Roma et Italia et Francia et de aliis terris, &c. Ric. Prior. Haguls. l. 1. c. 5.

(8) Vit. Constanti l. 3. c. 25. et seq.

(9) Mox usa regni viribus Basilicam in loco Dominice passionis, &c. l. 2. c. 33.

(10) Aufon. grat. act. p. 190.

(11) Artificiose machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existeret, cum a nemine infra videri queat. Ric. Prior. Hag. supra.

The Norman style had its origin from the ancient grove-temples, where avenues of tall trees, intermixing their branches overhead, suggested the idea of columns, pilasters and ramifications in the vaultings. The Bishop should have previously proved, that the forest-temples of the Goths were parallelograms; that this figure is best calculated for a multitude, and was a favourite one with this people.

The Bishop says, when the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate had ripened their wits and influenced their mistaken piety, they produced Gothic architecture in imitation of their grove-temples. But Spain was evangelized and had churches antecedent to the Gothic invasion. Is it not more natural to conclude, that with the accustomed zeal of new converts, they adopted the christian churches for divine worship, rejecting every idea of their pagan state. But granting they did retain their heathen notions, where were architects to be found to construct so very complicated a building as a Gothic church from a grove archetype? Could it be accomplished without great skill and practical experience? The Bishop winds up this ingenious reverie, and stamps it as such by observing, that the genial warmth of the climate ripened the wits and inflamed the piety of the Spaniards, a notion that might serve to embellish an historic romance, but inconsistent with sober reason or sound philosophy.

Would this learned prelate persuade us, that churches had no columns, or the roofs no ornaments till his Goths invented them? Holy writ, Paulinus and Procopius would have otherwise instructed him. Eusebius mentions the Mosaic and lacunary enrichments of the roof and collonades of the church of the holy sepulchre.

Sir Henry Wotton, (12) speaking of Gothic arches, says: "those arches which our artizans call of the third or fourth point, because they always concur in an acute angle, and do spring from the division of the diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleasure, I say as to these, both for the imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise for their very uncomeliness, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the Goths and Lombards, amongst other reliques of that barbarous age." This derivation of Gothic architecture was universally adopted, and was fashionable for some ages. The Goths, says (13) an intelligent writer, a rough unpolished people, of huge stature and dreadful looks, carried into milder climates their monstrous taste of heavy architecture. A strange fancy! as if the size and looks of men gave a bias to their mental exertions.

But

(12) Remains, p. 32.

(13) Riou's Grecian Orders of Architecture.

But in no respect were the Goths the founders of an order of architecture. For granting that, according to (14) Philostorgius and Sozomen, the Goths embraced the Christian faith about the year 266, and to have built churches under the direction of captive christians, we may be assured they were not better than cabins, or extemporaneous huts. Durable structures were not to be looked for among a people, at this period, in perpetual motion.

Or suppose with the author (14) of the "Ornaments of churches considered," that on the western world being reduced to positive subjection in the sixth century, the Gothic princes applied to the cultivation of the mechanical and liberal arts, and that this was the æra of Gothic architecture, we shall see that a conclusion quite opposite to what he deduces arises fairly from his authority. I recollect but one or two passages in Cassiodorus, and they make against him. Directions are (15) given about the repairs of the royal palace. The architect is ordered to preserve the ancient part of the building in its pristine beauty, and to make the (16) new imitate the old. The better to enable him to perform this, he is desired frequently to read (17) Euclid's geometry, and to have Archimedes and Metrobius as his constant companions: every thing was to be so executed, that the works should be unlike those of antiquity only in their (18) newness. Here is the most decisive proof, that in the Gothic age, A. D. 514, and under a Gothic prince, Theodoric, the Greek and Roman styles and their most correct modules were admired, and nothing held in estimation but the antique: an evidence sufficient to subvert for ever all the wild notions of Gothic architecture being derived from the Goths.

"But, says the same author, the Italians call the Gothic mode, *architettura Tedesca*, or Celtic architecture, and it seems to be the same, in some respects with the barbarous form in temples of which Plato and Strabo speak." A writer of superficial learning, who either does not understand or takes at second hand ancient authors, is most troublesome to encounter and confute, because he imposes by the citation of authors, who must be critically examined to detect his errors. Thus, not to insist on his mistake of translating *Tedesca*, by Celtic instead of Teutonic, a mistake evincing ignorance of language and people, he misrepresents Plato. In

(14) Page 83. (15) Cassiod. Variar. p. 217—218.

(16) *Ut antiqua in nitorem pristinam contineas, et nova simili antiquitate producas.* Cassiod. sup.

(17) "The most general forms of architecture may be comprehended under the triangle, the square and the circle; and the several parts which constitute a complete order are of a similar construction with those geometrical figures." Kirby's perspective of architecture.

(18) *Ut ab opere veterum sola distet novitas fabricarum,* Cassiod. sup.

the dialogue of this celebrated ancient, named Critias, he describes the climate, soil and produce of the isle of Atlantis, and the temple of Neptune in it. A profusion of gold, silver and orichale was displayed on its columns and pavement; every part glittered with the precious metals, and Neptune stood in a chariot drawn by six winged horses. The architecture and decorations are Grecian, but there was something (19) barbarous in the aspect of the temple: that is, it was not exact in respect of the heavens, or of its parts, and which a perusal of Vitruvius will more fully explain. To have made the architecture even of the Atlantic isle as perfect as the Grecian, would have been such a want of politeness and respect towards his countrymen, as Plato could not be guilty of. What relation has this Atlantic temple with Celtic or Teutonic architecture? None, but that the author supposes the Atlantis of Plato and the visionary Rudbeck to be the same. Strabo gives no more countenance to this writer than Plato and Cassiodorus, but I shall not trouble the reader with the detail.

As to the pointed or lancet Gothic arch it was known and used many centuries before the Gothic power was established, or the romantic expeditions to the Holy Land commenced. About the year of Christ 132, Antinous, the favourite of the Emperor Adrian, was drowned in the Nile. This prince, to perpetuate his memory, founded a city in Egypt, and called it after his name. Pere Bernat made drawings of its ruins, which are in the third tome of Montfaucon's antiquities. Among them is the pointed arch, not perfectly Gothic, but that called contrasted. Another contrasted arch appears in the Syriac MS. hereafter spoken of. In Horsley are Roman sepulchral stones, with pointed arches. One example, and there must have been many now fallen a prey to the ravages of time, would have been sufficient to have proved their existence and use, and the probability of their serving as models, after a lapse of years, for a new style, and this new style seems to have commenced about the year 1000, perhaps earlier. The arches of churches on the coins of Berengar, King of Italy, and Lewis the Pious, and those in the Menologium Græcum prove the strait arch was in use in the 9th and 10th centuries. The same may be said of the strait arches on many round towers in Ireland. In the Menologium, compiled by order of the Greek Emperor Basilus, in the 9th century, there are many engravings from ancient miniatures: among them are Ciboria with high conical roofs; also perspective views of churches, whose arches are round, strait and spreading: the bases, shafts, capitals and ornaments are Saxon. These arches shew a fluctuation.

(19) *Eidos δὲ τοῦ Καππαδωνίου ἱεροῦ.* Plat. in Crit.

(20) In 2. tom. Urbini, 1727.

a fluctuation of taste and style. Mr. Pennant saw at Chester two pointed arches within a round one; and Mr. Grose informs (21) us, that the columns at Kirkstall abbey, in Yorkshire, support pointed arches, and over these is a range of windows whose arches are semicircular: these circumstances seem to intimate that the round and lancet arches were for a while striving for victory.

On a coin of Edward the Confessor, in Camden, is a pointed arch; the church there is supposed to be that of Bury St. Edmund repaired by him. This is a century earlier than its introduction according to Mr. Bentham. As all our ancient historians resent the Confessor's attachment to the Normans, among whom he was educated, it is likely he saw this new arch on the continent, and introduced it into his works. Some architectural novelty seems to have made its appearance in France and Italy at this time, as may be collected from the (22) words of Glaber Rudolph, a Benedictine monk and contemporary, and no doubt our churches took the form of this fashionable innovation. You see, says (23) William of Malmesbury, writing of the Conqueror's time, in cities, towns and villages, churches and monasteries arise in a new style of building. Mr. Warton takes this passage to refer to a more magnificent, but not a different style. The words seem to bear an opposite construction. What novelty was there, in barely enlarging the size of a church? How will magnificence be applicable to the—*ecclesiæ in villis et vicis*? Was every little village-church enlarged? We know it was not, it is improbable. But the making pointed arches, and ramifying the windows, were not such expensive and arduous works, and were the real—*novum genus ædificandi*—of Malmesbury, and the *innovari ecclesiarum basilicas*—of Rudolph. The origin and progress of ecclesiastical architecture and of the Saxon ornaments shall be now considered.

The easy intercourse established through every part of the Roman empire introduced the knowledge of christianity and its teachers, at an early period, into Britain. The Gospel seems to have made considerable progress among the natives, who were represented by three bishops at the council of Arles, A. D. 314. The Roman soldiery, a very numerous body, were not so ready to embrace the faith. There are no monuments of their belief in Christ, but many of their attachment to the deities of Rome. The pompous account given by Tacitus of his father-in-law Agricola, and of his endeavours to polish the Britons by encouraging them to

3 D

build

(21) Preface to Antiq. of England, p. 127.

(22) *Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pæne terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis innovare ecclesiarum basilicas.* Apud Du Chesne.

(23) *Videas ubique in villis, &c.* De gest. Ang. reg. 1. 3. p. 57.

build houses, temples and fora, are rather the fond effusions of affection than matters of fact; not a (24) trace of such edifices existing or of the columns that adorned them. So that (25) a celebrated historian seems to have good grounds for asserting, that the most the Romans communicated to us was a thin varnish of Italian manners. The architecture therefore of the Britons seems to have been of the simplest wooden materials, and this Bede, Usher and Spelman testify. It is in vain then to look for these sculptural ornaments which more particularly belong to stone edifices.—When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in England they adored Odin, Thor, and the other northern gods. Those deities, under whose guidance and protection they had been victorious they would not easily relinquish. For two hundred years they continued Pagans. That they built temples, which were after converted to christian churches, has been asserted by learned men. The passages in Bede and other writers which seem to countenance this opinion, will be found on a critical examination to come very short of the necessary evidence, without a large portion of ingenuity and conjecture. But as there is no heathen Saxon temple extant or on record whose architecture and ornaments are accurately described, there is no need of entering minutely on this subject. If we believe the united testimony of our historians, the Saxons pointed their utmost vengeance against christianity and its sacred structures. In their own country they worshipped their gods in stone-circles, or amid the gloom of ponderous trilithons: and there are abundant proofs of their doing the same here.

Antecedent to the coming of Augustine in 597, the Welsh and Irish clergy converted many of the Saxon race, but the native buildings of their missionaries were as mean as the British.

(26) Mr. Effex says, on the authority of Bede, that the Saxons at the time of their conversion did not understand masonry, as they were obliged to send for foreigners to build their churches and monasteries after the Roman manner. Let their ignorance of masonry be what it may, it is not proved by the circumstance adduced. The passage alluded to in Bede, and others to the same purpose, have been misunderstood. The Britons, besides their wattled and wooden churches, had latterly some poor stone-fabrics like those of St. Martin and St. Pancras at Canterbury: but they were not constructed in the style of those churches that acknowledged the doctrines and sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff. They had no crypts under them for reliques; they were not supported by arches and columns; these
arches

(24) *Archæologia*, V. 4. p. 79.(25) *Gibbon's Roman hist.* c. 38.(26) *Archæol. sup.*

arches and columns were not adorned with the images of Saints and legendary stories; their shape was not cruciform; they had no oratories in the aisles, nor were they glazed. This was the Roman style as precisely delineated by (27) Bede, Eddius and Richard Prior of Hexham, and contradistinguished from the British.

From the arrival of the Papal missionaries in the Island it was fashionable to exalt every thing Roman and decry what was native. The Britons with great firmness preserved their hierarchy and faith, and resolutely withstood the adoption of masses, stations, litanies, singing, reliques, pilgrimages and numberless other superstitions and innovations of popery. The Anglo-Saxon church (28) founded by a Roman and devoted to that See, could not give a more convincing proof of her sincerity than by embracing those favourite ceremonies, and with them that mode of building with which they were intimately connected. Accordingly those, who were the most active in forwarding this style, had either their education at Rome, or were remarkably attached to that capital. Thus Ninian, who erected the stone-church at Whittem, was regularly instructed at Rome in her (29) mysteries and tenets. Biscop, founder of the church of Weremouth after the Roman manner, was urged to the undertaking from his love to the blessed apostle (30) St. Peter; and Naiton, seduced from his hereditary religion by the abbot Ceolfrid, solicits this abbot to send him architects to construct a church after the Roman (31) fashion, not to mention Wilfrid who erected the church at Hexham, and others recorded by Bede.

This elucidation clearly points out the difference between the Roman and British architecture in the 7th century, and shews what the ecclesiastical historian more particularly means by the Roman manner. It is to foreigners we are indebted for the rudiments of this elegant art, and for those sculptures which so profusely adorn our capitals and arches. It is equally certain, that what are called the Saxon ornaments and the Saxon style have not the most relation to that people as inventors, but as they were used in ages wherein their conquests and power were very conspicuous.

The

(27) Bed. hist. Abb. Wirem. p. 295, et alibi. Edd. apud XV. Scrip. p. 62. Ric. Prior. Haguls. p. 290—291.

(28) It is probable Augustine was a Roman, as he was taken from the monastery of St. Andrew, at Rome. Creffy's church history.

(29) Qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem & mysteria veritatis edocuit. Bed. l. 3. c. 4.

(30) Ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat morem. Et tantum in operando studii præ amore beati Petri. Bed. hist. Abb. Wir. p. 295. And a remarkable passage to the same in Pinkerton's Vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 6. in Ninian.

(31) Bed. l. 5. c. 21.

The Roman style, which includes, as is apparent from the preceding account of it, every characteristic trait of the Saxon, was the mode of ecclesiastical architecture prevalent in the 7th century. The same style we may reasonably suppose existed in the church of (32) Tours, built A. D. 460. One hundred and twenty columns therein were not without carving; nor walls one hundred and fifty feet in length without mouldings or ornaments. Of what sort these ornaments were the writer does not inform us. Eddius mentions in general terms, that the capitals of the columns and the arch of the chancel of the Hexham fabric were decorated "*historiis—imaginibus—et variis cœlaturarum figuris.*" The first probably mean historical representations from the Bible and Legends; the second saints and holy men; and the last a variety of sculptures in relief. These works were executed by artists (33) brought from Rome, Italy and France: what reason then can there be for calling them Saxon? Many learned antiquaries have lately relinquished this appellation, and call them Roman, but they have not explained what they mean by a Roman work. It is not enough that the arch is semicircle, and the form and proportion of the column regular, the feuillage should be also Roman to entitle it to this distinction; the former by chance may be right, but the latter is not less characteristic. Where do we see the Ovolo, Talon, Cyma, Torus and other regular architectonic mouldings and ornaments in Saxon works? Or where an entire order of the column? For except the shaft, the other parts are omitted or indistinctly marked. The Saxon may possibly be a corruption of the Roman style, but there are strong inducements to think it had a very different origin.

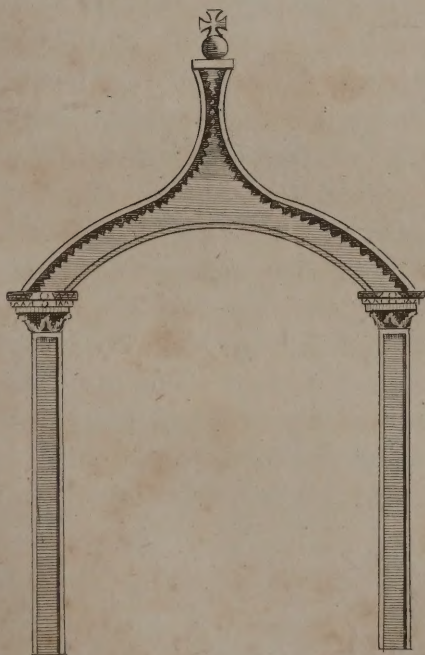
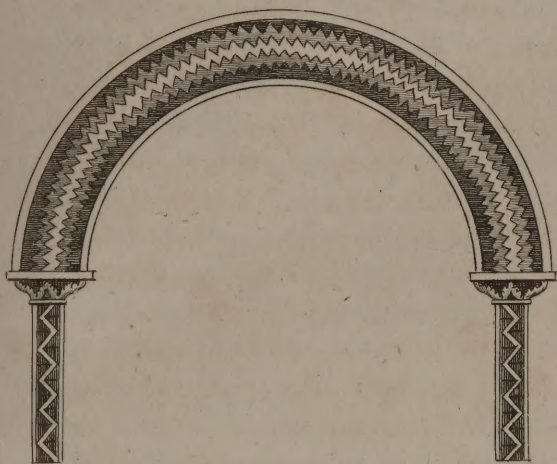
In the (34) Mediceo-Laurentian library at Florence is a Syriac MS. of the Evangelists, written A. D. 586, full of pictures and miniatures, exhibited in twenty-six leaves. The second shews the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms, under a ciborium supported by four pillars, which are dressed with chevrons, lozenges and eggs. The other plates give every characteristic ornament of the Saxon style; as nebules, lozenges, quatrefoils and chevrons, flowers, fruit, birds and a (35) rich variety of sculpture. So early an instance, as to date, so authentic and in point, has not, I believe, been produced; what has been observed of the church of Tours and that
of

(32) Greg. Turon. *hist. Franc.* l. 2. c. 14.

(33) Du Roma quoque et Francia et de aliis terris ubicunque invenire poterat, cœmentarios, &c. secum retinerat. Ric. Prior Haguls. l. 1. c. 5.

(34) Codex evangeliorum antiquissimus, literis capitalibus scriptus sine punctis vocalibus, anno Alexandrino 807, hoc est, Christi 586, cum harmonia evangelica Ammonii et Eusebii, et miniaturis picturisque veteris & novi testamenti. Hic codex vere inæstimabilis est, optime scriptus. Biblioth. Medic. Laur. t. I. p. 44.

(35) See Plate.



Arches from a Syriac M.S. of the Gospels at Florence

of Hexham being rather probable conjecture. Here we have a curious and incontestible fact full in view. That such drawings are good authority and authentic evidence, we have the decided opinion of Warton, in his *Observations on Spenser*, "I cannot, says he, more clearly recapitulate or illustrate what has been said, than by observing that the seals of our English monarchs from Henry III. display the taste of architecture which respectively prevailed under several subsequent reigns; and consequently convey at one comprehensive view the series of its successive revolutions: inasmuch, that if no real model remained, they would be sufficient to shew the modes and alterations of building in England." Every inquirer into antiquity knows what use Montfaucon, Strutt, Grainger and others have made of miniatures, coins, seals and sculptures in their various works, and that the deductions from them rarely are disputed.

That we should discover the Saxon ornaments (for I must use the term to be intelligible) in the East, is a phenomenon little to be expected. Let us consider that the tabernacle made by the Israelites in the Wilderness was to represent at once an (36) oriental temple and palace. As described in Exodus, it was a great pavilion or tent, and in it was the Ark. The latter was concealed from sight by a veil suspended from four pillars of precious wood, their capitals and bases of precious metals, and the shafts overlaid with the same. Within this the Deity was supposed to reside.

Christians, in the early ages of the church, imitated many ceremonies and practices of the Jews, and among others they formed small portable tabernacles, constructed on the model of the first. Sozomen (37) tells us, that Constantine, about the beginning of the 4th century, carried with him in his campaigns a tabernacle, in the shape of a church, that neither he or his army might in the Wilderness be without a temple for holy uses. I say, Constantine and the Christians might have adopted this idea from the Jews, but it fell also in very exactly with the pagan usages, and might have been retained not to scandalize new converts. The carrying gods in portable temples was common among the (38) Egyptians, Cappadocians, Greeks and Romans, and such were the silver shrines spoken of by St. Luke, in the Acts. Scripture and Sozomen call these tabernacles, *Sceneæ*; but Chrysostom, who was contemporary with Sozomen, *Ciboria*. In his 42d homily on the Acts,

3 E

he

(36) Goguet sur. l'orig. des loix. t. 2. p. 251—252.

(37) Καὶ σκηνὴν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰκασμένην. I. I. c. 7.

(38) Δίος ἑοικένον. Eustath. in Iliad. I. Strab. I. 4. Athenæi Deipnos. I. II. Casaub. in loco. Dio. I. 40. Val. Max. Herodian, Laëtant, &c.

he asks in what form they made those silver shrines, and answers they were perhaps like the small (39) Cibona.

The Ciborium was the shell, containing the seeds of the (40) Colocasia or Egyptian Bean, its surface was flat and hemispherical, from which to the bottom it declined into a cone: it was used as a (41) drinking cup, and resembled our chalices or goblets. This, inverted and suspended by its footstalk, was similar to the canopy that covered these shrines, and in the beginning of the 5th century, as appears from Chrysostom, was thus understood, and at length expressed the pillars, curtains, canopy, and the whole (42) shrine or tabernacle.

Before Christianity was fully established and for some ages after, the practice of making Ciboria to serve as domestic chapels, from the example of Constantine and the general tincture of Paganism still remaining, must have been universal. We have traced it through the 4th, 5th, and the Syriac MS. evinces what it was in the 6th century. In the fury of religious zeal, Constantine demolished the monuments of ancient architecture and sculpture. The porches of the temples, says (43) Eusebius, were laid open, their doors taken down and their roofs torn off. In one place Apollo Pythius lay exposed to view, in another Sminthius, in the circus the Delphic tripods, and in the palace the Heliconian muses. A new style of ornament and building commenced, it was a (44) corrupt imitation of Eastern, Grecian and Roman models. The first experiments seem to have been made on tabernacles and Ciboria. Catching the flame of religion from their prince, and to compleat their triumph over idolatry, Christians would naturally reject those ornaments that decorated heathen temples, and employ whatever they could collect of the Jewish and Eastern feuillage. The Syriac MS. presents us with pillars spiral, fluted and covered with a lozenge net work, different frettes, chevrons, chalices, flower and angels heads, ornaments certainly prior to the date of that work. They were after transferred to stone buildings, and seem to be the true origin of those called Saxon ornaments.

The

(39) *ἱεὺς αὐτὴς Κιβωρία μινυρα.*

(40) Salmas. Plin. exercit. p. 1310. who shew Rhodoginus is much mistaken in the account of the Ciborium.

(41) Poculi vicem et usum præbebat. Salmas. sup.

(42) Li pitture d'Ercolano. t. 2. p. 211.

(43) Vit. Constant. l. 1. c. 8.

(44) Wren has well observed in his Parentalia, that Orders were Hebrew, Phœnician, &c. The account of the Jewish tabernacle is a proof.

The veneration (45) in which the Ciborian was held, and the mystic virtue of its figure, were boundless. The Virgin Mary, Jesus, and the apostles and holy men are represented within those of the Syriac MS. but these were soon supplanted by the reliques of Saints and the eucharistic elements. Ciampini tells us, the (46) Lateran Ciborium is made of Parian marble, supported by four columns of Egyptian marble, with gilt epistyles of the Corinthian order. Within a gilt iron grating, are preserved, with singular veneration, the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul.

We may easily imagine what superstitious respect was paid to the minutest part of the Ciborium, from a declaration of St. Jerome in the 4th century, who pronounces in the most decisive manner, that (47) the sacred chalices, the holy vails, and whatever else belonged to our Lord's passion, were not to be esteemed as common and unmeaning things, but from their connection with the body and blood of Christ were entitled to the same implicit and sovereign respect as the very body and blood itself. Hence the utmost profusion was not thought too great for adorning these Ciboria. Pope Leo III. according to Anastasius, made some of silver covered with gold, the four pillars were of great height of porphyry and white marble, finely carved and enriched with innumerable green and purple gems. The inverted (48) Ciborium was the crowning of the Greek churches called Cupolas, and the covering of their (49) graves. Gregory of Tours, coeval with the Syriac MS. in many (50) parts of his work, mentions the custom of the Franks to hang tapestry round the tombs of the deceased, the top terminating in a ponticulus or arch, in reference to the Ciborium. The same ideas were attended to by architects, as we find by Gervais's (51) account of the rebuilding of Canterbury.

Such

(45) Describit prolixa Ciborium Germanus, et distis prophetis ita conquadrate opinatur, ut sine illo, quo modo Deus operatur per altaris sacrificium salutem hominum in medio terræ non probe intelligi affirmet. Goar. Eucolog. p. 15.

(46) Ciborium ex pario marmore, quatuor columnis ex marmore Ægyptio, cum epistylis deauratis, ordinis Corinthii, sustentatur, &c. Ciampini de sac. ædific. p. 15.

(47) Sacros calices et sancta velamina, et cætera quæ ad cultum Dominicæ passionis pertinent, non quasi inania & sensu carentia sanctimoniam non habere; sed ex consortio corporis & sanguinis Domini, eadem qua corpus ejus et sanguis majestate veneranda. Hieron. epist. ad Theophil. 88. This was about A. D. 380.

(48) Καὶ ὁ κορυθαίως. Phot. Οἷα τὴ κορυ. Silent. apud Du Cange descrip. 2a. Soph. p. 50. Ciborium, in immensum, veluti turris attollebatur, quæ sensim in acutum verticem desinebat. Again. In Ciborii vero forma conoide, quæ columnarum sustentantur columine. Du Cange, sup.

(49) μνημα, ἡ ταφον, ἡ κτερυον. Meurs. Gloss. voc. κτερυον, κτερυγιον.

(50) De gloria Conf. c. 20, 21, 30. De Mirac. l. 1. c. 72. The sepulchrum sub analogia compositum, of this writer, and the—Tumba in modum domunculi of Bede, l. 4. c. 3. were the types of the Ciborium.

(51) Clavem pro toto pono Ciborio—Factum est itaque Ciborium inter quatuor pilarios principales, &c. Gerv. Doro-bern. p. 1298.

Such then is the evidence of the origin of the Saxon feuillage. It is a subject admitting, very probably, much more copious elucidation than is within the sphere of my present information, a few hints are all I presume to offer.

The oscillation of human imbecility, ever producing the wildest and most inexplicable appearances in the moral world, in the course of a few centuries gave a signal instance of its capricious power. What Christians of the 4th and 5th centuries beheld with horror and detestation, Christians of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries embraced as objects meriting the highest respect and confidence. A new style of architectural ornament succeeded, hitherto either totally unobserved or but slightly noticed, though by no means an incurious subject.

The most perfect instance of this style is the capitals in the French church at Canterbury. The ingenious editor of the *Antiquarian* (52) repertory, from whom they are copied, seems to coincide with Mr. Gosling's opinion, that this chapel was either constructed by Grymbald in the reign of Alfred, or by some other in that age; and his arguments are founded on the similarity between the Canterbury ornaments and those in Grymbald's crypt in Oxford: there is a resemblance in the size of the capitals, and at first glance the grotesques seem the same; but a closer examination will discover them to be of different ages. At Canterbury they are well drawn, distinct and expressive: at Oxford they are confused and unmeaning; and in the frizes on the north and south parts of Adderbury church, Oxfordshire, we may trace a degradation of this style in the whimsical mixture of Cyclopes, Januses, warriors and Egyptian hieroglyphical figures; the two former are from Roman originals, the latter betrays the wayward fancy of our rude ancestors.

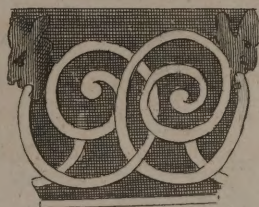
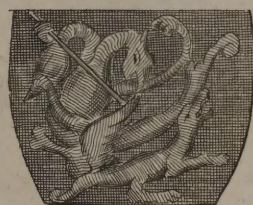
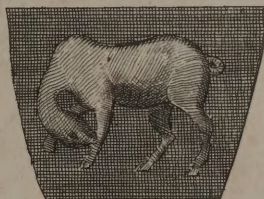
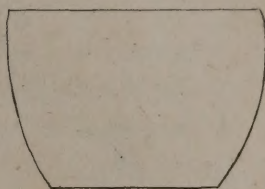
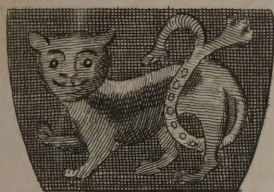
The irruption and settlement of the Saracens in the south, the fierce and bloody conflicts of barbarous and pagan nations in the north, and the universal corruption of religion, exhibit a dismal picture of the state of Europe in the eighth and succeeding ages. Charlemagne did every thing becoming a great prince to civilize the savage manners of the age, to restore Christianity and revive letters. His capitulars are full of decrees for founding and rebuilding churches, and in (53) Montfaucon he is represented holding one, it has a round tower and a spire rising from it. This is allusive to his celebrated church of Aix-la-Chapelle. Hospinian (54) also remarks the astonishing number of magnificent religious edifices constructed in his reign. The Canterbury crypt seems of an earlier date.

IF

(52) V. I. p. 57.

(53) *Les monumens de la monarchie Franc.* p. 276.

(54) Hospinian. *de templs*, p. 36, 37.



Capitals in the French Church at Canterbury.

Published by John Jones N^o 90 Bride St. Dublin.

If Osborn's authority is of any weight, the undercroft at Canterbury was founded antecedent to the year 742; for that (55) writer informs us, that archbishop Cuthbert erected St. John's chapel in the eastern part of the greater church or cathedral. Archdeacon Batteley, as I collect from Mr. Gostling, ascribed it to the believing Romans. The learned antiquary need not be told, that crypts formed the substructure of every great church: he will also think it more than probable, that the metropolitical church of Canterbury was not without them for near three hundred years, that is from the age of Augustine to that of Grymbald; and more especially so, when it is universally allowed, the undercroft amid all the conflagrations and repairs the cathedral underwent, remained unalterably the same. There are not documents sufficient precisely to determine its age, let that be what it may, I shall take the liberty of considering its capitals, and next endeavour to account for the prevalence of Egyptian hieroglyphical figures on them, and similar works.

No. 1. Is the aelurus or cat, one of the (56) animals generally adored in Egypt, because it was believed to supply a cure against the bite of asps and other venomous creatures. Yet it is not likely the feline race would have been so honoured even in this superstitious country was it not symbolical of their great deity (57) Isis.

No. 2. Is obviously another Egyptian grotesque. It is a hawk killing a serpent. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Ælian inform us, this bird was worshipped in Egypt for freeing the country from snakes, scorpions, and other reptiles; and Plutarch records that a hawk fighting with a serpent was represented standing on the statue of (58) Typhon: the archetype probably of our sculpture.

No. 3. Is an ideal quadruped, such as the Egyptian (59) gryphon is described, with the beak, talons and wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion. It is here killing some noxious bird or serpent. The gryphon was (60) sacred to Osiris.

No. 4, 5, 6, 7. The fourth seems to be a gladiator or criminal engaged with a lion; the fifth a horseman with a cap and trowse; the sixth a sheep, to which the Egyptian Saïtes and Thebans paid divine honour; and the seventh an equestrian figure common on Roman coins.

No. 8. Is a pure Egyptian figure, a double-headed Anubis bestriding a double-headed crocodile. In Boissard's and other collections Anubis standing on a crocodile

3 F

(55) Apud Wharton. Angl. Sac. V. 1. p. 75.

(56) Strab. l. 17. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Montfaucon, t. 2. p. 310.

(57) Felis ob varietatem, &c. Ibidem indicabat. Pignor. Mens. II. p. 31.

(58) *Isaaz ophi machomenos*. Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 371. He tells us Osiris was depicted as a hawk. Ibid.

(59) Plutarch. symp. l. 4. quæst. l. 5. Voss. de idôl. l. 3. c. 100.

(60) Pignor, sup. p. 15.

is frequent, nor is a double-headed Anubis less so. We have seen the aelurus, the hawk and the gryphon referred to the great Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris; the same may be said of Anubis, who was the (61) inseparable companion of Isis.

No. 9. A man sitting on the head of another holds in one hand a fish, and in the other a cup. The fish named oxyrinchus was (62) generated from the blood of Osiris, and was sacred in Egypt. According to Hyginus, it alluded to some fable concerning Isis.

No. 10. A double-headed monster. Tertullian (63) seems to describe such forms, and similar ones may be seen in Montfaucon.

No. 11. Is a bird destroying a crocodile, for they are of two (64) species, or perhaps some serpent of the lizard kind.

No. 12. Is a satyr resting on two deers. The "aures Satyrorum acutæ" and the "capripedes Panes" of the Roman poets are well known.

No. 13. Are two birds on a Roman masque.

No. 14. Is a grotesque, with the head and comb of a cock, the body and arms human, the shoulders winged, with the feet and tail of a satyr: it is playing on a violin with a bow, and behind is a scalene triangle. Opposite is another grotesque blowing a trumpet, with the head and horns of a goat, the lower extremities human. That these are Egyptian hieroglyphical figures we may appeal to (65) Porphyry, to Tertullian, Min. Felix, Pignori, Montfaucon and Chifflet.

Whatever occult meaning may be concealed under these grotesques, there is one very obvious and agreeable to the genius of the Egyptian superstition. Its professors in every age were as negligent of decency in their (66) sacred rites as in their public conduct. It was a fatal omen of the decline of the Roman empire, for its princes to be so devoted to this foreign religion. Suetonius mentions it as an instance of Otho's effeminacy, that he celebrated the mysteries of Isis clad in the linen vestments of her priests. In Petronius Egyptian youths attend feasts, and pour snow water

(61) Fuit individuus Iſidis comes. Pignor. sup. p. 32. who produces an ancient inscription, wherein Isis, Serapis, Anubis and Harpocrates are called *Θεα συνναα*.

(62) *Νομισθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἔκγονο εἶναι.* Herod. Euterp. *οὐ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίαις μόνον ἀδὲ ἑλλήσις ἀγνείας μέρος ἀποχὴν ἰχθύων.* Plutarch. symp. l. 8. quæst. 8. Biblioth. choisie. t. 11. p. 106. Melang. de liter. par Vigneul-Marville, t. 1. p. 3. And Casal. de rit. veter. No. 41. p. 137. Amm. Marcell. l. 22.

(63) Canino capite et leonino, et de bove et ariete. Ad Nat. l. 1. c. 14.

(64) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 454.

(65) Porphy. de abstinent. l. 4. §. 9.

(66) Jamque expectatur in hortis,

Aut apud Iſiacæ potius sacraria lenæ. Juvenal. Athenæi Deipnos. l. 14. Arnob. l. 5.

water on the hands of the company. They excelled no less in music than in the other elegant means of corrupting mariners.

Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat. Mart.

Verus brought many musical performers to Rome from Syria and Alexandria. According to Kircher, the triangle denoted Orus, the son of Isis and Osiris: or it was a (67) figure which the Egyptians observed their favourite Ibis often to make.

Sir John Hawkins (68) gives us the Giustiniani Apollo playing on a violin with a bow: the body of the instrument is somewhat rounder than ours. This statue Dr. Burney informs us has been proved by Winckelman and Mengs to be modern; he thinks the violin and bow which appear on an antique ewer and basin, dug up at Soissons, the oldest hitherto discovered. Le Beuf, he adds, supposes them to be as ancient as the year 762. To the sentiments of these eminent scholars and antiquaries I should most readily subscribe, and particularly so, as they would nearly ascertain the date of the undercroft, could I reconcile them with Venantius Fortunatus. This writer flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and mentions the “Chrotta Britanna or British Crwth.” From the drawing of this instrument, in the third volume of the *Archæologia*, it is plain it was of the fidicinal kind, and the translation from this to the violin easy; yet I should think it an excess of patriotism to ascribe the invention of this elegant instrument to the Britons. They must rather have corrupted the violin into the Crwth from a Greek or Roman original. Enough has been said of these capitals to found a conjecture that this crypt was an (69) Iseum or Roman chapel, sacred to Isis, or that it was an early imitation of Roman models. Grotesques are derived from the eccentricity of Egyptian superstition, and which affected striking and monstrous forms rather than those that were comely and beautiful; and the more to inspire (70) religious dread and horror, those grotesques were mostly confined to crypts, and hence they got their (71) appellation.

The

(67) *ἱσσηλιον τριγων.* Plutarch. de Is. et Os. p. 650. Trigonus cum globo inscriptus significat Horum. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Syn. 2. c. 7. A triangle is a common sepulchral ornament in the crypts at Rome? Aringh. Rom. subter. pass.

(68) History of Music, V. 1. p. 246.

(69) A similar instance, are the vaults at Hexham, wherein are many fragments of Roman inscriptions, grotesque figures, which are true Sigillaria or Sigilliola, and much carved stone-work. Hexham and Canterbury were Roman stations. Hutchinson's excursion to the lakes. p. 303—307.

(70) Quorum studium in id magis incumberebat, ut pictoras miras exprimerent, quam ut venustatem affectarent. Pignor. p. 7. Vitruv. l. 7, c. 5. Li pitture d'Ercole. t. 3. p. 296. n. 2. and p. 312.

(71) Italis dictas grotescas credo, quod in terra obrutis veterum ædificiorum fornibibus, quas grottas, quasi cryptas vocant, primum invenerint. Pignor. sup.

The northern nations from vicinity or intercourse had been long conversant with the superstition of (72) Rome, and like her, were addicted to magic and spells. So exactly did their ideas assimilate on these heads, that Wormius (73) declares one egg does not more closely resemble another than the Egyptian and Danish hieroglyphics. Boetius found numberless hieroglyphics in Scotland, which tradition ascribed to the Danish times; of these he thus speaks in Holinshed's translation, "that the Scots at first used the rules and manners of the (74) Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their private affairs they did not write with common letters, as other nations did, but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures, made in manner of letters, as their epitaphs on their tombs and sepulchres remaining amongst us do hitherto declare. Nevertheless this hieroglyphical manner of writing in our times is perished and lost." Mr. Pennant met with these grotesque in his tour in Scotland: he asks whence could artists acquire their ideas of centaurs and animals proper to the torrid zone?

In the year 1665, the tomb of Childeric I. was discovered at Tournai, and in it the (75) head of an ox with a sun in his forehead all of gold; and lest the figure should be mistaken, there were about three hundred golden "apès" or bees, to shew that Childeric's tutelary deity was the Egyptian apis. Montfaucon says there were (76) many oval coins found at the same time with the scarabæus and frog on them; and then asks, were these derived to the Franks from the Egyptians? Did the former also worship them? Had these ingenious writers applied but a small portion of their erudition to this subject, they would soon have detected the obscurity which overshadows the introduction and use of these hieroglyphics, and thereby superseded the necessity of the following observations.

The Egyptian superstition had, by its various adumbrations and (77) explications, so confounded the ancient system of Grecian and Roman theology, as to make it a perfect chaos. This, with the open profligacy of its votaries, made the Romans, in the 696th year of the city, eject it. It stole in again, and was again expelled. So true is it what Macrobius writes, that with difficulty those deities were established at

(72) Ten years before the incarnation, Drusus conquered and colonized the country of the Anglo-Saxons. Tacit. l. 4. c. 12. Camden and Stillingfleet.

(73) *Vix ovum ovo similis deprehendes*. Fast. Dan. p. 45, 46. Monum. Dan. p. 92.

(74) The popular fiction of Gathelus and Scota was very convenient for explaining these Scottish hieroglyphics.

(75) This is strong proof, that the Franks were then pagans. This is confirmed by Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 10. Huët alluding to this discovery, says, *Et ne quis Apim esse nesciret adjectæ fuerant apes aureæ plusquam trecentæ, ut ex harum nomine illius intelligeretur*. Demons. Evang. p. 147. ed. 8vo.

(76) Monum. de la Monarch. Fran. p. 10-15.

(77) *Molheim ad Cudworth*, c. 4. Bruker. Hist. Philosoph. t. I. p. 246.

at Rome. At length they were permitted without the walls, but generally despised to the reign of Nero, when Lucan says,

*Nos in templa tua Romana recipimus Isin
Semideosque canes.*

The singular respect shewn to Egyptian idolatry, and its adoption about this time, may I think with certainty be developed from an anecdote of Nero, preserved by Suetonius. An unknown plebeian presented the emperor with a little female image, as a protectress against conspiracies: in a short time after, having discovered some secret machinations, he ascribed the discovery to this image, worshipped it as a sovereign deity, and sacrificed to it thrice a day. Adrian had a little image, stuck with old iron letters, which he adored with his other chamber divinities.

The successors of Augustus lived in perpetual fear of assassinations and insurrections: the nobility were debauched, the commons wretchedly poor, and the soldiery seditious and undisciplined. Dreadful apprehensions constantly haunted the disturbed imagination of the reigning prince; without vigour or firmness to take a judicious or decisive step to avert danger, he became a prey to the weakness of his passions, and sought information, aid and protection from amulets and spells. It was here the Egyptian charlatannerie powerfully recommended itself to the vain hopes and fears of a debauched people, by the superior virtue of its talismans. The skill of the orientals in astrology was confessed, and their spells and charms esteemed of the most indisputable efficacy and power. The deities, whose figures those amulets bore, were not less cried up. Artemidorus, a contemporary, is full on this head. If, says he, you dream of Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates, or of their statues and mysteries, it portends confusions, dangers, threatenings and misfortunes, from which however beyond your hopes they will preserve you; for these gods have ever been (78) saviours, keeping their votaries unhurt in the extremest difficulties.

In consequence of this prepossession and confidence in the Egyptian superstition, their amulets multiplied to infinity; from the highest to the lowest every one procured and carried them: all imitated the prince

Componitur orbis

Regis ad exemplum.

Now, says Pliny in the reign of Trajan, they begin to wear Harpocrates and the Egyptian gods on their fingers. Commodus shaved his head and bore Anubis in

3 G

his

(78) *Αἱ γὰρ σωτῆρες.* Oneiroc. l. 2, c. 44.

his arms, when he celebrated the rites of Isis. Under Adrian, many of these Egyptian temples were erected. Severus repaired the Iseum and Serapeum. Caracalla constructed a large fane to Isis; as Antonius Pius did to Serapis. In a word, Otho, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Philip and Tetricus were entirely devoted to the Egyptian religion, as their coins and the writers of the *Historiæ Augustæ* testify. Every part of Europe, Asia and Africa was consequently deeply infected with it.

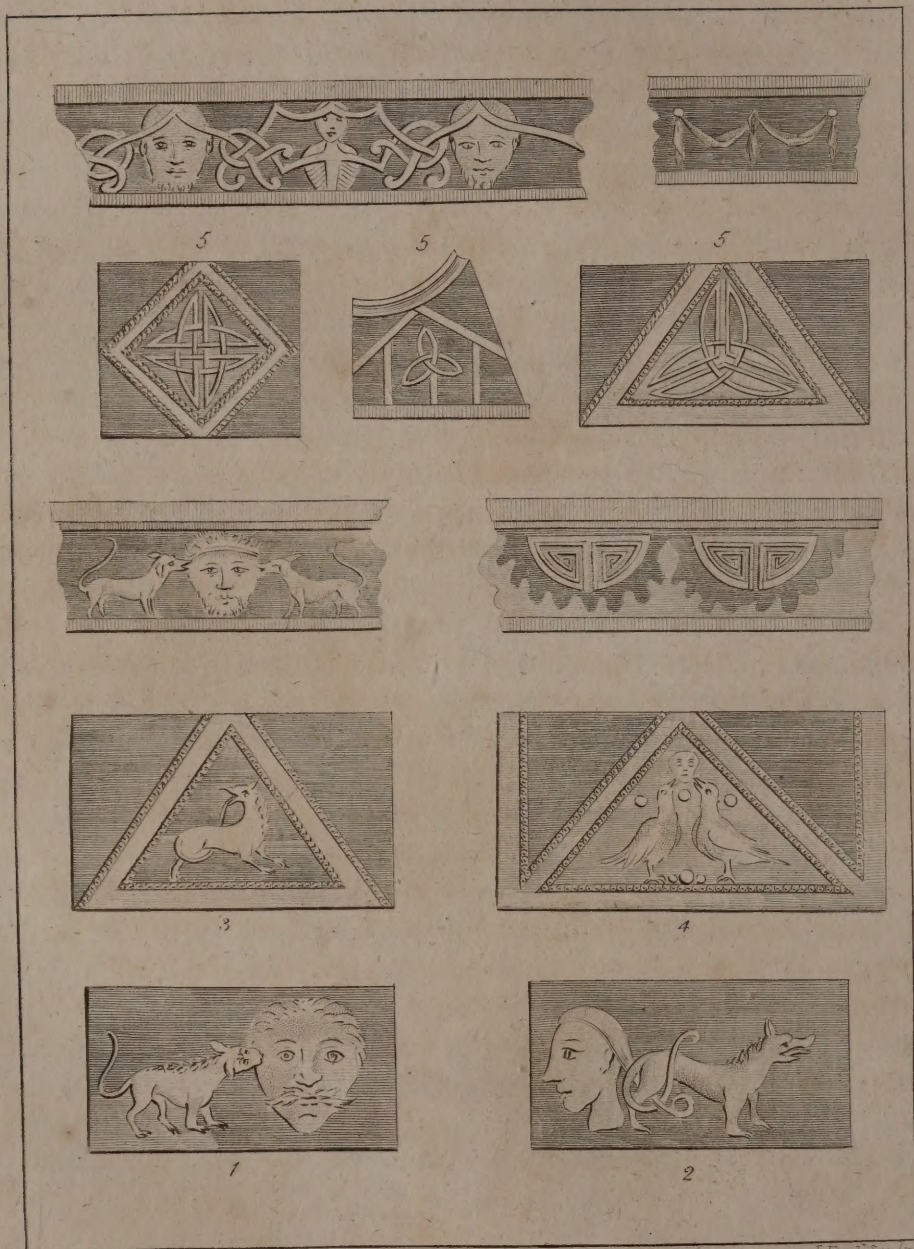
In the second century Basilides, and other heresiarchs of the oriental school, taking advantage of the reigning superstitions, and to increase the number of their (79) followers, interwove many heathen notions and practices into their system of christianity; they formed innumerable amulets engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphics, monstrous letters, and the names of Æons. These were to secure the possessors longevity, opulence, health and success. These heretics, according to St. Jerome, disseminated their pestilent notions over France and Spain, where they more particularly solicited and obtained the patronage of the fair sex. The testimony of this father is strengthened in the highest degree by the multiplicity of abraxas found in these kingdoms, exhibited by Chifflet and Montfaucon, and by the works of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who wrote against them. It is further evident from Lindenbrog's code of barbarian laws, that the Franks and Romans occupied in common the country of Gaul, as the other tribes and Romans did Spain and the rest of the empire: the former accommodated their (80) civil institutions as well as their religious opinions to those of the latter. Julian, Constantius, and even the christian emperor Constantine, bore Egyptian symbols on their coins; nor need we wonder at a barbarous prince, as Childeric, ambitiously imitating such examples. This reasoning seems conclusive, and at the same time gives the solution of the appearance of the Egyptian Scarabæus in the tomb of a French king, and of hieroglyphics on ancient northern monuments.

In like manner, numberless must have been the temples and crypts sacred to Egyptian deities dispersed over Europe, whose feuillage was the same as that in the undercroft at Canterbury. Some of them with all their hieroglyphical ornaments were converted to christian churches, as that of (81) St. Andrew in Barbara in Rome appears at this day. Some were constructed on the site of such temples as

(79) Bruker and Mosheim, sup.

(80) Montesquieu l'esprit des loix. Camden de offic. Marefch. Baxter. Gloss. Antiq. Rom. voc. Aurum.

(81) Ciampini de sac. ædif. t. 1. p. 19.



W. Baughford Dublin

J. Ford Sculptor

ANCIENT SCULPTURES of GLANDELOCH.

Published by John Jones A. Go. Bride Street Dublin?

the church of St. Germain was on that of the fane of (82) Isis. The furious, though pious zeal of believers, and the rage of accommodating every thing to the fashionable style have deprived us of many of these ancient monuments: enow remain to establish the idea advanced in these pages.

The decay of learning and the corruption of religion reduced christianity almost to semi-paganism. From St. Audeon's life of St. Eloi, bishop of Noyon, we find that the ancient heathen deities were commonly worshipped in France in the seventh century: and in succeeding ages the Capitulars, Councils and Rhegino demonstrate with what difficulty idolatry was suppressed, though neither subdued or eradicated, for it received new vigour, and the eastern superstition particularly, fresh strength from the congenial mystic theology of the Arabians. It is not unreasonable then to suppose, that the fondness for hieroglyphics and grotesques had not abated in the ninth century, when Grymbald founded his crypt at Oxford, though shortly after the Danes introduced a new style composed of ancient grotesques, Greek and Roman mythologic figures and whimsies of their own, as in Adderbury church.

The most elegant figure there, is on the south front, it is a star or rather mullet of five points, a true Egyptian magical figure, the same as seen on a canopus in (83) Montfaucon.

A new style of sculptural ornament now solicits the reader's attention; it is certainly Danish; and the specimen is unique in Ireland. A small crypt, or stone-roofed oratory was discovered by the late Samuel Hayes, Esq. which for ages had been buried amid the rubbish of a contiguous fallen church, unnoticed and unexplored. This crypt is about fourteen feet by ten; the tomb of St. Kevin occupies a great part of the room. The entrance is through a west door, whose arch with the capitals and bases of its pillars is adorned with various figures. Here are no traces of Saxon feuillage, no christian symbols, or allusions to sacred or legendary story: the sculptures are expressive of a savage and uncultivated state of society. Had there been a mixture of styles, something might be allowed for the caprice of the carver, but the design and execution being uniform, the whole must be assigned to a particular people and æra.

No. 1.. A ravenous quadruped, a wolf, devours a human head: the head is a living one; the hair, whiskers and beard give it a savage appearance. The animal is

(82) Le lieu qui parut le plus propre fut celui ou selon l'opinion commune restorent encore les anciens vestiges du temple d'Isis. Brouillart, hist. de l'Abb. de S. Germain, p. 4. This was A. D. 556.

(83) Tom. 2. p. 366.

is easily discovered by the following (84) story. One of the sailors of king Harald dreamed, that a woman of gigantic size appeared to him, riding on a wolf, who had in his mouth the head of a man, the blood of which flowed from his jaws. When he had swallowed that head, the woman put another into his mouth, and so on with many more, all of them he devoured, and then she began the song of death.

No. 2. Exhibits the head of a young man and a wolf; the long hair of the former elegantly entwined with the tail of the latter. The hair thus thrown back from the forehead was the genuine Irish Culan, Cooleen, or Glibb. Wolves, until the year 1710, were not extirpated; the mountains of Glendaloch must have abounded with them. There was a singular propriety in joining the tail of this animal with the young man's glibb, to indicate the fondness of the one for the pursuit of the other.

No. 3. Is a wolf in a rage, with his tail in his mouth. The ferocity of this animal and his delight in human blood are the chief themes of Scaldic poetry. Odin, the ruler of the gods, as he is stiled in the (85) Edda, is constantly attended by two, named Geri and Freki, whom he feeds with meat from his own (86) table.

No. 4. Are two ravens picking a skull. This bird was (87) peculiarly sacred to Odin: he is called the king of ravens. In the (88) epicedium of Regner Lodbrog is recorded an engagement of the Danes and Irish at Vedrafjord, or Waterford.

“In heaps promiscuous was piled the enemy:

Glad was the (89) kindred of the falcon. From

The clam'rous shout they boded an

Approaching feast. Marstein, Erins's king whelm'd

By the irony fleet, allay'd the hunger of the

Eagle and the wolf, the slain at Vedra's ford became

The raven's booty.”

The three daughters of Lodbrog worked a reafan on the standard of Hingar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, which was to be invincible. This ensign, common

(84) Barthol. p. 426. Johnstone's Antiq. Celt. Scand. p. 199.

(85) Apud Barthol. p. 424—425.

(86) Cibum mensæ suæ impositum Odinus duobus lupis distribuit, qui vocantur Geri et Freki. Itaque cum lupi cadaveribus impense delectentur, nihil usitatus Scaldis antiquis. Barthol. sup.

(87) Corvus Odino peculiariter sacratus erat, ut et deus corvorum nominaretur. Barthol. p. 429—475. Bircherod. spec. rei. mon. p. 24. They were long worshipped by the Norwegians. Thorkelin's tracts, p. 42.

(88) Johnstone's Lodbroker quida, p. 21. Worm. liter. run. p. 196.

(89) Gladruard gera broder, i. e. glad was the brother of the wolf, the raven. Barthol. sup.

common among the Northerns, was supposed to give omens of victory or defeat: if it gayly fluttered in the wind, it presaged success, but if it hung down motionless, it portended misfortunes. It is plain from many Abraxas in Chifflet, and many passages adduced in Cuper's Harpocrates, that the raven was an Egyptian hieroglyphic, and had a predictive virtue.

Nos. 5. 5. 5. These figures are Runic knots, composed of the segments of circles, their arcs and chords intersecting each other. There is scarcely a carved stone, cross or other remnant of antiquity, during the time of the Danish power, but exhibits a knot of some kind. In the middle of the ninth century, it appears on the (90) ring of the Anglo-Saxon prince Ethelwolf. Wormius gives but little information or satisfaction on this head, but Keyssler supplies (91) his defects. From him we learn, that there were seven kinds of runes, adapted to promote every human action and wish, according to the ceremonies used in writing them, the materials on which they were written, in the place where they were exposed, and in the manner in which they were drawn; whether in the form of a circle, a serpent, triangle, &c. Hickes, in his Thesaurus, tells us of a silver shield found in the Isle of Ely; the convex side had many knots and gyrations, which he pronounces magical: on the concave was a runic inscription, praying defence and protection to the wearer. The cyphers, dotted on the breast, and between the thumb and forefinger of our common people are the runic cervisiaræ of Keyssler. The figure on the Egyptian Canopus, on the frieze at Adderbury, the (92) Scutum Davidis, and our segments of circles, are magic knots of triangular and oval shields, which were to secure the wearer from harm. So late as the year 1504, William Faques, an English printer, took the (93) Scutum Davidis, as a spell against fire and accidents. Even in the next century, spells had not lost their credit in the north of England, as Nicolson, in Camden, records.

After having evinced by (perhaps too protracted) a detail that these sculptures are agreeable to the sentiments and manners of the Northerns, it will be necessary to offer some hints towards ascertaining their æra. The legendary story of St. Kevin affords none. In 880, Alfred obliged Guthrum to embrace christianity: but this forced conversion had little influence on his Danish subjects or successors, for in 925, Sihtric,

3 H

the

(90) *Archæologia*. V. 7. p. 409.

(91) *Sunt enim Runæ victorales, fontanæ, cervisiaræ, auxiliatrices, cordiales, arboreæ et Logo runæ.* *Antiq. Septentrion.* p. 465.

(92) *Fabric. Cod. pseudepig.* t. 2. p. 1007.

(93) *Ames's typog. Antiq.* by Herbert, V. 1. p. 309.

the Danish prince of Northumberland, had Edgitha, sister of Athelstan, bestowed on him in marriage on his renouncing paganism; and a cross appears on his coin in Camden. In 984, according to Sir James Ware, the Irish Danes received the faith; but it was earlier, as marks of christianity are seen on a coin of Anlaff, A. D. 930, so that it is extremely probable the English and Irish Danes embraced the gospel about the same time. Let us remember that masonry was not practised in Ireland before the establishment of the Danish power in the tenth century. The words of Mosheim, are pertinent on this occasion.—“The stupid (94) veneration paid to the bones and carcases of departed saints at this time, must convince us, of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was considered as the most momentous branch of religion. Hence every church had its particular patron among the saints, and this notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously their number, and to create daily new ones. The clergy set their invention at work, and peopled at discretion the invisible world with imaginary protectors; they invented the names and histories of saints that never existed; either phantoms of their own creation, or distracted fanatics, whom they fainted.”

From the foregoing data, I presume, we cannot err much in determining the date of these curious sculptures.

(94) Ecc. Hist. V. 2. p. 104, 105. cent. IX.



OF THE ANCIENT IRISH COINS.

THE civilization of any country is easily traced by her coins. While mankind continue in a barbarous state they have few wants: food and clothes of the meanest kind are all nature calls for, and these the chase, or domesticated animals amply supply. A people more polished, searching for commodities necessary for their support, manufactures or luxuries, arrive among these barbarians, and offer them many tempting novelties in exchange for peltry, or other produce of their land. These inhabitants of the forest now feel wants, to which before they were strangers; a trade commences, and is carried on by permutation; this is found an uncertain and troublesome mode; the precious metals are then introduced as representatives of the value of things: the natives embody in small communities and become social: their friendly intercourse with merchants wears off the ferocity of rude nature; soft and agreeable manners succeed, and at length, an high degree of civility. Thus commerce produces wealth, and the latter suggests coin, with all the capricious vanity of its various impresses. Such is the origin of money, as delivered by every judicious and enlightened writer. If we add, that the (1) date of the earliest Grecian coins is about 800 years before the Incarnation, and that of the Romans five centuries later, we must be at a loss to discover, by what rules Irish antiquaries conduct their inquiries concerning Irish money, for they are evidently not those of learning and good sense, as then they would have produced something sober and rational on the subject; whereas we see nothing but the wildest whimsies, and all the exorbitance of romantic and licentious assertion.

Our (2) writers, with unblushing confidence, assure us, gold was found and refined here a thousand years before Christ; and mints erected, and silver coined five hundred years before the same event. The authors of these splendid fictions had certainly passed Virgil's ivory gate of sleep:

Altera

(1) Spanheim, de præst. & usu Numism. Jobert, Science des Medailles. Tom. 1. Pinkerton on Medals. Vol. 1.

(2) Keating. Cambrens. Evers. p. 85. O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 195—241.

*Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes.*

In vain we inquire for the coins of these ideal mints, and for those of Armagh, Cashel, and Clonmacnois. Even Mr. Harris, who is never nice in receiving Irish fables, cannot (3) reconcile himself to the palpable absurdity of our writers, who are perpetually telling us of our coined money, yet producing no specimens of it.

But we see a more solid objection lies to these idle dreams than the absence of coins, and that is, the barbarism of the natives to a late period. We must depend on the picture drawn of their manners by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, and Solinus, because there is not a single authentic circumstance handed down to impeach its veracity, except an obscure notice in * Tacitus, informing us, that the ports and harbours of Ireland were more frequented by merchants than those of Britain. The learned (4) Huet cites this passage, but leaves it in its original darkness. I say darkness; for can it be imagined, that a commercial nation would not have forced itself on the observation of the Romans, who must have looked on it as an useful ally, or dangerous enemy. Would not the arts have been cultivated among such a people, and their manufactures, as well as the produce of an improved soil been desirable objects of trade? If they had wealth, which commerce ever generates, or valuable metals or commodities, they never would have escaped Italian rapacity. It was a thirst for gold and silver that caused the Roman invasion of Britain; and Cicero, (5) in more places than one, expresses his own and his countrymen's chagrin at their disappointment. Huet supposes, from an anecdote in (6) Strabo, that Crassus, one of Julius Cæsar's lieutenants, had explored the coasts of Ireland, and finding it possessed good harbours, inferred, that they were probably frequented by traders. This ingenious conjecture will satisfactorily explain to us the reason of Tacitus's assertion before. Writing from the best information he could collect, he perhaps found Crassus's observations either as a † minute among the public records, or as a tradition. Having nothing better, he inserted it in his work, without attending to the insuperable objections to which it was liable. Whatever may be the general character of this admired writer for veracity and accuracy, he has

(3) Harris's Ware, p. 204—205.

* This passage in Tacitus is corrupted; see Gronovius's edition in loco. Nov. comment. Gotting. t. 2. p. 61.

(4) Histoire du Commerce, p. 196. Ric. Corinens. p. 45.

(5) In Britannia nihil esse audio, neque auri neque argenti. Epist. Trebatio. To Atticus, he says: Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula. Voss. ad Mel. p. 254.

(6) Lib. 3. p. 121. Edit. Casaub.

† The Romans must have known this island well, from what Mela says of it, which is correct.

has fallen into unaccountable errors on many occasions. Thus, he speaks of temples, porticos, and other large and noble structures erected by the Britons on the encouragement of Agricola, when not a (7) relique of such has been found, while numberless altars, sepulchral stones, coins, and more perishable antiquities are daily met with. Would not one be inclined to think, that in this instance he sacrificed truth to the glory of his father-in-law? If our ports were resorted to by foreigners, these foreigners were (8) Scandinavians. The tales then of our bards and seanachies of the abundance of gold, silver, and coined money, are unfounded, and of the same stamp with that of Hector Boethius, who tells us, that Donald, whom all confess to be a fictitious king of Scotland, minted gold and silver, A. D. 199, with a cross on one side, and his own effigies on the other. A story rejected with just contempt by the (9) Antiquaries of that kingdom.

That Ireland possesses mines of (10) lead, iron, and copper, is incontestibly true; and it is probable she has some of gold or silver. The relation in (11) Boate, of gold being taken out of a stream in Tyrone, is but little regarded by the historian of the county of Down. The fond wishes of a more (12) learned and ingenious writer, grounded on the exploded traditions of Irish mythologists, are like many other pleasing reveries of that patriotic author. From Mr. Simon, a resident in this country, and not defective in information, one would have expected something well founded. After relating (13) these, he frigidly concludes, "that these mines seem to have been lost for some ages past." Surely it was well worth the pains of inquiring, how mines of valuable metals ever came to be forgotten; or how they revealed themselves to our simpler ancestors, and are now concealed from the persevering and fiery scrutiny of modern avarice and chemistry. Without the faintest gleam of light then to guide us through the darkness of ancient times, the utmost caution is necessary, and shall be observed in prosecuting this subject.

It has often before been said, that the Celtes were the primitive possessors of this isle. They had not quitted the hunting state, when invaded by the Firbolgs. Strangers to the cravings of inordinate appetites and the violence of unruly passions, they sought no gratifications but such as were within their reach, and were in

(7) As is well remarked by Mr. Esser. *Archaeologia*, Vol. 4. p. 80. Whitaker shews Tacitus to be careless and unfaithful in his representations. *Review of Gibbon*, p. 4—5.

(8) *Antiquities of Ireland*, *supra*.

(9) *Ruddiman's Introduction*, p. 119.

(10) *Hist. of Down*, p. 187. *Smith's Waterford*, p. 303. *Cork*, V. 1. p. 390.

(11) *Natural History*, Chap. 16.

(12) *Campbell's Political Survey*, Vol. 3. p. 52. *Edit. Dublin*.

(13) *On Irish coins*, *initio*.

every thing the children of Nature. They had two stages in society to advance, the pastoral and agricultural, before they arrived at the (14) metallurgic. Sinking shafts, and refining ores, were too ingenious and laborious employments for the ignorance and indolence of rude life. Not to insist on a matter so obvious, there is one decisive proof of the unacquaintance of the Celtes with metals, and that is, the want of terms in their language to express them. The Irish word, Airgiod, silver, is the Greek Arguros, or Latin Argentum, as the Irish Or, gold, is the Latin Aurum. The Irish Pras, for brass, Copar for copper, Luaighe for lead, and Jarann for iron, demonstrate that a knowledge of these was * communicated to them by the Firbolgs, as they are all Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon words. As the Celtes had no names for the precious or baser metals, so no remains of such, as domestic utensils, personal or military ornaments, have come down to us. The heads of their axes, spears and arrows, are of stone or flint, and are a full confirmation of what has been advanced.

Widely different were the Belgæ or Firbolgs, the next colony. A branch of the great Scythian stem, they cultivated from the earliest ages the science of metallurgy, and in every department of it, obtained celebrity. Homér praises the Thracian sword, adorned with silver studs. The Belgic Gauls, part of our Firbolgs, had their (15) rich gold tissues, golden chains, collars, bracelets and rings; and the Goths were (16) skilful miners. The knowledge and use of metals then in this isle may, very fairly, be ascribed to the Firbolgs, and their terms for them are living evidences at this day of this truth.

The Belgæ, when they arrived here, beheld a country designed by Nature for pasturage, and abounding in flocks and herds, and numerous species of wild animals. Whether they explored the bowels of our mountains for ores is not easy to determine; the probability is, that they did not, but contented themselves with such articles of commerce as the island readily offered; such as peltry, cattle, Irish dogs, and Celtic slaves. Some of these they (17) exported to the continent of France, and others to the northern parts of Europe. A tradition reported by Giralduſ

(14) This Aristotle long ago observed. *Econom.* l. i. c. 2.

* Tacitus is positive, that the Gothini, a people of Silesia "ferrum effodiunt." *Germ.* c. 43. Ptolemy mentions these iron mines. l. 2. c. 11.

(15) Strab. l. 4. Polyb. l. 2. And above all, Diod. Sic. l. 5.

(16) Quibus accessere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci. *Amm. Marcell.* p. 447. Edit. Vales. & not. ejuld. in loco. p. 424. Clarke, on Saxon coins, very well explains the connection of the Goths and Greeks; from the latter the former learned many arts.

(17) Huet. *supra*, p. 196.

Giraldus Cambrensis, strongly countenances what is now advanced. He (18) tells us, the Northerns first introduced themselves as traders; this was considered as a national advantage, as thereby the commodities of other countries, and of which the Irish stood in need, were imported. That, though Ireland abounded in various mines, yet being never worked, they availed nothing, so that it was from merchants, who traversed the ocean in quest of gain, gold was procured.

This tradition is perfectly consistent with what has been advanced in the early part of this work, and with the elucidation of the passage in Tacitus, above cited, that the Scandinavians visited this isle both in the way of trade, and to acquire settlements: And we may further remark, that when the channel of commerce is once opened with any country, some very extraordinary cause must arise to stop it up. But such a cause did not occur in Ireland for many ages: it was more than twelve hundred years from the first appearance of the Northerns here to the time they (19) finally withdrew. During this long period, these foreigners were the sole traders with this isle. Mr. Simon is certain the Northerns were allured here by the hopes of money: this shews he had but little considered the subject, or the internal evidence arising from the state of the kingdom and its inhabitants, or indeed the authorities he cites. The Icelandic (20) Sagas testify, that a booty of cattle was the great object of these rovers, and the only hopes of enjoying their Idol, or brumal festival, with hilarity and abundance. In these expeditions they traded, when not powerful enough to plunder. The gold and silver thus given to the Irish were not coins, but rings, necklaces, and such garnitures. Even the Roman money acquired by the Irish in their predatory incursions into Britain some centuries before, did not circulate as a medium of trade, but was manufactured into ornaments, for few Roman coins have been discovered in this isle. That considerable wealth in trinkets existed among the natives, there can be no doubt. In the Iliad and Odyssey mention is made of goldsmiths, brassiers and smiths, and ample proofs are exhibited of their ingenuity and execution, and yet there was then no mint in Greece. There is a certain point in the progress of society when coinage begins; but neither the Greeks, Northerns, or Irish, had yet attained it. Many have been deceived, and Mr. Simon among others, by not adverting to the double meaning of the word Pecunia. Finding this term in the annalists of our own and other countries, and forming

(18) Topograph. p. 749—750—759.

(19) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Norman, p. 79.

(20) Apud Johnstone supra passim. Bartholine is more particular. Antiq. Dan. p. 450.

forming their notions by modern ideas, they suppose coined money to be understood, whereas it is plain from (21) Du Cange, that cattle, as the word originally imported was meant, and also property of every kind, and of this he gives numerous instances in the middle ages. There was no mint in Ireland antecedent to the 9th century, and that erected by the Oistmen: their coins were only current among themselves, and are therefore found only in their garrisons and settlements. And however extraordinary it may appear, the strictest enquiry, I believe, will prove it true, that not before the middle of the 14th century, did English money pass among the Irish. The following proofs of this curious fact, I hope will satisfy the inquisitive reader.

In the Brehon laws, Erics or fines, the drefs of different ranks, and various implements are appreciated by heifers and cumals of cattle. In 1331, amerciaments were ordered to be received no longer in heifers but in (22) deniers. Edward III. who had eminent talents, saw clearly that the trade of Ireland must be greatly improved by the introduction of coin, and that the revenue in consequence would be more certain and productive; he therefore, in the fifth year of his reign, sent hither many judicious ordinances and regulations for the direction of his officers, and among others, that last quoted. To render these effective, he directed a (23) new coinage for Ireland, as he did for England; but as there are no specimens of the former, it is likely his intentions were never carried into execution. That the Irish did not adopt money as a standard for estimating the value of things about 70 years after, we have evidence in Mac Murrough, the prince of Leinster's horse being (24) rated at 400 cows. The relator of this expressly adds, "in Ireland, they barter by exchange, one commodity for another, and not for ready money." They exchange, says (25) Campion in 1570, by commutation of wares, for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lord's houses. This brings down the want of circulating specie much later than above remarked. The reason of this strange appearance is now to be explained.

IF

(21) Voce Pecunia.

(22) Quod de cetero, fines de vaccis pro redemptione non capiuntur sed denarii. Prynne on the 4th Institute, p. 276. In 1583, money was so scarce, that Sir John Perrot was directed to receive the fourth part of the rents in beeves, wheat, malt and oats. Defid. Cur. Hib. p. 41—76.

(23) Leake's History of English Money. Simon, p. 16—17.

(24) Harris's Hibernica, p. 53. The Earl of Essex, in 1599, tells Queen Elizabeth, "the wealth of this kingdom consists in cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals. Cox. I. p. 418.

(25) Hist. p. 20.

If coin is the criterion of civilization, the Irish, through every period of their history, must have been little removed from barbarism. Nothing less could be expected from a wretched code of laws, made up of Gavelkind, Tanistry, and Brehonic institutes. No man endeavoured to acquire property, when his children were not to inherit it. If one became wealthy through industry, or other means, the (26) arbitrary cuttings, sellings, and cosherings of his lord soon reduced him to a level with his other beggarly slaves. This lord looked no farther than the support of a barbarous magnificence and hospitality: he received his (27) rents in butter, oatmeal, porks and beeves. To such the English laws and English name carried an hated sound, because it alarmed their pride and their independence, and they feared, with the loss of dignity and possessions, an emancipation of their vassals. In a word, their general policy and municipal regulations extinguished every inclination and repressed every motive to industry, manufactures, trade, and wealth. Can we wonder then at their having no coin of their own, or at their not desiring that of others? It was not before the reign of the elder James, and the (28) year 1607, that the pernicious and fatal system of Brehon laws was abrogated, and a dawn of happiness first appeared in this isle. The steadiness and care of a wise and affectionate government has brought us from the vilest obscurity and misery to opulence and refinement, and to a respectable rank among the nations of the earth; and the firm support of that government can alone perpetuate such signal blessings.

After these necessary and introductory remarks, I shall proceed to collect such numismatic fragments as lie scattered in our writers. An Exchequer (29) record informs us, that in the 33 Edward I. A. D. 1305, halfpence, of ancient and unknown money, were dug up in a field near Kilcullen. Were these any of King John's (30) halfpence, the English could be no strangers to them; they were probably Anglo-Saxon (31) haelflings or halfpence, resembling the penny in every respect but size, and are therefore properly described in the record, as "*Minores denarii, quasi oboli*," and as injudiciously (32) translated by Harris, "*pence and halfpence*."

Ware gives us a coin of Anlaf, with a legend on the obverse: "*Anlaf Cynning*;" and on the reverse, "*Farhan moneta*;" and concludes it to be minted at

2 K

Dublin.

(26) Davis's Letter. Collect. No. 1. p. 161.

(27) Davis's Relations, p. 119—120.

(28) In Davis's Report of Tanistry, and in his Historical Relations, this subject is ably treated.

(29) Waræi Disq. p. 154.

(30) Simon, p. 11. Ware, sup. p. 155.

(31) Hickes. Thesaur. p. 182.

(32) Harris's Ware, p. 206.

Dublin, by Anlaf, king of that city. It may be so; yet it is not likely that Anlaf had any regal power there, or like his predecessors, he would have put—*Rex Dyflin*—on his coins. Mr. Harris fills up a folio page with his own and the conjectures of others on this coin; and after all comes to no determination. I do not recollect the word—*Cynning*, or *King*—on any Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish coin, except on this and on another of the same Prince in Camden, which has on the reverse the well-known Danish raven, which Mr. Charleton makes a spread eagle. From the uniform practice of the Saxon and Danish kings in expressing their titles in the name of the country they ruled, I infer, with some degree of confidence, that Anlaf was a potent independent Danish earl, probably of Northumberland, who assumed in those ages, as others did of the same rank, the style of kings. Thus (33) most of the principal lords of Wulfere, king of Mercia, A. D. 658, subscribe themselves kings, and so did all the great feudatories in England until the year 920, when (34) Alfred changed the title of King to that of Earl.

Of the great (35) quantity of coins discovered at Glendaloch in 1639, but six came to the hands of Sir James Ware, and are here given. Their legends and devices are very obscure, and not easily explained. They however are an additional confirmation of the antiquities of that celebrated place, before delivered. As it was built by the Danes, and much resorted to for devotion, we cannot admire at finding much of their money there. The mintage is extremely rude, and bespeaks the infancy of the art, and the unskilfulness of the workmen.

Bishop (36) Nicolson, in 1724, composed a chapter on Irish coins and medals: he produces not the least evidence of money being coined by the natives, and gives no satisfaction on Danish coins: the same may be said of Mr. Harris, the Editor of Ware. The subject, in this very imperfect state, was taken up in 1749, by Mr. Simon, a naturalized foreigner and an ingenious man, under the patronage of the Physico-Historical Society, a most valuable and respectable body. From the English Invasion to the time he writ, our author's work has great merit, and admits of but few additions or improvements. In the ages antecedent, (which these pages are designed to illustrate) he seems to be much mistaken, and to have lapsed into many errors. Like his predecessors, he tells us, gold and silver were very abundant in the

(33) *Ego Wulfere, cum sociis regibus*, says he in his charter to the Abbey of Peterborough. Hearn's *Antiq. Discourses*. V. i. p. 183.

(34) Johnstone's *Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 33.

(35) *Magnam vim numismatum Hibernicorum.* *Supra*. p. 153.

(36) *Irish Historical Library*, chap. 8.

the isle about the 11th century, and passed by weight; but has no proof of money being coined by the native Irish, or even such being current among them, except one, which he borrows from Ware, and thinks decisive. It is this: Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, reciting and condemning, about 1089, some Irish ecclesiastical customs repugnant to the Romish, states, that our Bishops conferred Holy Orders for (37) money. Pecunia, the word here used, and interpreted money, I have before shewn to signify property of every kind. Giraldus (38) Cambrensis relates, that the Welch Bishops granted benefices for cattle, which were in those times termed—Pecuniæ;—and as there was no coin among the Irish, these were likewise the money of the Irish. Immediately after this citation, Mr. Simon, with great complacency, adds, “I have, I fear, been too long in endeavouring to prove the early use of mints and money in Ireland,” when in reality all his endeavours, so far from proving, have not advanced one step towards this point.

Mr. Walker, treating of the Saxon coins in Camden, very kindly bestows on Ireland some that are barbarous and unintelligible, to be sure, wisely concluding, that no people had such but the rude natives of this isle. These Mr. Simon accepts as a great favour, and sets about explaining them. His success is such as might be expected: his reading of Dida Medina, where the letters are transposed and inverted; his making Medini, Meath, and assigning a coin to Brian Boru, “because the head is armed, and he was a great warrior,” may excite a smile at mistaken patriotism, but do him no honour as a Medallist. His interpreting—Dimn. roex Mneghi, Domnaldus rex Mnegin,—Donald, king of Monaghan, or, of the Magnatæ, in the county of Mayo; and the jargon he makes of the epigraphe on the reverse,—Odiulfeimviri—are truly laughable, and evince, that the first qualifications of a numismatic connoisseur is to be able to exhibit legends with the minutest accuracy. The coin of this prince is common, and may be seen in the Supplement to Simon; the legend the same as on the coin in Simon, and runs thus:—Dym. roe. Mnegni, or Mnegmi.—This Domnald seems to have been king of the Isles and of Man; Meneg, by which the latter was (39) anciently known, deviates but little from Mnegni. The reverse is plainly:—Fœnemn. mo. Dyfli.—Fœneman, or Fœreman Moneyer, in Dublin.

Mr. Simon amuses us with a very singular conjecture, that the ornamental strokes or lines round the obverse and reverse of our coins, were Ogham Craobh inscriptions.

(37) Sacros Ordines per pecuniam. Ware supra.

(38) Wharton. Anglia Sacra, p. 530.

(39) Baxter. Glossar. voce Menna.

tions. Had our author looked into Molloy's Irish Grammar, or Harris's Ware, then recently published, he never could have conceived these strokes to be occult characters, as they are not placed on a perpendicular or horizontal master-line, and have no flexure in their form.

In 1767, was published a Supplement to Simon, consisting of two additional plates, and one of ancient coins found in Ireland, and in possession of the late Matthew Duane, Esq. They contain some curious and valuable things, and should be inserted in a new edition of Simon, which is much wanted, and from which every coin not minted in Ireland, or not immediately connected with its history and antiquities, should be (40) excluded.

I come now to (41) Mr. Pinkerton, the last who has treated of Irish coins. Undeluded by the false representations and plausible fictions of our national writers, he clearly saw that the native Irish never coined money, nor had any current among them of other people. He has a few mistakes, which seem to have arisen rather from hurry, than want of information. Thus, he says, "the old Danish pennies have no resemblance of the ancient Gaulic, or British coins, or even of the Skeattas, or old English pennies, but are mere rude copies of those of the 8th and 9th centuries, executed by artists, who could neither form nor read letters, and therefore instead of them, put only strokes, l l l l l." On the contrary, let the Numbers I. and II. of the plate be compared with Camden's Tables of British Coins, and a strong similitude in the reverses of the latter, with the obverses of the former, will be perceived. Even the uncouth and strange figure on the obverse of Number II. and which indicates great rudeness of design and execution, yet does not betray in the artist, as Mr. Pinkerton asserts, ignorance of letters, for it has two on the reverse, and with them the strokes which our ingenious author alleges as the criterion of unacquaintance with the alphabetic elements.

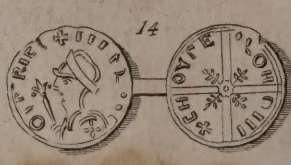
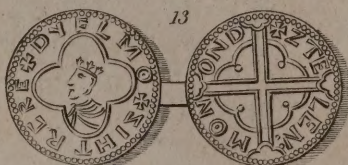
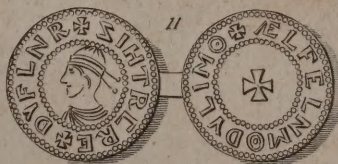
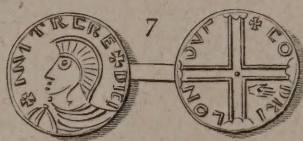
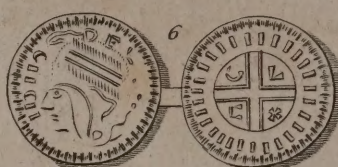
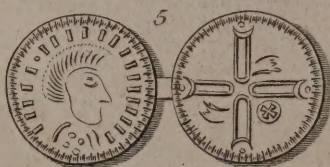
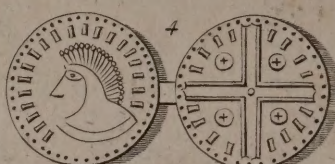
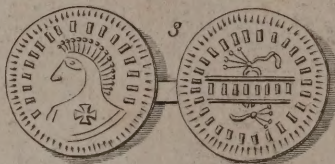
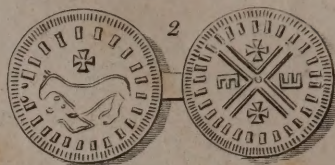
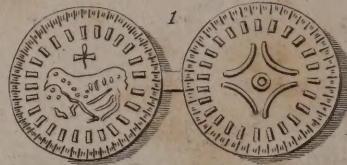
The Danes having, in the (42) ninth century, subjugated Ireland under Thorgils, or Turges, soon after erected a mint in Dublin, and from thence issued money; this was accepted, and accumulated by the Irish for either (43) melting into ingots, or the fabrication of personal ornaments. Of the truth of this, our domestic annals bear witness. For otherwise, how could Brian Boru lay 20 ounces of gold on the altar

(40) The writer of this work has an edition of Simon, on this plan, under consideration.

(41) On Medals, Vol. II. p. 118, and seq. Lond. 1789.

(42) Harris's Ware, p. 204.

(43) This practice of melting money continued for a long time, and became at length so destructive of the current coin, that it was prohibited by 9 Edw. III.



altar of Armagh, or 420 ounces of silver be collected for the Comorban of Colum-celle? Frequent mention is made of such presents, and money paid for ransom, but not a word of Danish or Irish coin: if such were current, it is impossible, but on the occasion now stated, and many more that might be enumerated, these coins must have been specified; whereas they never occur. I shall now beg leave to submit to the reader, a select collection of ancient coins, few indeed in number, but fully sufficient for those who do not wish to go very deep into the subject; such as will enable him to form some judgment of similar ones, and their legends and devices; the limits of this work confining me to truth, information, and conciseness.

No. 1. On the obverse is an horse, or some quadruped, with a cross pattée over it: The reverse are, segments of circles, forming an ingenious, and no inelegant cross.

No. 2. The obverse, the same as the foregoing: The reverse, a decussated, or St. Andrew's cross; in the upper and lower angles, crosses; and in the side ones, letters. These coins not having the head of a prince, or legend to direct us to whom they belong, seem, with others of the same kind, either to refer to the worship of bulls, common in times of paganism in the (44) Cimbric Chersonese, or were talismans, with such animals impressed on them: or what is full as probable, they were struck by some city, town, baron, or magistrate; with magical or other symbols; and this is the opinion of a sensible Danish numismatic (45) writer. On almost all the ancient stone-monuments in Scotland, we see figures not unlike those on our coins: these (46) Mr. Cordiner takes for elephants, (Mr. Harris supposes them birds) and that the idea of them was derived from drawings and illuminations in books of devotion brought from the East by the first preachers of Christianity. This conjecture is ingenious; but it is so far liable to objection, that similar figures appear (47) on British coins long before the promulgation of the Gospel. Nor is the presence of Heathen devices and crosses on the same coin unusual, as Christians in those times were for the most part Semi-pagans, as those who are acquainted with the dawnings of Christianity in every country well know. The letter M, on the second coin, expressed the initial of the person or place to whom it related.

3 L

No.

(44) Fabric. Biblioth. Antiq. p. 256. Or they might be memorials of their ancient deities, which they bore on their standards. Tacit. Germ. and Hist. lib. 4. Mod. Un. Hist. 12. p. 380. Amulets were very ancient among the North-erns, Tac. Germ. c. 45. Nov. lit. maris Balt. t. 3.

(45) Bercherod. Spec. rei Monet. Hafn. 1701. p. 33—135—136.

(46) Remarkable Ruins in Scotland, No. III.

(47) Camden, Tab. I. No. 24. Tab. II. No. 1. 3. 5. 16. 26.

No. 3. The obverse, an head helmeted, with a cross in the neck; the reverse, a bar dividing the field; above and below it, a hand and arm coupé above the elbow. Mr. Simon calls this helmet a crown; it has every appearance of armour for the head; it consists of a number of rays, standing like porcupine's quills, and pointed with pearls. A passage in Lodbrog's Death-Song will help us to explain this matter:

(48) "There while our temper'd steel
Sung on the high-seam'd helm."

If these words are to be understood literally, the helmet was composed of thick felt or leather, and this strengthened by steel plates; and this is the idea suggested by our coins. In another strophe we find—

"The temper'd edge divided
Steel-capt sculls."

Here the steel helmet might have been adorned with plates of gold, and said poetically to be seamed.

The coupé arm is on many of Camden's coins, and on most of those minted in Ireland. Doctor Charleton, speaking of one of Ethelred with an hand, piously remarks, that it is a devout acknowledgment for his being sustained by the hand of the Almighty. Others interpret it as a mark of prowess or friendship; and as guesses generally have a ridiculous termination, this hand had been supposed to be the Irish harp, or at least to refer to our ancient fame for playing on that instrument. But a constitution of Ethelstan, A. D. 928, solves every difficulty on this point. "We ordain but one kind of money to be current through the king's dominion, and that no one make money out of the following towns. If any coiner adulterate money, let his hand be cut off, and fixed (49) conspicuously over the mint. If he be accused, and will purge himself, let him go to the hot iron, and let the hand, with which he is accused to have committed the crime, make the purgation." Here the crime and punishment are fully declared; the latter appears from our coin (very curious in this respect) to have been the amputating the arm above the elbow, which rendered the member quite useless: And, No. 7, a coin of Sihtric, found in the Queen's County, and in possession of Mr. Beauford of Athy, absolutely

(48) *Lodbrokar Quida*, p. 7.

(49) *Nummaria conspicienda fabricæ affigitor. Candentis ferri quæstione manum sceleris puram atque immunem ostendito. Spelman. Concil. p. 399. Qui solidos adulteraverit, circumcideret vel raserit. Si servis fuerit, eidem dextram manum abscindat. Lindenbrog. Cod. LL. p. 154.*

absolutely shews how the hand was suspended at the mint-house, by driving a nail through the palm.

Nos. 4—5. Are not remarkable.

No. 6. The obverse, a head singularly dressed, with a few letters of the legend; the reverse, a cross, with the letters N. C. V. and an X, or cross, in the angles. Ware supposes they express the year of Christ, 1115; but Simon very well remarks, that no dates are found on our coins before 1513, but that the letters, with the variation of one, made Crux. The absurdity of supposing the letters to be placed backwards and diagonally, which they must be to make Crux, forbids us to agree with Simon. These six coins were dug up at Glendaloch, and carry genuine marks of a very early mintage.

No. 7. The obverse, an head helmeted; the legend not very fair, was—Sihtric Re Dill.—Sihtric King of Dublin; reverse, a cross and hand in one angle; the legend not intelligible. The rim surrounding the outward semicircle of the helmet is here visible, nor is it ornamented with pearls.

No. 8. The obverse an head helmeted; the legend Ifarus, re Dyflin:—the reverse, a cross, with the fingers and part of the hand in two angles of the cross, and a legend not easily explicable. This is the earliest inscribed coin that has hitherto occurred. Giraldus Cambrensis (50) mentions the arrival of Amlave, Sytaricus and Yvor, which are Anlaf, Sihtric and Ivar, in Ireland: Ware dates this event, A. D. 853. About this very time, the Saxon Chronicle records three great defeats of the Danes in Wesssex, Kent, and at Ocley, in Surrey. After these, it is likely they steered for Ireland in search of better fortune, and these three leaders were perhaps part of those adventurers. Our annals tell us, they settled in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, and erected mints in those places. In 870, Anlaf and Ivar went with a large fleet to the assistance of Hinguar and Hubba, sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, who invaded Northumberland, to revenge on Ælla the cruel (51) death of their father. It is probable they succeeded in their design, for their descendants, a century after, were (52) kings there.

This coin is valuable for preserving an historic fact, and for correcting our annalists: the cross on it evinces that the Danes were now Christians; whereas Ware dates their conversion an hundred years later.

No.

(50) Waræi disq. p. 129. From a similarity in the coinage, Keder conjectures that some of the Sihtrics are co-eval with Ethelred. Num. in Hib. cuf. p. 19.

(51) Johnstone's Lodbrokar Quida, passim.

(52) Sim. Dunelm.

No. 9. The obverse an head helmeted; the legend, Sihtric rex Dyfln: the reverse, a cross; the legend, Ciodman mo Luni. Where Luni was is difficult to discover. To suppose a king of Dublin would mint money in a small isle, such as (53) Lambay, distant from his capital, and exposed to every piratical attempt, is too great a sacrifice to probability. It is uncertain what place is meant by Limneach, or Lumneach. Keder thinks Luni, Luntis or Lundis, London in England or Scania. Murray, that it was Louth, because the See was anciently styled Lunicensis; and Wright says, there are many Danish monuments there. It could not be Limerick, which in Icelandic is Hlimreck, as we see in Thorkelin's tracts. The NM at the end of Dyfl, is made, and justly, to signify Nordmen; the whole legend on the obverse being, Sihtric, king of the Dublinian Normen. Thus, Anlaf, on one of his coins is styled, Rex Anglorum, and the practice was common among the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish princes. Sihtric, the son of Ivar, after basely murdering his brother Godfrid, reigned in (54) Dublin, A. D. 888. The annals last cited, under this year, tell us of the return of "Sigtryg Mc. Ivar to Ireland," and place his death in 895. It was thought unnecessary to multiply specimens of the elder Sihtric, as they are nearly similar, and so are those of the (55) second Sihtric, prince of Dublin, A. D. 916. All the coins published by the (56) Royal Irish Academy, and many in the Supplement to Simon belong to these kings of Dublin.

No. 10. On the obverse is an head helmeted; the legend, Æthelred rex Angl. on the reverse, Færemn. mo. Dyfl. Ethelred, king of the English, and Færeman, Moneyer at Dublin. "How these coins of Ethelred, says Simon, happened to be struck in Dublin, seems surprising. To account for it, we must have recourse to his father king Edgar's charter of Oswald's law, whereby it appears, he conquered the kingdom and city of Dublin, and a great part of Ireland, consequently that he laid a tribute on the nation, and obliged it to strike his name and effigies on its coins, in which it paid the tribute." The charter of Oswald's law, in the (57) opinion of many, among whom may be reckoned Primate Usher, and O'Flaherty, is a forgery; it is indeed countenanced by the Saxon Chronicle, but this is interpolated. The impugnors of this charter having omitted one proof, which seems decisive. In 974, Edgar summoned all the kings then subject to him, to Chester, as (58) Kuna-

dius,

(53) Simon, *supra*. (54) Ware *supra*. Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Norm. p. 65.

(55) Ware *supra*, p. 130.

(56) Transactions, Vol. I.

(57) See some valid arguments to this purpose in O'Flaherty. Ogyg. p. 39—40—41.

(58) Guil. Malmesb. lib. 2. c. 8.

dius, king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Macusse, king of Man and the Islands; Dufwal, Hewel, Giferth, Jacob, and Judethal, kings of Wales. Certainly the king of Dublin was as near to Chester as the king of Scotland, we may therefore conclude, that as no Irish princes are enumerated, his power did not extend over them. So that Mr. Simon's argument carries no force. Mr. Pinkerton's conjecture is more to the purpose, though I do not think it exactly right. He says, history is so defective, that it cannot certainly be known whether Eddred, Edgar, or Ethelred had Dublin subject to them, or if its Danish princes struck these coins that they might be received in English commerce.

Here is an instance of Antiquaries obscuring and puzzling by their erudition the plainest matter. A man of vivacity and learning requires all the magnetism of good sense to direct his inquiries. Ethelred on the coins calls himself not king of Dublin, but of the English. The Normen of Dublin were never called English, and therefore this prince lays no claim to the dominion of Dublin or of Ireland. But his mint-master, who either coined this money at Dublin, or was a native of that city, by the absurdest supposition ever conceived, gives him that dominion which he himself never asserted. Whoever peruses the history of the reign of this unfortunate king in the early English writers, and particularly in the Saxon Chronicle, will see the perpetual necessity he had for money to ransom his country from its Danish invaders. He might have had bullion minted in Dublin, as the Manks princes had, and transmitted to him to answer his frequent and pressing calls. Without laying much stress on this opinion, it is more likely he employed Færeman, a celebrated Dublin moneyer, whose name appears on many of Sihtric's coins. An ancient moneyer, as Simon well observes, was not a common workman; he farmed the mint, and was answerable for the weight and fineness of the coin, and was therefore obliged to stamp his name on it. If a skilful artist was ever useful, he was particularly so to Ethelred, who, in the space of twenty-three years, paid in (59) ransoms and subsidies to the Danes, no less than 176,000*l.* of Saxon money, equal in quantity of silver to 469,687*l.* sterling.

No. 11. On the obverse is an head capped and tied with a diadem; the legend, Sihtrc, rex Dyfln: the reverse, a cross pattée; the legend, Aelfeln mo Dufflmo. This coin, I apprehend, belongs to a Sihtric, king of Dublin, who reigned there (60) about 1020. The plain unadorned cap agrees very well with that peaceful and humble temper, which induced him to take a pilgrimage to Rome, and, had he lived, would probably have sent him to the convent.

No. 12. Is another coin of this prince, but not so well exhibited as the foregoing. I cannot agree with the illustrator of Camden's coins, that our Sihtrics were kings of Northumberland, for such style would have been found on some of their money.

No. 13. The obverse an head encircled with a crown, adorned with trefoils or fleurs-de-lis; the legend, Sihtrc rex Dyflmo: The reverse, a cross; the legend, Stelenmonond, or Stelen, moneyer, in Dublin. As this crown fleurie, in a kind of tressure of four semicircles, resembles that of Canute, A. D. 1018, and also that of Edward the Confessor about twenty years after, I therefore think this coin may belong to Sihtric, who was king of Dublin about 1041, and the son of Anlaf.

No. 14. The obverse an head helmeted, either of a particular form, or tied with a cincture; with a sceptre; the legend defaced, but so much of it legible as to shew it belongs to Sihtric; the reverse a cross, with flowers in the angles; the legend not intelligible. I am indebted to Mr. Beauford for this beautiful coin, which, with many more, were dug up in the Queen's County.

This specimen of our coins, which includes almost two centuries, leads us from the rude beginnings of the art in this kingdom to a state of considerable refinement. The study is highly pleasing to a cultivated understanding, and instructive when confined within proper bounds; when we transcend these, and indulge in wild whimsies and groundless conjectures, it dwindles into an idle and unprofitable amusement.

The Anglo-Saxon penny, and this is the denomination of our Hiberno-Danish coins, was of silver, and should have weighed $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, being the 240th part of the Saxon pound. They wanted one Troy grain and an half to be equal to our silver three-pences. But from 26 of these coins, weighed by Mr. Simon, most of them pennies and some haelflings, and scarcely two of them agreeing in weight, he remarks, there was a constant necessity of paying and receiving money in those ages (61) per scalam, by the scale. This inequality arose, no doubt, from long circulation, as well as the dishonesty of mint-masters, who could not be restrained, even by the terror of a severe law, from coining money below the standard.

The quantity of Danish coin, particularly that of the Sihtrics, hitherto discovered, is very considerable. It proves how great was the spoil in silver collected by these rovers in their (62) predatory expeditions. The sum paid by Ethelred is surprising; how

(61) Clarke, *supra*, p. 400.

(62) Sturlason speaking of Harald Hardraade's treasures, says, "omnes qui hæc videbant, admirati sunt in septentrionalibus terris tantum auri collectum esse. Hæc autem pecunia revera regis Græciæ fuerat. Barthol. 458—459. Bircherod. spec. rei monet. p. 14.

how much greater was the plunder of continental nations? Ireland seems to have been the only place where those pirates could securely victual their numerous fleets, and therefore much of their money centered here, which, passing to the Irish, enabled them to make such rich offerings to the church as was before noticed.

I do not recollect, that our Medallists or Antiquaries speak of the Danish Oras being current in this kingdom, and yet the fact is certain. The Monastery (63) of the Holy Cross, in the county of Mayo, was to pay to the Mother-church of Ballinatobber, "the sum of twenty oras of silver, or thirty shillings and four-pence, and the sub-prior was to expend a farther sum of three oras, or five shillings." Ora is derived, or rather corrupted from (64) Aureus, the principal gold coin of the empire. The ora was not introduced into England before the settlement of the Danes there. Writers have not determined whether it was a real coin, or only a denomination of money. The former seems nearest the truth. In our record, three oras are equal to five shillings, or twenty pence each; so that twenty oras, instead of thirty shillings and four-pence, should be one pound thirteen shillings and four-pence. Here we have evidence against Mr. Clarke, who values them at (65) twelve or sixteen pence each, and in favour of Spelman and Somner, who make them worth twenty. The mention of silver oras in our record is some proof that there were some gold ones. "It is therefore, says the (66) *Regiam Majestatem*, be the King, that Cro of ane Erle of Scotland is seven tymes twentie kye, or for ilk kow, thrie pieces of gold called ora." That is, the Erie or Weregild of an Earl is 140 kine, or for each cow, three pieces of gold, called oras. To bring the gold to equal the silver ora, the former was about a third less than the Saxon gold mancus. These hints are here proposed to assist further inquiry.

(63) Archdall's *Monast. Hib.* p. 501.

(64) Clarke, *supra*, p. 311.

(65) Clarke, *supra*, p. 312. See also Fleetwood's *Chron. Precios.* p. 33.

(66) Pag. 73. fol. 2. Edit. Skene. Bishop Nicolson throws no light on the ancient Scottish coins; as usual, he passes the subject with hasty steps. *Scot. Hist. Library*, p. 291:

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HARP, AND ANCIENT IRISH MUSIC.

A VERY learned and ingenious writer (1) is of opinion, that the Harp was an instrument used by the Gallic Bards, and from its construction, of Barbaric origin: Diodorus Siculus is his authority, who only says, their instruments were like Lyres. (2) Such words, in Diodorus' time, might convey a precise idea, but in ours, we know not the figure of the Lyre, the Cithara, or Chelys; at least, Montfaucon, who examined above six hundred of these ancient instruments, could not venture to affix names to any of them, or ascertain their specific (3) differences. On such precarious ground then, Vossius seems to have been too precipitate in his inference; nor can his authority be of weight in this case. Besides, we shall hereafter see reason to believe the Harp derived rather from the Scythic or Teutonic branch that peopled Europe, than the Celtic, of which latter the (4) Gauls were a part.

The Harp was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, as its name does not occur in their writings. Martianus Capella, a man of great curiosity and information, found it among those northern nations who possessed themselves of the Roman empire in the 5th century; he mentions it with other instruments, whose (5) deep, grave, and harsh sounds were fitted to alarm female timidity.

Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, in the same age, informs us, that the Nablium was like the barbarian Cithara, and shaped like the Greek Delta. This is the only description we have of the ancient Harp. Venantius Fortunatus, who flourished in the 6th century, and resided also in France, makes the Harp a barbarian (6) instrument;

(1) Voss. De poemat. cantu, & viribus Rythmi. Pag. 118.

(2) *Ταῖς λυραῖς ὁμοίαν.* Lib. 5. pag. 308.

(3) See Doctor Burney's conjectures on this subject: History of Music. vol. I. p. 308.

(4) The different people inhabiting Gaul were early remarked; by Diod. Sic. particularly, Lib. 5.

(5) Apud Du Cange. Voce Harpa.

(6) Romanusque Lyrâ plaudet tibi; barbarus Harpâ,
Græcus Achilliaca, Crota Britannia canat.

Lib. 7. carm. 8.

It is astonishing how Barnes, Prologom. in Anacreon. could say, the Harp and Lyre were the same: the Romans calling



BOIROMH'S HARP, 28 strings.

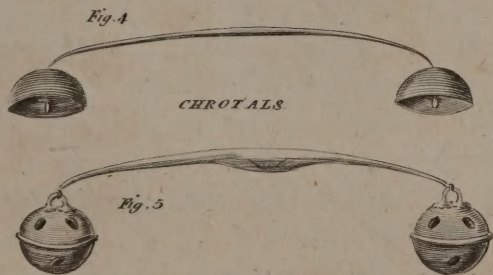


OLD TEUTONIC

HARP, 18 strings.



IRISH Modern HARP 33 strings.



CHROTALS

Fig. 5



Fig. 6

CHROTALIN



Fig. 7

PIBHMALA; the ancient Bag-pipes

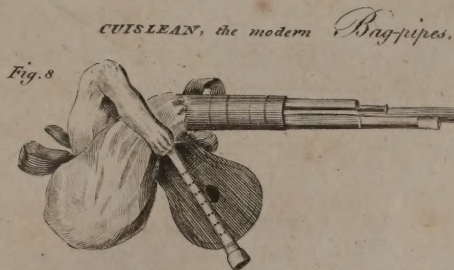


Fig. 8

CUISLEAN, the modern Bag-pipes.

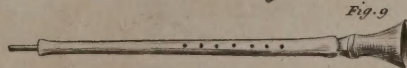


Fig. 9

FEADÁN or Cornette.

IRISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Published by John Jones, No. 90, Bride Street, Dublin.

ment; distinguishing it from the Greek and Roman Lyres, and from the British Crwth. France was then possessed by Romans, Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Armoricans; some of them Celtic, but most Teutonic nations. The national instrument of each is accurately marked; the Teutonic people had their Harp, the Celtic their Crwth, and the Romans their Lyre. This discrimination is decisive evidence of the difference between the Harp and the Lyre, and of Vossius being deceived by a warm imagination.

The Teutonic tribes were noted for harsh and brutish voices: Ovid thus speaks of the Sarmatians:

Omnia barbaricæ loca sunt, vocisque ferinæ,

Omnia sunt Getici plena timore soni.

The affected hoarse enunciation of the Germans is mentioned by Tacitus, (7) and the croaking German singing by the Emperor Julian. (8) The Harp, in its primitive (9) state, was not calculated to correct such harsh and disagreeable notes; it was incapable of a pleasing succession of sounds, or agreeable consonance, so that it produced neither melody nor harmony. Hence a concert of such barbarous, discordant vocal and instrumental sounds powerfully excited horror and terror; and had the effect already noticed by Capella.

That the Harp was confined to particular northern tribes, may be inferred from the silence of Isidore Hispalensis in his Origines, and Suidas in his Lexicon; had its use been general, it would not have been passed over by them.

From the Teutonic derivation of the Harp, it is easy to account for its becoming the national instrument of the English. The Anglo-Saxons were of German race, and introduced the Harp into Britain. Inflamed with a thirst of conquest, and eager to possess alone that fertile Isle, they almost exterminated the natives, and totally erased every vestige of Roman and British civility. The gentler modulations and softer harmony of the Crwth were equally despised with its performers and admirers: this instrument was banished to Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica; in the last county Venantius found it in the 6th century.

3 N The
ing it by the latter, the Barbarians by the former name. He has candour enough to add: "Nonnulli putent, Venantium Fortunatum inter Harpam & Lyrani distinguere." Capella and Eucherius could not be mistaken, but our modern Editor, totally ignorant of the subject, might.

(7) *Affectatur præcipue asperitas soni, & fractum murmur.* Germ. cap. 3. Diod. Sic. calls the barbarians *εαραυχοι* και τραχυφωνοι. Lib. 5.

(8) *Αγρια μὲν λέξι πεποιημένα παραπλήσια ταῖς κλαγγαῖς τῶν τραχυ βωντῶν ὀρνέων ἀδοντάς.* Misopog. p. 56. Edit. Petavii. Instead of *κλαγγαῖς* some MSS. read *κρωγμοῖς*, or that sound emitted by crows; and it seems the best reading.

(9) *Sola sæpe bombicans barbaros leudos harpa relidebat.* Fortunat. supra.

The Roman missionaries kept alive and augmented the enmity between the Britons and Anglo-Saxons: the former would not adopt Popery or its superstitions, to which the latter were devoted: every temporal and spiritual motive which theological malignity could invent, was conjured up to make the resentment of both people implacable and perpetual, and with too good success. Hence the triumph of the Harp over the Crwth, and hence its general use among all ranks of people until the Norman invasion.

This reasoning may perhaps account for the introduction and practice of the Harp in England, but will not apply, it may be said, to Ireland. The Irish, I think, received it in the 4th and 5th centuries from their close connexion with the Saxons, and other rovers from the Baltic shores, who conjointly ravaged the coasts of Britain and Gaul in those ages. I know Mr. Macpherson (10) has ingeniously combated the opinion of this connection; but it is impossible to invalidate all the arguments supplied by antiquity in its favour. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of St. Patrick's Harp, which, if any faith is to be placed on Legends, he might have brought from Tours, where he studied; and where, no doubt, it was cultivated by the Barbarians. The Harp is mentioned by (11) Ifo, in the 9th century; he was a monk of St. Gall. The founder of this abbey being an (12) Irishman, and the monks, for the most part, of the same nation, who fled from the Danish tyranny, they could be no strangers to this instrument.

It may be no improbable conjecture, and will certainly meet the ideas of many, to say, that the Celtic Crwth was primarily used by the Irish, but gave place to the Harp on the establishment of the Danish power in this kingdom. The Harp was the delight of the northern nations, and their Princes and Scalds eminent performers on it. The monument at Nieg, exhibited by (13) Mr. Cordiner, has every appearance of being a Danish work. The bird at top was their favourite raven, of which their sagas and scaldic poetry are full, as may be seen in Wormius, Bartholine, and Mallet. The obliterated figure, taken by Mr. Cordiner for an angel, may or may not be one; it is obvious, there are no concomitant symbols to evince the sculpture to be by a christian artist. Mr. Cordiner observes, that this monument, which gives an Irish Harp, belongs to the 11th century; in this I perfectly agree with him.

From

(10) In his Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland.

(11) Du Cange, in Harpa. (12) Ware's Writers. *Cave Historia Literaria.*

(13) Remarkable Ruins in Scotland. No. I. 1784.

From some drawings of the Davidic Lyre in Montfaucon, Calmet, and others, which resemble our Harp, it has been supposed our instrument is derived. It has been shewn from Eucherius, that the Barbaric Cithara, or Harp, was a trigonal figure, and similar to what was then called the Nablium. What the original Nablium, or Jewish Nebalius, mentioned in the Psalms was, or what the Chinnor, Neginot, and other instruments occurring in Scripture, were unknown to the Septuagint translators, as Bishop Hare (14) has fully proved. Of what weight then can the dreams of modern Rabbins, or the fanciful drawings of (15) Kircher, their blind follower, be on this subject? Eucherius makes the Nablium a triangle, in Kircher it is a square. Bishop Lowth, who has with great elegance and learning treated of Hebrew poetry, never touches on the musical instruments of the Jewish people, nor contests Bishop Hare's sentiments, though he criticises him on other (16) points. An argument much in favour of what has been advanced.

Whether the Harp was an imitation of the ancient (17) Lyre, or at what time it assumed its present form or number of strings, is not easy to determine. The monument at Nieg, if of the age before allowed it, shews what it was in the 11th century, and therefore I must decline from the opinion of Lord Pembroke and (18) Bishop Nicolson, who imagined the triangles on some of our old coins, referred to the Irish Harp. An obsolete figure would scarcely be revived; indeed it is most probable it was buried in total oblivion. The heads of our Kings inscribed in triangles expressed their attachment to the Church, and its reciprocal support of them: this is verified by the French coins of Philip IV. Lewis X. Philip V. Charles IV. and John.*

Another object of this inquiry is, at what time the Harp became the armorial bearing of Ireland. Though coats armorial were not unknown to most of the nations of antiquity, yet gentilitial arms undoubtedly were until the middle of the 12th century; the latter were hereditary, the former (19) personal or casual. A learned (20) German writer says, the romantic expeditions to the Holy Land introduced

(14) Prologom. in Psalms. pag. 75. They did not know how to translate the titles of the Psalms, but gave the most absurd and incongruous interpretation of them.

(15) In his Musurgia Univers. tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(16) Prælect. Poet. Sub finem.

(17) Martinii Lexic. Philog. in Lyra.

(18) Irish Historical Library. p. 158—159.

* As this triangle is seen on the coin of our King John, I adopt this opinion in preference to supposing the triangle to be a shield.

(19) Edmondson's Body of Heraldry. Diod. Sic. with much propriety applies to these the word *ιδιωπραπιας*. lib. 5. p. 307.

(20) Bielsheld, L'Erudition Complétte. tom. 3. p. 291. Illo enim ævo (sc. 800) nondum insignia, non nomina gentilitia cœperant, sed haud dubie post hoc sæculum advectæ sunt. Montfaucon Diar. Italic. pag. 22—446. O'Flaherty says hereditary arms were not used before the 13th century. Ogygia vindicated, pag. 60.

duced the distinction of armories and the jargon of blazonry; the saltiers, the furs, the girones, and lozenges of this science being parts of the harness, armour and ornaments of the Chevaliers. Bishop Kennet agrees, that armorial bearings were not so early as the reign of Edward the Confessor. (21) The arms, therefore, on the Harp of Brien Boiromh, and the Harp itself, can neither be of the age, nor belong to the person, that an anecdote delivered in the 13th Number of *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, would persuade us. Nothing less than positive proof will convince the heraldic antiquary, that the Irish preceded their neighbours in gentilitial armories.

Hector Boethius (22) relates, that on a treaty concluded between Charlemagne and the Scottish King Achaius, A. D. 791, it was granted, that the latter prince should bear a red lion in a counter-charged border of fleurs-de-lis. As the Irish were equally favourites with that great monarch, he might have conferred the same honour on our Kings; though, from what has been advanced, there is not the least probability of this being so. Besides, had the taste for heraldic pageantry been then fashionable, some specimens would have been displayed on his coins, whereas they exhibit nothing but simple monograms.

An ancient roll of arms, preserved by (23) Leland, of the age of Henry III. gives the bearings of most of the European princes, and of most of the English and French nobility. Among these we find the arms of Wales, of Scotland, and the little Isle of Man, but not a word of Ireland. It is a strong presumption, that Ireland then had no arms: Quartering, it may be said, was not introduced till the (24) reign of Edward III. half a century later; but when it was introduced, no notice was taken of Ireland. Harold, King of Man, came to this Henry, did (25) homage, was dubbed a Knight, and received arms, which are recorded in the roll. Maurice Fitzgerald, an ancestor of the Duke of Leinster, received Knighthood and arms, and they are also in the roll.

It was Henry VIII. who, on being proclaimed King of Ireland, first gave us the Harp. The English allowed us eminence in nothing but music. He therefore selected this instrument as being our favourite one, and to perpetuate the celebrity of our performance on it in former times. Such a bearing was a judicious compliment; it neither reminded us of our present dependence, nor upbraided us with our former rebellions.

(21) *Parochial Antiquities*, pag. 52. (22) Pag. 188. Nicolson's *Scottish Hist. Library*, pag. 46.

(23) *Collectanea*, vol. 2. pag. 616. (24) *Camden's Remains*, pag. 163.

(25) *Caradoc*, pag. 318. A similar proof from *Antiquarian Disc.* vol. 1. p. 97.

rebellions. James I. quartered it with the arms of France and England; and may it long continue the ornament and support of the British Crown!

How plain soever it may appear, that Music existed in the Christian Church from its foundation, yet some industry is requisite to discover it in England and in Ireland. Bishop Stillingfleet (26) has been able to collect but few musical traits of the Gallican or British offices, as contra-distinguished from the Gregorian or Roman: the paucity of records, and the bare hints of writers forming very uncertain data from whence to deduce positive conclusions. The same obscurity clouds the remote periods of Musical History in Ireland. This must be an apology for the imperfection of the hints now offered on this topic, which however lies open to future improvement from superior abilities and more extensive erudition.

It was in the year 1134, that Malachy O'Morgair (27) ascended the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh. He was the beloved friend of St. Bernard, after whose decease, the latter, in a high strain of panegyric, composed his (28) life. Among other particulars there recorded, he informs us, that the Irish, through the Primate's zeal, were brought to a conformity with the apostolic constitutions and the decrees of the Fathers, but especially with the customs of the holy church of Rome. They then began to chant and sing the canonical hours, as in other places, which before was not done even in the metropolitical city of Armagh; Malachy had learned song in his youth, and enjoined singing in his own monastery, when as yet it was unknown, or not practised in the city or diocese. Thus far St. Bernard.

This citation suggests two facts; the first incredible and certainly far from truth, that the Irish church had subsisted for seven hundred years without Music or Psalmody: the other more probable, that Malachy exerted the influence of his station to oblige the Irish to relinquish their old ritual, and adopt the Roman manner of celebrating divine offices. His efforts were in vain, even allowing a temporary acquiescence; for, in thirty years after, we find, the Council of Cashel decreeing an uniformity of public worship, according to the model of the English church. The Irish received, very reluctantly, innovations in doctrine and discipline; nor was it before their princes were expatriated and the people reduced to extreme misery, that they embraced foreign superstition, and obeyed the dictates of the Sovereign Pontiff.

30

That

(26) In his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, chap. 4. page 237.

(27) Ware's *Bishops*, page 54.

(28) *Inter S. Bernardi Opera*, cap. 16.

That the Christian Fathers adapted their (29) Psalms and Hymns to the Greek notation and modes, admits of the fullest proof. Accustomed from infancy to the choral service of paganism, the convert naturally retained his former musical ideas, but applied them to more sanctified compositions, and a purer object. Though it is impossible to determine of what kind the ecclesiastical modes were, or what the discipline of the fingers, I cannot believe the whole service (30) of the primitive church was irregular; or that the people sang as their inclination led them, with scarce any other restriction than that it should be to the praise of God. For early in the third century, Origen (31) informs us, that christians sang in rhythm, that is, with nice regard to the length and shortness of the syllables of the poetry, and in good tune and harmony. The terms he uses are taken from the Greek Music, and evince that christians in their church-performances, were scientific and correct. The definition of a Psalm (32) by Gregory Nazienzen, and by St. Basil and Chrysostom, in the 4th century, is an additional proof of what is advanced. I have insisted on this point the more, in order to subvert the groundless assertion of St. Bernard, and to demonstrate, that singing made a part of the christian service wherever the gospel was established.

About the year 386, Psalms and Hymns were ordered to be sung after the Eastern manner; and about 384, the Ambrosian Chant was formed of the Dorian, Lydian, Mixolydian and Phrygian tones, which were called authentic modes, and to which Pope Gregory in 599, added four plagal. Western Europe had been evangelized antecedent to Gregory's Pontificate, and the Ambrosian Chant admitted into many principal churches: I say principal, because there is reason to believe, many bishops and dioceses preserved the Cursus, that is, the (33) offices and singing introduced by the first missionaries, and which more closely adhered to the Eastern, that is, the ancient Greek Music, than the Chant of the Cathedral of Milan. And this seems countenanced by a very curious MS. supposed to have been written by an Irish scholar about 901, and printed by (34) Sir Henry Spelman. In this it is said, that the Cursus of the Scots (for such was the appellation of the Irish in those days)

(29) The use of these in the earliest ages is clearly proved by Hornbeck, de Psalmodia, inter Miscell. Sac. cap. 2. See Warton's hist. of English poetry. Vol. 2. p. 369.

(30) Hawkins's history of Music. Vol. 1. p. 288.

(31) Ευρυθμως και εμμελως, και εμμελως και συμφωνως. De Orat. p. 7.

(32) Ψαλμος εστιν, η δια τε οργανη τε μουσικη μελωδια. Greg. in tract. 2. in psalm. cap. 3. Basil. in psalm 29. Chrysost. ad psalm: 35. ver. 3.

(33) Usher's Religion of the ancient Irish. chap. 4.

(34) Concil. Vol. 1. Usher. Primord. p. 916—917.

days) was composed by St. Mark, and used by St. Gregory Naz, St. Basil, and communicated to the continent by Columbanus. No notice is taken of St. Ambrose and Pope Gregory but just mentioned. Now, as the monastic rule of our countryman, (35) Columbanus, has been published, and as this rule made part of the Irish Cursus, we shall see how great a part of it was made up of Psalmody and Anthems, or alternate singing.

The Monks are to assemble thrice every night, and as often in the day, to pray and sing. In each office of the day, they were to use prayers and sing three psalms. In each office of the night, from October to February, they are to sing thirty-six psalms and twelve anthems, at three several times; in the rest of the year, twenty-one psalms and eight anthems; but on Saturday and Sunday nights, twenty-five psalms and twenty-five anthems. Here was a perpetual psalmody or *laus perennis*, like that practised in Psalmody Isle (36) in the diocese of Nîmes, founded by Corbilla, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 4th century. These may be added to the other numerous instances of the orientalism of our church, and its symbolizing with the eastern in most articles of faith and practice, and which created so much uneasiness to Rome and her emissaries for many ages; the seductions of flattery and the thunders of the Vatican were equally ineffectual to shake our principles; the mellifluous eloquence of St. Bernard might calumniate, but was unable to subject us to the domination of the Roman See.

The Canons ascribed to St. Patrick, Auxilius and Iserninus, extant in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, were transcribed, according to an (37) excellent antiquary, in the 10th century; Dachery (38) supposes they were made in the 8th, and I have elsewhere shewn this to be probable. The second directs the readers to remain in the church in which they are appointed to (39) sing; this seems to be the meaning, but whatever it is, it teaches us that the Reader and Singer had the same office. Many of our Primates, as may be seen in Ware's Bishops, and most of our learned men, among other literary distinctions, are called Readers. On this it is remarked (40)—“that the name, *Lector*, is more frequently found among the Irish historians than that of *Scribe*; nevertheless, to conceal nothing, some by the ancient Scribes understand Writers;”—this throws no light on the Lector. By the

15th

(35) Romæ, 1661, by Luc. Holstein Dupin, siecle 7.

(36) Burney's History of Music. Vol. 2. p. 9.

(37) Askle's Origin of Writing, p. 120.

(38) Spicileg. tom. 9. Opus. S. Patric. edit. Ware, p. 42.

(39) Lectores denique cognoscant unusquisque ecclesiam in qua psallat,

(40) Ware's Antiquities, by Harris, p. 236.

15th canon of the Laodicean Council, no one is to sing in the church but the canonical fingers, who are to ascend the desk and read from the book. In the answers of John, bishop of Citri, to Constantine Cabasilas, archbishop of Dyrrachium, we find the Readers were placed on each side of the (41) choir, and like the precentor and succentor, led the choristers. At this day we read each verse of the psalm before it is sung; in this instance also we retained the usage of the Eastern church. On the whole, the evidence now produced is sufficient to convict St. Bernard of error, and vindicate our practice of music and psalmody.

Giraldus Cambrensis gives a splendid account of the perfections of Irish Music in the 12th century, and Caradoc of Lhancarvan agrees with him. They confine their praise to secular performances, and speak nothing of ecclesiastical. Such excellence was not attainable by any sudden or fashionable application; it must have been the effect of long practice and habit. Perhaps the following observations may elucidate this point.

Caradoc, without any of that illiberal partiality so common with national writers, assures us, the Irish devised all the instruments, tunes and measures in use among the Welsh. Cambrensis is even more copious in his praise, when he peremptorily declares, that the (42) Irish, above any other nation, is incomparably skilled in symphonical music. Such unequivocal testimony of our superior taste and improvement in the musical art, naturally calls for some inquiries into so curious a fact, more especially as the persons, who delivered it, lived in a polished (43) age, both in respect of literature and manners.

The words of Cambrensis are clearly expressive of attainments in the science of music far beyond the minstrelsy of England and France, or any other country he had (44) travelled. The richness of our invention; the vivacity, beauty, and variety of our melodies extorted applause from him: I say extorted, because he takes care to inform us, there was scarce (45) any thing else to commend among the Irish.

This incomparable skill could never be predicated of unlearned, extemporaneous, Bardic airs: It implies a knowledge of the diagram, and an exact division of the harmonic

(41) Αναγνώσαν δε officia ταυτα ο δομestικος τε δεξις χορου, &c. Here the Domesticus of the right side of the Choir, was a musical officer and dignity. Du Cange in vocc.

(42) Præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa. Topog. cap. 11. p. 739.

(43) See the ingenious Mr. Warton's hist. of English poetry. Dissertation II.

(44) Quam vidimus, supra. He resided some years on the continent. Biographia Brit.—Article Barry.

(45) In musicis solum instrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis istius diligentiam. Topog. supra.

harmonic intervals; a just expression of the tones, and in the quickest movements, an unity of melody. Cambrensis (46) observes these particulars of our music. He accurately distinguishes the Irish and English styles: the latter was the diatonic (47) genus; slow and made up of concords: heavy; the intervals spacious, as in ecclesiastical chant. The former was the enharmonic (48) genus; full of minute divisions, with every diesis marked: the succession of our melodies (49) lively and rapid; our modulations full and sweet.

He alone who had the sharpest faculties, and was the most profoundly versed in the musical art, felt ineffable (50) pleasure. It is then evident, that all this transcendent excellence in music could be derived but from two sources; a perfect knowledge of it as a science and practice. We are not, it is true, able to produce our ancient tablature, or tunes from MSS. hitherto discovered; but as from Caradoc, it appears we communicated both to the Welsh, and as they exist in Mr. Morris's (51) Collections, we may fairly assume them as our own, and derivatives from this Isle. These collections are of the 12th century, the very time in which Caradoc and Cambrensis flourished; so that connecting the evidence together, that we had music in score, can hardly be disputed, and what is more extraordinary, most of the pieces for the Harp are in full harmony and counterpoint.

From these facts a mistake of Cambrensis unfolds itself to view. The Irish, he informs us, used but the Tabor and Harp. Here then could not be a varied combination of sounds; a multiplicity of parts, or such an artificial composition as to constitute counterpoint: a single melody, and that confined within a small compass, was all that could be executed. The Welsh, he tells us, had three instruments, consequently they could play counterpoint; so that Cambrensis must have been ignorant of the art he was describing, or extremely inadvertent, as no such effects, as he suggests, could be produced by such instruments. Nor can any reason be assigned, why we should not have an equal number of musical instruments with the

3 P

Welsh,

(46) Mirum quod in tantâ tam præcipiti digitorum rapacitate musica servatur proportio, et arte per omnia indemni inter crispatos modulus, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam impari paritate, tam discordi concordia consona redditur, & completur melodia. Supra.

(47) Tarda & morosa est modulatio. Supra. Jones's *relics of the Welsh Bards*, p. 35. not. 9.

(48) Tam subtiliter modulus intrant & exeunt; sicque sub obtuso grossioris chordæ sonitu, gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt. Supra.

(49) Modulatio verum velox & præceps, suavis tamen & jucunda sonoritas. Supra.

(50) Hinc accedit, ut ea quæ subtilius intuentibus; & artis archana acutè discernentibus, internas & ineffabiles comparant animi delicias. Supra.

(51) Burney's *history of Music*. Vol. 2. p. 109—312.

Welsh, who confessedly adopted them from us. An omission of a transcriber very probably gives rise to the error.

The tenor of our ecclesiastical history very explicitly shews the propagation of the gospel among us by Hellenistic Missioners; our doctrine and discipline were the same as practised in the primitive church during the four first centuries. These points are amply detailed in another (52) place. Each Bishop appointed such an order for the celebration of divine offices, as he judged most eligible and best suited to his respective diocese. So various were these offices in 1090, that Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, presses the Irish Clergy to adopt the Roman. "What," (53) says he, "can be more indecent, or schismatical, than that a Clergyman who is very learned in the offices of one Church, should be ignorant and a Laic in those of another?" This is a new proof that we were unacquainted with the Roman service, as well as with the Ambrosian and Gregorian Chant, and that we retained the forms of the Eastern church, originally delivered to us. Bishop Stillingfleet, as cited by Doctor (54) Burney, makes the principal difference between the Roman and Gallican ritual to consist in their church music.

St. Paul (55) desires the Ephesians to speak to each other in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. He here seems to make use of a harsh expression to avoid introducing a heathen (56) term. With what propriety could Christians be said to speak to each other in hymns, which celebrated the divine perfections? But they might, as in the Pagan Dithyrambics and Pœans, exercise themselves in antiphonal singing, and succeed or answer each other. And this is clearly the Apostle's meaning.

However,

(52) Antiquities, supra, p. 55.

(53) Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit, quam doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius ecclesia idiotam & laicum fieri? Uffer. Syll. Epist. Hib. p. 77.

(54) History of Music. Vol. 2. p. 56.

(55) Ephes. chap. 5. ver. 19. *Λαλῶντες ἑαυτοῖς Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς.* Coloss. iii. 16. The apostle distinguishes Odes from Psalms and joins the latter to Hymns. The latter were frequently recited, but the former were accompanied with instrumental music. Scalig. Poet. pafs. Gattikeri Cinn. pag. 124. Le Clerc will have Odes, Hymns, and Psalms to mean the same thing; but Hammond makes them refer to three different kinds of canticles among the Jews. It is certain they are different; but would St. Paul have any respect to Jewish music when writing to the Ephesians and Colossians?

(56) The classical word is—*ἀμειβοντες*—which referred to antiphonal or alternate singing of the heathen hymns.

Μουσικὸν δ' ἂν αἰδοῖν, ἀμειβομεναι οὔτι καλῆ. Hom.

The practice is not of Christian origin. Suid. & Mears. Gloss. voce *Ἀντιφωνα*.

However he disliked the practice of idolatry, the permission he here gives the Ephesians, a gay and luxurious people, of using psalms, hymns, and odes, was absolutely necessary for keeping new converts in the faith: They could not easily forget the raptures of their festal and choral hymns; and it is probable the Apostles, (57) and their disciples, formed spiritual songs, on their model, in various metres and melodies: at least, the early fathers of the church, as Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory Nazienzen did so. Some of their imitations are poetical, but no merit of this kind could compensate a Grecian ear for the negligent, injudicious, and offensive use of improper (58) measures, with which the christian compositions abounded. Dionysius Halicarnæus, in his beautiful treatise last (59) cited, gives instances of the most favourite performers being hissed on the stage, for the smallest want of rhythm or accent; such were the delicacy of Grecian organs, and the correctness of Grecian taste.

The more zealous catholics digested these insipid productions; but the public were very far from acquiescing in such unlearned and barbarous poetry and music. St. Basil (60) complains that his flock neglected his psalms and hymns for their old pagan songs. The (61) Arians, Apollinarians, and other heretics taking advantage of the popular disgust formed poems in the true Greek style, and in captivating melodies; the union and charms of harmony and verse were too powerful for orthodoxy; the number of sectaries soon exceeded that of true believers. The church beheld this triumph with terror and amazement, she saw her danger and endeavoured to avert it. She reformed her hymns and embraced the Greek modes; nor was John, the œcumenic bishop of Constantinople ashamed to urge (62) his people (63) to imitate the Arian compositions. Gildas and Bede agree, that Britain was

(57) Eusebius informs us the early Christians composed and sang—*ᾠδαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι διὰ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ῥυθμοῖς σερμωτοῖς*. Hist. Ecc. lib. 2. cap. 17. Valesius thinks the Therapeutæ, of whom this is said, were not Christians; but considering the ages of the Father and Critic, the latter is more liable to mistake.

(58) These were the—*πεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ἀσάκτους ῥυθμοί*—of Dionys. Hal. de Struct. Orat. p. 224. edit. Upton.

(59) Pag. 72. Upton illustrates this from Cicero:—*Si versus pronunciatus est syllabâ una brevior aut longior, exhibetur & exploditur Histrio*.

(60) Serm. de ebriet. & lux. & Vales. Not. in lib. 7. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. p. 153.

(61) For Arius's hymns, see Philostorg. lib. 2. p. 470. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, confesses Apollinaris was fully instructed in human learning; and an excellent judge declares:—*Sic expressit psalmos ut celeritate cum propheta regio certare videatur*. Heinf. Exerc. in Nonnum. p. 256.

(62) *Επὶ τοῦ ἰσὺν προῶν της Ψαλμωδίας τὸν αὐτὸν λαὸν προτρέπει* Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8.

(63) *Tunc hymni & psalmi, ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœoris tædio contabesceret, institutum est*. August. Confess. lib. 9. cap. 7.

was infected with Arianism, and St. Jerom complains, that the christian world groaned under this heresy.

These notices, hitherto unconnected, may perhaps throw some light on the peculiar style of our ancient music. We received the knowledge of the gospel about the end of the 4th century, and with it the Greek or Eastern harmony, then universally in use. From an expression of St. Austin, it is evident, the enharmonic genus was then adopted and cultivated, as it alone was calculated to exhilarate the spirits, revive pleasing hopes, and banish melancholy and despair; nor can there be any doubt but our primitive missionaries first conciliated the affections of their hearers by harmony before they opened to them the doctrine of redemption. Bede makes Augustine (64) approach Ethelbert and his court singing litanies.

Before the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants were generally introduced, we were grown strong in religion and learning, and for a long time strangers to, as well as averse from Romish innovations. We had an independent hierarchy, which neither in 900 nor in 1090, as has been seen, yielded subjection to St. Ambrose or Pope Gregory; it therefore was not possible for us to have any other music but on the Greek model, the character of which, as may be collected from St. Austin and Cambrensis, was enharmonic.

The state of society here at our conversion; a precise and energetic language; the paucity of our instruments and the admirable effects of our harmony, clearly point out the simple style of our melodies; how exactly they coincided with the Greek; how well adapted to delight our national vivacity and amuse our indolence. Topics these, capable of much curious and entertaining amplification, but exceeding our limits.

As the seeds of christianity and learning were coeval in this isle, notwithstanding the vain and groundless pretensions of some Antiquaries, so they found a soil wherein they vegetated with uncommon strength and rapidity: monastic foundations, the schools of literature in those ages, greatly multiplied, and letters soon flourished in every corner. I will elsewhere alledge many circumstances to induce a belief that the Greek language was particularly cultivated in those seminaries. Can it then seem strange that we should have the musical diagram of the Greeks, or that we practised scientifically their best melodies? This notation, it is true, appears corrupted in Mr. Morris's MSS. but it invincibly demonstrates that the Welsh had a notation, and that

that it must have existed previously among the Irish. The (65) Northumbrians and Albanian Scots, both converted by the Irish, excelled in harmony.

The English music on the contrary was of the diatonic genus. It was the policy of the church of Rome, from the first entrance of her missionaries into Britain, to decry and depreciate the ancient rites and ceremonies of the natives, and to exalt the efficacy and perfection of her own. Arguments however were in vain, (66) power soon decided the controversy in favour of the latter. We are informed by Bede, that James, the deacon, instructed the clergy of York in singing after the Roman manner, as Stephen did the Northern ecclesiastics. Pope Agatho thought the establishment of the Gregorian chant so important an affair, that he sent John, his precentor, hither for that purpose. These efforts of the Papal See, seconded by the favour of the British princes, soon extinguished every spark of our ancient music, and confirmed the slow, spacious and unisonous melody of plain (67) song. The perpetual use of it to both clergy and laity was secured by canons, and when it became a commutation for sins and (68) fasting, the practice of it must have been universal. 'Tis then no wonder that the taste of the nation accommodated itself to this chant; a dull and heavy modulation succeeded, well fitted to a state of spiritual thralldom, and to express the dismal tales of minstrelsy.

The foregoing observations were printed in 1786, but fortunately for the lovers of Irish antiquities, the subject was taken up on a more extensive plan in the following essay, by my ingenious and accomplished friend William Beauford, A. M. whose scientific knowledge of music has enabled him to illuminate a subject hitherto buried in darkness. His essay appeared in the first edition of these Antiquities in 1790. The candid reader will pardon a similarity of remarks and citations in a few instances in both essays, which indeed was unavoidable in treating of the same subject.

(65) Dr. Burney. Vol. 2. p. 108, 109.

(66) Bed. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(67) The distinction insisted on of Greek and Roman music, receives the highest confirmation from Charlemagne's book against the Greeks; and, his grandson, Charles the Bald's Letter to the Clergy of Ravenna: both Princes hesitated long, before they embraced the Greek or Roman harmony. Charles says:—*Celebrata sunt coram nobis sacra missarum officia, more Hierosolimitano, & more Constantinopolitano*.—But he preferred the Roman: the severest punishments alone made his national clergy relinquish the Eastern manner.

(68) Johnson's Saxon Councils.

* OF THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

THE origin of Poetry and Music, deduced from the organization of the human frame, has already been elegantly discussed and minutely investigated (1) by some eminent writers. Antiquity records the cultivation of these pleasing arts among the rudest and most savage nations, and modern (2) discoveries unite their testimony that no people exist without them. A learned and ingenious friend has decisively proved, that no genuine remains of Celtic customs and manners, of Celtic arts and sciences exist at this day: that overborne at an early period by the great Scythian swarm, the Celtes were either exterminated, or adopted the usages of their conquerors. As this swarm, which bent its course to Ireland, probably issued from Belgic Gaul, we are there first to enquire what were the music and poetry of that country. On these heads Diodorus Siculus offers us some valuable information. "There are, says he, among the Gauls, poets, who compose melical poems; they call these Bards, and they sing the praises of some, and the dispraises of others, to instruments not unlike Lyres." Our Author here is correct in denominating these rude songs melical, because they differed from Lyric, which were always sung to the Lyre, and from Dithyrambic, which were, for the most part, in honour of Bacchus, and consisted of the strophe, antistrophe and epode, whereas the melical were often sung without (4) any instrument, which must have frequently happened among an uncivilized and wandering people. They were therefore simple melodies executed by a single voice, and occasionally sustained by an instrument. The measure of this melical poetry was Iambic; a measure so natural to man, that Dionysius Halicarnasæus and Demetrius Phalerius, two excellent judges, declare he very commonly expresses himself in it without design. In ancient languages, the accents

* By William Beauford, A. M.

(1) Harris's three Treatises. Webb on Poetry and Music, and by many French and Italians.

(2) Cook's Voyages.

(3) Lib. 5.

(4) Pangi melos potest, quod non ad lyram canatur, latiusque interdum pateat. Turneb. Adv. p. 5.

accents were numerous, consequently the inflections of the voice were musical, fell into pleasing intervals and Lyric measures. And the oldest specimens of Scaldic, German, and Irish poetry supply strong reason to believe this to have been the case; though the number or quantity of their verses, their rhythm and modulation are, in a great part, unknown, as the pronunciation and accentuation of these languages are greatly altered, and with them their melodies. Without entering deeper into a subject involved in much obscurity, we shall begin with Giraldus Cambrensis, an ingenious and intelligent writer, who (5) observes, that the Irish excelled all other nations in the use of musical instruments: that music, proceeding from sounds, naturally divided itself into three parts, harmonic, or that performed by the voice: organic, or that by wind-instruments, and rhythmical, or that produced by the pulsation of the fingers. Under the heads of vocal and instrumental music will be contained all we shall now lay before the reader.

The old inhabitants of Ireland denominated their vocal music, or that in which their poems and songs were sung, *Pheateadh* or *Peiteadh*, that is, narrative music.

The original music of all countries was vocal, and in the early periods, proceeded in a great measure, from the extemporaneous hymns and songs sung in praise of their deities, and in honour of ancient heroes. It was in the day of battle and hour of sacrifice, that the concerts of our remote and barbarous ancestors were performed. The warrior advanced to the charge, singing the actions of ancient captains; and the priest, whilst the bleeding victim expired on the altar, chaunted in artless accents the praise of the Divinity. However harsh and dissonant these performances must originally have been, experience reduced them to order, and time meliorated their cadence. Men, endowed with more solid judgment and more accurate ears than others, would naturally endeavour to reduce the wild effusions of native melody to some standard rules, and thereby give birth to the Bardic Order, and the regulation of musical performances at public Solemnities. Thus, instructed in simple melody, the body of the people would join in one general chorus at their public assemblies, and lay the foundation of harmonic composition, or, what no writer on the musical art, has yet attended to, a natural counterpoint. For the different tones of the human voice, singing the same air in concert, would consequently fall into separate classes; the most grave would murmur in the base, the middle tones be sonorous in the tenor, and the most acute warble in the treble.

Accustomed

(5) Topograph. Hib. p. 73—741.

Accustomed thus through a long series of ages, to sing together, the body of the people would gradually be formed into a nation of choristers; and the faculty they had thus through successive generations acquired of singing in parts, would remain among them for many ages after the cause which gave rise to it was removed.

Such was the state in respect to the music of ancient Europe in general, we have every reason to imagine; and that it was actually so, among the inhabitants of Wales and England in the 12th century, we are assured by Cambrensis before quoted; who informs us that the Britons did not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts; it being customary (6) in Wales, when a company of singers among the common people met, as many different parts were heard, as there were performers; who all at length united, with organic sweetness. And in the northern parts of England, beyond the Humber, the inhabitants used the same kind of symphonic harmony, except that they only sang in two parts; nor in either country was a single melody ever well sung. And what is still more extraordinary, their children, as soon as they attempted to sing, sang in the same manner. Here we have a remarkable instance of native counterpoint, from the effects of custom, through a series of ages; a custom we may reasonably imagine which was retained much longer than the time of Cambrensis, as we may trace, even at this day, some remains of it in the highlands of Scotland and in this country.

These circumstances point out to us, that counterpoint, was neither the production of any one age or country, nor the invention of an individual, but had its foundation in nature. Nor doth it appear what improvement the native bardic music received from the church music, during the middle ages, that is, from the 6th to the 9th centuries. It probably continued to flow in its native channel undisturbed for ages, receiving only from time to time, such additions as experience matured by time might introduce; and thereby gradually bring it to the standard of science.—However, there is the greatest probability, that the Hibernian bards received much instruction in the melodious part of their music from that cultivated by the christian clergy. Which music was that of the *Cursus*, used in the original offices of the christian church, and was in the style of the ancient Greek music of the middle ages. A genus much more brilliant than the diatonic used by the Latin church in subsequent times, and in all probability laid the foundation of that
superiority,

(6) Cambrensis. *Cambriæ Descrip.* p. 290.

superiority, to which the Hibernian bards in later periods attained. (7) In the harmonic division no improvements were probably introduced till towards the 12th century, after the introduction of the Latin church music by Malachy. This music was more famed for its harmonic than melodious perfection. However, several important and useful hints were received from it, and thereby greatly improved the oral counterpoint, which, with their native style, they still retained; singing alternately, after the manner of the Greeks, and other heathen nations of antiquity. O'Carrol about 1330, and Cruise, two eminent harpers, were most probably the first who tuned their harps on the true diatonic harmonic principles. But even this improvement seems to have been confined to those residing in the English pale. (8).

With the state of the ancient Irish melodies of the middle ages, we are not acquainted, few having reached our time. The native music at present found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, is extremely characteristic, and strongly expressive of the language and genius of the people.

The ancient Irish music, or as it was denominated by the bards *Ceol*, or Sound, when considered as a science, may like that of all other countries, be comprized under two heads, that is, *Oirfid* or Melody; and *Cor* or Harmony.

The *Oirfid*, or melodious part, was composed of a certain number of *Fuam* or Tones; of these they had two species, considered relatively, that is, *Foghair*, or whole Tones, and *Foghair-beg*, or Semi-tones. But it doth not appear, what specific names they gave to the several tones rising and falling in the scale. It is most probable they had no distinctive denominations for them, but entirely depended on the ear; as it is certain they had no marks or notation to express them in writing, but like most of the modern pipers, depended solely on their auditory organs. Time, or the relative duration of the several tones, which we distinguish by the general name of notes, they expressed by the word *Ambar*, but by what denomination they distinguished their respective lengths, we have no certain information; probably they never considered such minutiae, but depended for the regulation of their measure on the beating of the drum, or the striking of the strings of the harp.

Cor, or Harmony, they, like the moderns, divided into two grand divisions, that is, *Chruisich*, or Treble, and *Cronán*, or Base. Which parts united, constituted

(7) Hornbeck de Psalmodiâ, inter Miscell. sac. cap. 2. Walker's Memoirs of Irish Bards.

(8) Stanihurst de reb. Hib. p. 39. Walker's Irish Bards.

tuted one grand scale, under the denomination of *Arfideach*, or *Airfideah*; comprehending the *Bafascanes*, or Base Cliff; the *Teanorchanus*, or Tenor Cliff, called also *Cionar*; and *Rinnchanus*, or Treble Cliff.

As the names of these Cliffs, are evidently derived from the Latin, the Bards must have received them from church music; and to which they seem to have been indebted for much of their musical science, during the latter periods.

In respect to counterpoint, the *Cor* was distinguished into two species, that is, *Fuaighel*, or Concords, and *Eiffighe*, or Discords. The Concords consisted of the *Fuaighel*, or 5th, the *Fuaighelbeg*, or 4th. being the lesser fundamental interval, and the *Fuaighelmor*, or Octave, or greater interval, and which was nearly one-eighth of a tone higher than the modern, being composed of the 4th and 5th equally divided by the ear.

The *Eiffighe*, or Discords, comprehended the *Eiffighebeg* or 2d, the tones of the ancients; and the *Eiffighemore*, any unharmonious interval compounded of others, as the 7th, 9th, &c. (9)

These appear, to have comprehended all the component parts of the ancient Hibernian counterpoint; but of their method of conducting them in composition, we have no authentic information. They certainly were not acquainted with the rules of modern harmony; which were probably founded by Guido in the 11th century, and improved by subsequent performers.

But, however, they might regulate the succession of their chords, they seem in respect to discant, to have been superior to their neighbours, for whilst the Scotch, Welsh, English, and even the Ecclesiastic Music, kept nearly equal time in all their parts, the Irish at least, in the 13th century, according to Cambrensis, used great latitude in their musical performances; for, says the writer, It is indeed evident, that the Scotch and Welsh have cultivated this art with commendation, and with an affinity of expression, endeavouring with emulation to imitate the skill of the Irish in modulation. (10) This superiority we shall have other opportunities of considering, in treating of their instrumental music, to which we shall now proceed.

IRISH

(9) For these technical terms, see Lhuyd's Dict. O'Clerigh, &c.

(10) Gir. Camb. Supra, p. 739.

IRISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, or *ADHBHACHIUIL*.

Barbarous nations, have seldom a variety of musical instruments; and it doth not appear, that the ancient inhabitants of either Britain or Ireland, had any among them, prior to the arrival of the Romans, except the Buglehorn. From Britain, the Roman musical instruments might have been introduced into Ireland, though most probably the principal of them were brought over by the Christian clergy, and others by the Northern nations.

The original use of musical instruments was either to sustain the voice, or to beat time to the several performers in their general concerns. Under this idea, they may be reduced to two species, that is, *Organical* and *Rythmical*.

O R G A N I C.

Of the Irish Organic, or Wind Instruments, Cambrensis is entirely silent; perhaps in his time, they had not any that could with propriety be classed under that denomination. Yet, the native writers mention several under the different names of (11) *Stuic*, *Stoc*, *Adhrac*, *Corn-bean*, *Gall-trompa*, *Buabhall*, *Dudog*, *Fideog*, *Lonloingean*, *Readan*, *Adharcaidh-Chiuil*, *Cuisleighb-Ciuil* and *Piob-mala*. The *Stuic*, *Stoc*, *Buabal*, *Beann*, and *Adharc*, were different names for the same instrument, and were only the common Bugle Horn, with a wooden mouth-piece, still used by the common people. The horns of animals were most probably the first attempt at musical instruments, and used in common by all the barbarous nations of ancient Europe. They were employed to sustain the voice in their rude religious concerts, during the times of paganism; and for a number of ages after, they were the principal instruments in (12) war and in the chase.

The *Gall-trompa*, or Trumpet of the Strangers, was the brazen Horn, used by the Danes, Normans and English; and introduced into this Island by those people. It was of different forms.

The *Trompa* resembled the modern Trumpet, and was the military musical instrument of the Saxons, Franks, and Normans. The *Corn* was a metal Horn, in general resembling the natural horns of animals, especially those of the Ram and wild Ox, with mouth pieces either at the end or side; and during the middle and latter

(11) See Lhuys's Dictionary for these terms.

(12) The Goths marched to war with the sound of the Horn of the Urus, or wild Ox. Ammian. 31—5.—And the Celtes in general used them. Lib. 5. 37. 39.

latter ages, were used for various purposes. A number of these instruments have at different times been discovered in Ireland in bogs; and also, in several parts of (13) England; and have occasioned much conjecture among Antiquaries. They, however, are not very ancient, few exceeding the 10th century, and none are older than the 6th in this country; nor are they of Irish origin, nor can they be considered as musical instruments.

The *Adharcaidh-Chiuil*, or Musical Horn, seems to have been the first attempt at a musical wind instrument, and probably the origin of most of them, as the Horn-pipe, Cornet, Hautboy, Flute, &c. It consisted of a metal or animal Horn, with a mouth-piece, and body perforated with three or four ventages, and is still retained by (14) the Laplanders. *Adharcaidh-Chiuil* was also a name given by the Irish to the French Horn, or *Corne de Chasse*.

The *Feadain*, *Fideog*, or *Lonloingean*, was a wooden Pipe, and the ancient Horn-pipe, frequently denominated by the Irish from the acuteness of its sound, *Dudog*, as it was called *Feadain* and *Lonloingean*, or Musical Stick, from being made of wood. This instrument is represented on an old Stone Cross at Clonmacnois, and on some old paintings in England, where it appears to be the same as the old *Cornette*.

The *Readan*, was not a musical instrument, but only a mouth-piece made of reed, by which the *Feadan* and other wind instruments were sounded; and is still retained in the modern Bag-pipes.

The *Piob-mala*, or Bagpipes, the Chorus of the Latin-Writers of the middle ages, do not appear of great antiquity in this island. Cambrensis does not mention them among the Irish musical instruments, though he (15) asserts, that both the Welsh and Scots had them. The *Chorus* so denominated by the Latins, from having the Bag of Skin, seems to be a very ancient instrument; we find it among the Greeks and Romans, and by them probably introduced from the east. Among them however, it was of a very simple construction, consisting only of a bag of skin or leather, with two pipes, one blown (16) by the mouth, by which the bag was filled with air, the other emitted the sound and had ventages. Under this form

it

(13) Camden, vol. 3d. Ed. Gough.

(14) Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 84.

(15) Scotia tribus, Cythara, Tympano, et Choro.

Gwallia vero Cythara, Tibiis, et Choro.—Supra, p. 739.

(16) Fuit Chorus quoque simplex, pellis cum duabus cicutis Æreis,

Et per primam inspiratur, secunda vocem emittit.—Walker, supra.

it is represented on an (17) ancient marble statue found at Croton in Italy; and on the front of (18) Adderbury church in Suffolk: and still retained by the Spanish and Italian peasants. It was probably introduced into Britain by the Romans, and among the Saxons by the Britons. In England, it retained its original form and power to the 11th or 12th centuries. In subsequent ages it received several improvements, a chorus was added, consisting of two side drones; in which state it still remains among the highland Scots, and in this state it probably was introduced into Ireland some time prior to the 14th century; for we find it a martial musical instrument of the (19) Irish Kerns or Infantry, in the reign of Edward III. And as such, continued down to the 16th century.

Having obtained this instrument from Britain, the Irish retained its original name, and called it *Piob-mala*, or Bag-pipe; it had the loud shrill tone of the present Highland pipes, being constructed on the ancient musical scale. The Chanter had seven ventages, as at present, the lower founded the lower D in the Treble, and the upper C. The first Drone was in unison to E, the second hole in the Chanter; and the large Drone an octave below it.

This seems to have been the state of the Bag-pipes throughout the British Islands to the close of the 16th century, when considerable improvements were made, by taking the pipe from the mouth, and causing the bag to be filled by a small pair of bellows on compression by the elbow. This form (20) Mr. Walker asserts, they received from the Irish, by whom they were no longer denominated *Piob-mala*, or Bag-pipes, but

Cuislean, or *Cuisleagh-Cuil*, that is, the Elbow-pipes, or Elbow-music.—Under this denomination they still remain among the people, and are at present much improved; having no longer the loud martial sound of the Erse *Piobh-mala*, but more resembling a Flute, and are reduced to the modern scale. In the present Irish Bag-pipes, the Chanter consists of seven double holes, the lowest sounding D in the Treble, and the upper C or the seventh above it. The chorus consists of four Drones, the smallest or first sounds unison to A, the fifth hole in the Chanter; the second Drone a third below the first, and in unison with F the third hole in the Chanter; and a fifth below C the upper hole. The third sounds an octave to F, and the fourth an octave below that, or a double octave to the key note.

3 s

Hence

(17) Walker, *supra*.

(18) Gros's *Antiq.* vol. 1st.

(19) Smith's *Hist. of the County of Cork*, vol. 2. p. 43.—*Camden*.

(20) *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards*, p. 73.

Hence the modern Irish Bag-pipes, extend to the three Cliffs or principal Keys of F, C and G, and their concords are the 3d, 5th and 8th. Their component parts in the Irish language are, the *Bolg* or Bag; the *Bollogna Cuisli* or Bellows; the *Feadain* or Pipes; the *Dudog* or Chanter; the *Readan* or Reeds, which give the tone to the Pipes; and the *Anan* or Drones, so denominated from their resemblance to Horns, whence *Anan* sometimes in Irish signifies the Base in music.

By the improvement of double holes in the Chanter, a skilful performer is enabled to play two parts without the Drones; and the instrument under the hands of a master, is rendered worthy of being esteemed a musical instrument. Especially in those instruments in which a second Chanter is inserted, denominated a *Regulator*. This Regulator sounds a 5th below the Chanter, and has the same number of ventages, each of which is closed by a brass key like those of a German Flute. By means of these keys, which are struck by the wrists, the performer is better enabled to play in two or more parts, without the Drones; as the several chords of 3ds, 4ths, 5ths, 6ths, and 8ths, can be conveniently founded, and the instrument rendered sufficiently harmonious. But this last improvement is at present not universal, few being acquainted with it.

These are all the Irish wind instruments we have been able to discover, nor doth it appear they had any more. And even these, the ancient Bards during the close of the middle and commencement of the latter ages, either were not acquainted with, or did not consider them classic, and consequently rejected them from their concerts. The only bardic instruments in esteem on the arrival of the English, were the Rhythmic; which we shall now consider.

IRISH RYTHMICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Of this species of instruments Cambrensis mentions only two, which were in esteem among the Irish in his time, that is, the Drum and Harp; and Brompton speaks of no more. (21)

The *Drum* or *Tympanum*, called by the Irish *Tiompan*, is a very ancient instrument; the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with it in very remote periods, and all the Gothic nations used it as a musical instrument to beat time with; for which purpose it is still retained by the southern Europeans and most of the Asiatics.

Among

(21) Hibernia quidem tantum duobus utitur et delectatur instrumentis; Cytharâ scilicet et Tympanâ, supra, p. 739.
Hibernici in duobus musici generis instrumentis. Brompton.

Among the Irish it was a kind of Tabor, consisting of a skin strained over an iron hoop or ring, and beat with the fingers or sticks.

Besides the Tiompan, the Irish are said to have had two others, not mentioned by Cambrensis, that is the *Chrotal* and *Crotalin*.

The *Chrotal* seems not to have been a Bardic Instrument; but the Bell-Cymbal used by the Clergy, and denominated a Crotalum by the Latins; consisting of two metallic spheres, hollow, and containing some grains of metal to make them sound, being connected by a flexible shank (22). The Bell Crotalum was also used by the Roman Pagan Priests, where the Bells were hemispheres, its figure is on a stone dedicated to the mother of the Gods; and during the last century was in the palace of Cardinal Cæsius in Rome.

The *Crotalin* or *Crotha*, seems to be the Crepitaculum of the Romans, being a kind of rattle, made of wood, brass, gold or silver, of different forms. Several of these instruments of brass, were found in the park of Slane in 1781, consisting of two circular plates of brass, connected by a wire twisted in a wormlike manner round the shank, and jingled when the instrument was struck by the fingers. They were only used in accompanying a single voice, and not peculiar to the Irish, but common to most nations of Europe, and with the Crotalum and Tiompan, were probably introduced by the Christian Clergy.

Of the Irish Stringed Instruments, Cambrensis mentions only one, that is the *Harp*; but the native writers speak of another, which they denominate a *Cruit* or *Cruith*, without expressing either its form or power. The word in the present acceptance of the language, signifies either a Harp or Violin, and seems to be a general name for all Stringed Instruments. In former times, it probably was the same as the Welsh *Crwth*, and neglected on the introduction of the Harp.

The *Clarsech* or Harp, the principal musical instrument of the Hibernian Bards, does not appear to be of Irish origin, nor indigenous to any of the British islands. The Britons undoubtedly were not acquainted with it, during the residence of the Romans in their country; as on all their coins, on which musical instruments are represented, we see only the Roman Lyra, and not the British Teylin or Harp. Neither can the Welsh trace their Bards or Music, higher than the time of Cadwalador, who died in 688. (23) Both the Greeks and Romans were unacquainted with

(22) Crotala quoque dici sonoras spherulas, quæ quibusdam granis interpositis pro quantitate sui, et specie metalli sonant. Joh. Sarisber, l. 8. c. 10.

(23) Pennant's Tour through N. Wales.

with such an instrument, as it is not found on their Coins and Sculptures, till towards the decline of the Empire of the latter. The Greeks have it not; the Musical Instruments of the modern Greeks consist of the ancient Lyre, which they play with their fingers and a Bow; they have also the Guittar, but no Harp. (24)

Eucherius Bishop of Lyons, who flourished in the 5th century, informs us, that the Barbaric Cithara, was in the form of a Greek Delta, and like the Nablium. But the Nablium and Harp could not be the same; for, in (25) Ovid, they are different. As to its form resembling the Greek Delta, the Irish Harp still retains the form of that letter of the 6th century (26); and is rudely represented on the front of Adderbury Church Suffolk; but more accurately delineated on the elegant monument at Nieg in Scotland (27); which leaves not the least doubt of the Irish Harp being of the same form as those of the Saxons, and other Gothic nations. But as none of the Sculptures represent the strings, nor are they expressed by any writer of the middle ages, the power of this musical instrument still remains unknown. To obtain such information it will be necessary to enquire among the Sythic Tribes yet uncivilized, for its pristine state, where it lately has been discovered.

Monsieur Gmelin in his Travels through Western Tartary, says, that "they have a musical instrument, which the Russians call a *Goufli*. This instrument is made like a Harp. It has eighteen strings supported by a very low bridge, situated near the place where the strings are fixed. The pins round which they are turned, and by which they are tuned, are situated on the other side of the instrument. The first and second strings are 5ths to each other, the third is a semitone above the second; the fourth a third above the second, the fifth a third above the fourth, the sixth a semitone above the fifth, the seventh a tone above the sixth, and so of the others. The Musician seated on the ground, plays with the right hand the Bass, and with the other, the Treble." (28)

Here we have the real power and number of the strings of the ancient Harp, and probably in the very state it was introduced into Britain by some of the Gothic Tribes in the 5th century. The intire compass of the three Scales or Systems of Tones,

(24) Voyage Lit. de la Grèce 3 Edit. tom. 1. par Monsieur Guys. See also the figure of a Lyre, to be played on with a Bow, having the bridge curved like a Violin, in plate 109, vol. 1. of the Cabinet of the Hon. Sir. William Hamilton, Naples, 1766.

(25) "Disce etiam duplici genalia Nablia palma
"Plectere, conveniunt dulcibus illa modus." OVID,

(26) Bernard's Tatles.

(27) Cordner's Views, &c. No. 1.

(28) Voyage en Sibere, par Monf. Gmelin, tom. 1, p. 30.

Tones, will be a 4th above four octaves; the latitude of the modern Welsh Harp, and nearly that of our present Harpsichords, beginning in the lower E in the Bass, and ascending by 5ths, 3ds, and 2nds to G G in alt, with the chromatics of the fundamentals marked. The Scales are in E and B, and the Keys in which Tunes could be played, are in E^h and B^b. The instrument in this state was principally calculated for sustaining the voice; some few airs indeed might be played upon it, but it was inadequate to that lively symphonic music, cultivated by both the Irish Bards and Northern Scalds, in subsequent and more improved periods. (See this Harp, in the annexed plate taken from the Monument of Nieg.)

The Irish Bards, on receiving the Gothic or Scythic Harp, or as they denominated it in their native tongue *Oirpeam*, would naturally consider of the most proper means of adapting it to their vocal music, and render it capable of supporting the voice and performing their symphonic airs, for which in subsequent periods they became so celebrated. This they effected by filling up the 5ths and 3ds in each Scale, by which, and the assistance of the Church Music, they were enabled to complete their Scale, and increase the number of strings from 18 to 28; in which the original Chromatic Tones were retained, and the whole formed on the oral improved system. Under these improvements, though the instrument had increased in the number of its strings, it was somewhat reduced in capacity; for instead of beginning in the lower E in the Bass, it commenced in C a sixth above, and terminated in G an octave below; and in consequence became much more melodious, and capable of accompanying the voice. These improvements were most probably further enlarged on the introduction of the Latin Church Music by (30) Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, about the year 1134. From which period the Irish Poetry and Music are supposed to have (31) separated, and vocal and instrumental Music became distinct. Prior to this century it is probable Symphonic Music was not so much practised, and the instruments were principally used to sustain the voice by accompanying its accented parts. However they seem to have improved in a few years, far superior to their neighbours; and the Irish Harp of 28 strings became more capable of true Music than any other at that time in use.

A Harp of this species and 32 inches high, is represented in the plate, taken from one in Trinity College, Dublin, and supposed to have belonged to Brien Boromh. It is certainly much later than that Prince, and probably not Bardic; but of that species

3 T

(30) Inter S. Bernardi Opera, cap. 16.

(31) O'Connor's Dissertations.

species denominated *Cainthar* or *Cainthar Cruit*, that is, the finging Harp; being used by private persons to accompany the voice; especially by Ecclesiastics, who constantly carried one about with them, and to which they sang their Hymns, (32) and in all probability was derived from the Roman Nablium introduced from Italy. This instrument was nearly of the same figure as the Harp, but much smaller, containing only 12 strings, but in subsequent periods improved into the small Harp of 28 strings.

The Bardic Harp derived from the Gothic, was a large instrument with deep Bass Tones, generally used in concerts or large companies, and distinguished by the Irish by the name of *Cream-Cruitin* or *Creamtin Cruit*, that is, the noisy or festival Harp. This, from 28 strings, was in the latter ages augmented to 33, beginning in C in the Tenor, and extending to D in alt. Which seems to have been the last improvement in the Irish Harp, and in which state it still remains. A Harp of this kind 5 feet high, is (33) represented in the plate, and was made in 1726.

Although the Irish on the decline of the Bardic Order neglected the Harp, the Welsh, who are said to have, as well as the Erse, received the improved Harp from (34) Ireland, continued to augment the power of the instrument; and adopting the present system, have increased the number of strings to 97, extending their power from C in the Tenor, to double G in alt, divided into three rows; by which means the Diatonic and Chromatic Systems are preserved distinct. The right hand row contains the Bass of 36 strings: the (35) left the Treble of 26, and the middle the Semitones of 35.—It will not be necessary here to describe the Harp as improved by Nugent, an Irish Jesuit, mentioned by Lynch, as it never was used either in Ireland or in Britain; and as it has been fully dilated upon by Mr. Walker, (36) to whom Ireland is indebted for the first attempt, to trace the rise and progress of her Music.

In respect to the technical terms of the component (37) parts of the Harp in the Irish language, the wooden frame was denominated *Clair* or the Board; the strings *Tead* or *Teadach*; the arm or head in which the pins were placed, *Cionar*; the front

(32) Hinc accidit, ut Episcopi et Abbates, et sancti in Hiberniâ viri cytharas circumferre et in eis modulando piè delectari consueverint. Cambrens. supra.

(33) Walker's Memoirs of Irish Bards. p. 1—163.

(34) The Welsh received the Irish Harp under Gryffidh ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, in the reign of King Stephen, according to Caradoc and Powel, p. 191.

(35) Evans on the Welsh Harp, in Ree's Edit. of Chambers's Dictionary.

(36) Hist. Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 133.

(37) O'Clerigh.

front or stay, *Orfead*, and the pins on which the strings were tuned, *Urnaidhim Geangal*.—Under these relative denominations the Irish gave their Harp various names; as from its sounding board *Clairsech* or Musical Board; from its strings *Teadbloin*, whence the Welsh *Teylin*; from its arm *Cionar*, and from the trembling of the strings *Cruit*. Among which derivatives, the original name (38) *Oirpeam*, from the Gothic *Hearpa*, was nearly lost.

Concerning the materials of which the ancient Irish Harps were composed we have no just information; they most probably were of wood, and the strings either of thongs of leather called *Teadfeitheach*, or of brass wire denominated *Teadmiotalta*; but most generally the latter, according to (39) Cambrensis. The small Harps were generally strung with thongs and struck with the fingers. The larger had strings of brass wire, and were played on with a (40) plectrum, or crooked nail.

During the middle ages, the Harp appears to have been an universal instrument among the inhabitants of this Isle; and in consequence their musicians became expert performers, and superior to their brethren in Britain; and in a great measure, merited the high character given them by Cambrensis, who observes, that “the attention of these people to musical instruments is worthy of praise; in which their skill is beyond comparison, superior to that of any other nation that we see. For in these modulation is not slow and solemn, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are accustomed; but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet sweet and pleasing. It is extraordinary in such rapidity of the fingers, how the musical proportions are preserved, and the art every where unhurt, among the complicated modulations, and the multitude of intricate notes; so sweetly swift, so irregular in their composition, so disorderly in their concords, yet returning to unison and completing the melody. Whether the chords of the Diatefferon or Diapente be struck together, they always begin in Dulce and end in the same, that all may be perfect in completing the delightful sonorous melody. They commence and quit their modulations, with so much subtlety, and the tinkling of the small strings sport with so much freedom under the deep notes of the Bass; delight with so much delicacy, and sooth so softly, that the excellency of their art lies in concealing it.” (41)

This

(38) From *Oirpeam* comes the modern Irish *Oirpheada*: a Harper, and *Oirfid*, Melody.

(39) *Æris quoque magis utuntur chordis Hiberni, quam de corio factis.* Supra.

(40) Good's account of the Irish in Camden's *Britannia*.

(41) Cambrensis. Supra.

This eminence of the Irish Harpers is not exaggerated, nor is it a compliment paid to the nation, as some have imagined. Cambrensis was one of the most accomplished scholars of his time, and perfectly understood both the theory and practice of Music at that period cultivated in Britain, where the English Minstrels and Welsh Bards, principally applied their instruments in supporting the voice in plain song, and were in a great measure unacquainted with symphonic airs, to which indeed their languages were little adapted; on the contrary, the varied cadence of the Irish tongue, and the brilliant symphonies which naturally arose from it, must have greatly delighted and astonished an ear not accustomed thereto. Besides, it was not in the full choir nor crowded theatre, that the Irish musicians were trained in practice, but in the lonely desert, the deep valley and the rugged mountain, where, familiar with the sighing gale, softening echo and pealing thunder, they became acquainted with those natural graces, which give so much elegance to modern music; and the Forte, Piano, Termente, &c. constantly adorned their melodious performances. And in accompanying the vocal music with the Harp, they sometimes imitated the modulations of the voice, then quitting it, the Bass notes only sounded; again, whilst the voice moved slowly and gravely along, the treble strings delightfully tinkled above, as it were re-echoing the song from the surrounding objects. But it was principally in their symphonies that their instrumental music was exhibited; for they do not appear to have had pieces entirely composed for instruments as in the present age. In the harmonic part, the 4th and 5th seem to have been the principal chords, either single or struck together, and by which the octave was formed in the commencement and close of the Key; whilst the Discords were frequently introduced towards the (42) middle of the performance. As their system was founded on the Oral Scale, and the chromatic tones only such as naturally arose therefrom, they must have frequently been under the necessity of changing their Keys, and in consequence have recourse to the resolution of Discords. But of their disposition of these, and even the general management of their Concorde, we are ignorant. They seem in every part of their performances to have studied nature, and to have paid little regard to art; thereby forming a style strong and expressive, but wild and irregular. This wildness, however, though destitute of the truth of composition, was not destitute of the power of producing pleasing and extraordinary effects on the minds of the hearers.

About

(42) Cambrensis, *supra*.

About the commencement of the 14th century, several of the Irish Bards who resided within the English Pale, such as O'Carrol and Cruise, becoming acquainted with the modern improvements, tuned their Harps on the Diatonic System, and thereby rendered their instruments more pleasing to an ear accustomed to the Church and Italian Music, at that time (43) cultivated in Britain. But whether such improvements extended through the kingdom we are not informed. The Irish Harps every where however seem to have supported their credit, by agreeable and able performers, even to the (44) middle of the 16th century. From which period the whole Island becoming subject to the laws, and adopting the manners of the English, the Bardic Order became extinct.

Thus have we specified the nature and state of the ancient Irish Music both Vocal and Instrumental, as far as the materials we have been able to obtain have thrown light upon the subject. It would have been a pleasing circumstance if they had enabled us to have proceeded further, and given the reader specimens of the old Bardic Music of this Island; but we are sorry to say this is far from being the case, no such specimens now exist; as the whole for want of notation must have died with the Order. So far from communicating their musical compositions to those not initiated into their art, they took all possible care to conceal their principles, constantly instructing their pupils in private, and obliging them to commit their lessons to memory. (45)

The subjects on which they exerted their genius were various, embracing every species of Poetry and Music that could affect and agitate the human mind. These they distinguished under three species or genera, which they denominated *Adbbhantrireach*, or the three Modes of Music, that is, the *Goltraighi*, or Sorrowful Mode, the *Geanthraighe*, or Merry Mode, and the *Suantraighe*, or Sleepy Mode. The first comprehended all songs on plaintive, solemn and grave subjects, such as funeral lamentations, elegies, &c. The second those appertaining to festivity, war, the chase, dances, drinking songs, &c. And the third to love-ditties, and every kind of soft and effeminate pieces; and more especially to a kind of soft humming music, in

3 U

which

(43) Camum O'Karvill, qui etsi non fuerit chordalis primus inventor, omnium tamen prædecessorum & præcedentium ipse ac coterporaneorum Corrector, Doctor & Director extitit. Clynne apud. Walker's Bards, p. 122, and some observations on this passage of Clynne by the Author of these Antiquities.

(44) Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edit. vol. 3d. p. 662.

(45) "Adbbhantrireach, purt no Céol as a tuigtheart thri ni

"Geanthraighe, Goltraighi agus Suantraighe."

Lhuyd ex O'Clerigh.

which the Bards sung their nocturnal poems in the chambers of their Patrons, (46) or whilst they slept in the fields during military and hunting expeditions.

A number of songs and tunes on these subjects are still remaining among the people, which are, as we observed before, expressive and well adapted to the genius of the language; but none are of ancient date, nor can any of them be properly deemed Bardic. Of these *Luinnios*, or as the Scots call them, *Lunigs*, the most elegant have long been laid before the public, and therefore need not be mentioned here. (47)

From this examination of the Music of the old inhabitants of Ireland it appears, that their Bards cultivated that art in a style equal, if not superior to their neighbours. But even in this, if compared with the moderns as an Art, candour must acknowledge that they were nearly barbarians.—Though perhaps it is not just to compare one with the other, either the ancient with the modern music, or the modern with the ancient; as they were undoubtedly constructed on different principles. The object of the ancients was either to imitate, soothe or excite the passions. This the moderns pay little attention to; confined to the rules of art, their principal object is to diversify those rules, to produce a variety of compositions in order to gratify the fluctuating and often depraved taste of their age, in which the sublime and beautiful are no more found. The several arts and sciences cultivated by the human mind are constantly fluctuating, and appear in different periods to have an efflux and reflux, like the waves of the sea. From rude beginnings they gradually rise to a degree of perfection which nearly approaches the true sublime. But this stage is no sooner obtained, than they immediately decline, and by too great an exactness and minuteness in their composition become debilitated and effeminate; preserving neither the gay, wild, or irregular features of youth, nor the steady, regular and noble appearance of manhood, but covered over with the wrinkles of old age, hobble in a short time to the grave of oblivion. Such has constantly been the fate of the polite arts in general, and of Music in particular. Among the Irish, it probably had attained its utmost point of perfection in the time of Cambrensis, from which period it was on the decline; and though in subsequent ages it was reduced more to a regular art, it still continued to decrease in vigour, and at length expired with the Bardic Order.

(46) Walker's Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 71.

(47) Ibid.

OF THE ANCIENT IRISH DRESS.

A VERY ingenious (1) friend has favoured the world with an historical essay on this subject, wherein taste and knowledge are happily united. A critical examination of ancient writers has supplied some additional information, and enabled me to make some additions and correct some mistakes. Involved in obscurity, antiquarian topics are not easily exhausted, even by the most sedulous investigation, particularly Irish Antiquities, which, in an enlightened view, are but a new study.

Ware gives a very slight and imperfect account of the dress of the ancient Irish, and what he advances will be found erroneous; for the frize mantle reaching to the ankles was not their original, but more modern garb. Very little to be depended on has occurred to me of the ancient Irish dress, antecedent to the 8th century; an Irish Canon of that age (2) decrees, that every Clerk from the Door-keeper to the Priest, who shall be seen without his Tunic, and who does not cover the nakedness of his belly, shall be separated from the Church.

The clerical Tunic was at (3) first a long loose garment with sleeves, after it was shortened and came but to the knees; in either case it was a covering sufficiently decent, and therefore the Canon implies that the Irish ecclesiastics wore the secular dress which was the (4) Rheno, a lambskin or woollen mantle, covering the shoulders, and reaching only to the elbows, leaving the rest of the body naked; the dress of the Britons and Germans according to Cæsar and Tacitus. If any reliance is to be placed on the legendary life of St. Cadoc, cited by Ware, the Irish Coccula, in (5) the

(1) Joseph C. Walker, Esq. Author of the curious and valuable Memoirs of the Irish Bards, &c. &c.

(2) S. Patric. Opusc. a Ware, p. 42, 43. Sperling severely criticises Cluverius for saying the ancient Germans and Northerners were naked before, as he had no authority for such an assertion. Apud Nov. liter, Mar. Balt. 1698. p. 206. We see Cluverius was right.

(3) Ferrar. de re vestiariæ. p. 189. Casal. de rit. vet. p. 191.

(4) See Cæsar and Tacitus. Rhonones velamina sunt humerorum. Isidor. l. 29. c. 23. For the name, Salmas, in Tertull. de pallio, but more fully, Locen. Antiq. Sue-Goth. p. 107.

(5) Colgan. Act. Sanct. Hib. T. 1. p. 398.

the middle of the 6th century was a cloke with a fringed or shagged border at the neck; with an hood to cover the head, this (6) *Coccula* corrupted from *Cucullus* demonstrates. The Church was frequently obliged by severe laws, during the (7) middle ages to renew and enforce the canons respecting the dress of the Clergy, who seemed fond of indulging in laical garments. But not one of these, as far as I have examined, mention the deplorable excess to which the Irish and Anglo-Saxons carried indecency. Some farther explanation is necessary.

The Britons and Northern, from the remotest ages were accustomed to mark their skin with the (8) figures of animals either by way of ornament, or distinction. As it was their greatest pride to have these seen, they were consequently naked before, the breast and belly being particularly adorned. In (9) England the practice continued to the 11th century, and even in the 12th it had not gone into disuse; for William of Malmesbury (10) tells us, the Anglo-Saxons wore short garments, reaching only to the knees, their skins being punctured with ornamental figures. The Irish descended from the same (11) stock with the Anglo-Saxons, and connected by a constant friendly intercourse, must have acquired the same customs and manners, and the facts alleged evince the truth of this remark. So that it may safely be affirmed, the most ancient Irish dress, of which we have any certain account, was barely a skin mantle, which the (12) Welsh also used: this was afterwards changed for a woollen one, the rest of the body was entirely naked.

Doctor Macpherson properly (13) observes that *Sagum* or *Saic* was the name of the German skin mantle, and which it retained when it came to be made of manufactured wool. Strabo calls the Belgic Gauls, *Sagaferi*, or wearers of *Saga*. The word is originally Teutonic, and appears to be so in all its variations and compounds. The ancient *Sagum* was the same as the *Rheno*, with a (14) cowl or hood, covering

(6) See the 28th canon of the Council of Cloveshoo, A. D. 747, and 19th canon of Cealchythe, A. D. 785, apud Wilkins and Johnson.

(7) Conc. Metens. A. D. 888. Rhegin. c. 335. Burchard. l. 2. c. 208. In conc. Liptin. and Capit. 1. Carlom. Priests and Deacons are inhibited from using the *Saga* of laics. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz does the same. Epist. 105. Lindenbrog. Cod. 1373.

(8) Pelloutier, Hist. des Celtes. T. 1. p. 293. Pinkerton proves this to be a German custom, and it strengthens what has been advanced on our colonization. Hist. of Scotland. v. 1. p. 128.

(9) Pelloutier, *supra*.

(10) Angli vestibus ad medium genu expediti, picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti. De gest. reg. Anglor. p. 102.

(11) Antiquities of Ireland, *supra*.

(12) They called it *Ysgin* and *Ysgaen*. Bernard. Etym. Brit. in *Sagum*.

(13) Critical Diff. p. 150.

(14) Braun. de vestit. Heb. T. 2. p. 583. *Spinâ sagulum infibulare solitos*. Tacit. Germ.

covering the shoulders and fastened before with a thorn, skewer or broche. In the time of Strabo, about the Incarnation, the woollen manufacture was very extensive and well understood in Belgic Gaul. He (15) says, its wool was coarse and short, of this they wove Saga, which the Romans (16) called Lænæ. Those who lived more to the northward had flocks with very fine wool, which they covered with skins. It appears from Varro, that the fine woolled sheep of Tarentum and Attica were thus protected from the weather and dirt, so precious were their fleeces. The same excellent geographer goes on to inform us, so abundant were the Belgic flocks and herds that they were enabled to supply, not only Rome with Saga or mantles and salt provisions, but most other (17) parts of Italy. The Firbolgs or Belgic colonies introduced the woollen manufacture into this Isle, and with it the Sagum or mantle. Through every age, the Belgians kept a superiority in woollen fabrics. In the 9th century, the Frisians a part of them, made Saga but so short, that instead of covering the whole body, (the fashion then) they scarcely came to the thighs, so that Charlemagne found it necessary to have them enlarged, by an (18) express law. The Frison Saga the French called (19) mantles. In the reign of William the Conqueror, these Flemings came to (20) England, where they settled in various places, and improved the natives in the arts of weaving, fulling and dying. Being exceedingly (21) conversant in the working of wool and of trade, and fearless of danger, seeking gain by sea and land, there is strong presumption that numbers of them came to Ireland along with the Welch and other adventurers in the reign of Henry II. particularly as the maritime parts and best ports in the Isle were occupied by their countrymen. These notices may be added to the (22) Essay of the Earl of Charlemont; here the antiquity of the woollen manufacture is carried much higher than that memoir does.

3 x

The

(15) Lib. 4. p. 135, 136. Edit. Cafaub. The passage is difficult and has been misunderstood, but is clearly explained by Ferrar. sup. p. 117, 118.

(16) By adhering to the common punctuation, O'Brien makes Laena a Celtic word. Dict. in Corplein.

(17) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρει τῆς Ἰταλίας. Strab. sup.

(18) Pithoei at Karol. M. Capit. p. 76, 77.

(19) Mantel ot cher, que teissirent Frisons. Du Cange in Saga Frefonica.

(20) Lord Lyttleton's Hen. II. v. 2. p. 185, 186: Dublin Edit.

(21) Gens lanificiis, gens mercimoniis usitatissima, quocunque labore sine periculo terra marique lucrum quarere. Gir. Cambrens. p. 848.

(22) Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. V. I. p. 18.

The derivation of Sagum, from the German word *ferge* cannot be admitted on any ground of analogy or etymology. *Serge* is an (23) original Teutonic word, and so is *Sack*, the latter the Greeks and Romans changed into *Sagum*, and the (24) French into *Sagia*, *Saium* and *Saia*. Irish *Sayes* or *stuffs* are thus spoken of by an (25) Italian poet about 1357.

*“ Similimente passamo en Irlanda,
 “ La qual fra noi e degna di fama,
 “ Per le nobile Saie che ci manda.”*

i. e.

“ In like manner we pass into Ireland, which among us
 “ is worthy of renown, for the excellent stuffs she sends us.”

From these words Lord Charlemont infers, that Ireland at this time was famous for her woollen manufacture. But this conclusion results more from the warmth of patriotism, than any substantial evidence. For had this manufacture been as great, as is pretended, *Gilds*, as in England, would have been founded, the crown would have looked for a revenue, and the public records in England and Ireland would have preserved traces of it, and our *Sayes* would probably have been found in the Wardrobe account of Edward I. A.D. 1299, published by the London Society of Antiquaries. Three or four memorials of Irish cloth, in the records of as many centuries, may evince the existence, but never the celebrity of such a manufacture. Besides these negative proofs, which must always carry considerable weight, I shall now account for the introduction of our stuffs into Italy, a curious point on which the noble Earl has not touched.

A Statute made in Kilkenny, 3 Edward II. A.D. 1310, forbids Irish Lords to take exorbitant prizes, or heavy duties from merchants, for permission of disposing their commodities within their respective territories. This law was enacted in favour of the *Frescobald* society at Florence, who farmed the king's revenue throughout his dominions, and very dishonestly carried it off, for which Edward (26) applied to the Pope to secure their persons and property. These merchants imported Wines,
 Spices,

(23) Killian. Dict. Teut. in *Sargie*, hence the German *Serg*, and the Italian *Sargia*. Skinner in *Serge*.

(24) *Saio nihil aliud est quam Sago*; g in i mutato, quod in nostra lingua Gallica frequens est, in his vocabulis quæ ex Latinis sunt deflecta. Salmas in *Spartian*. p. 28.

(25) *Transactions*, supra. See the 8th statute of Edward III. A.D. 1376, which seems not favourable to the Italian poet.

(26) Prynne on the 4th Institute, p. 143. Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, 13th and 14th centuries.

Spices, and the Shells of (27) Cocoa-nuts for drinking cups, and took in return our peltry and fayes. The Statute before recited was passed to favour this traffic and by these means our woollens reached Italy; they were cheaper and broader than those made there, and from the last circumstance the poet calls them "Nobile faie." As for Ireland being "deгна di fama," merely for these Sayes, or to suppose the people polished and mercantile, without other concurrent proofs (and there are none) it must be esteemed only a poetic expression. A country over-run with wild animals, and whose skins were its only riches, could be but little advanced in civility and had but few objects of trade.

Our noble writer conceives there was a peculiar excellence in Irish stuffs to induce the Florentines, who made large quantities of them, to import them. In answer to this, it must be observed, that the words, "fra noi," cannot be strained to mean the Florentines exclusively; the Italians in general with whom they trafficked, are to be understood, and for whose supply the Florentine manufactures were inadequate. In a word, if it was not for the Lombard merchants, who accidentally opened a trade here, we never should have heard of Irish Sayes in Italy.

Giraldus Cambrensis is the next authentic evidence, of the dress of the Irish in the 12th century: he (28) tells us they did not manufacture linen or woollen, or exercise any mechanical art. Lynch, who composed a petulant and illiberal criticism on this respectable writer, perty (29) asks, if the Irish were so ignorant, how they came to have mantles with hoods, fallins, lances and axes? When Cambrensis viewed the domestication, the diet and dress of the Irish, and compared them with those of the Normans, who were elegantly (30) clad, delicately fed, and inhabiting large well built houses he could not avoid pronouncing the former barbarians, destitute of every art and science, that could adorn or render life comfortable, and as such they would have appeared to every civilized man. That he meant by the foregoing general expressions, the positive want of manufactures and mechanic arts can never be supposed, while his writings supply so many intimations to the contrary. Take his words as they lie before us, and by mercimonium must be understood, that neither their linens or woollens were objects to invite foreign commerce, and
this

(27) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 5. p. 40.

(28) Non lino, non lanificio, non aliqua mercimoniorum nec ulla mechanicarum artium specie vitam producant.
Page 739.

(29) Cambrens. Evers. p. 112.

(30) Vestibus ad invidiam culti, cibis delicati, domi ingentia ædificia. William of Malmsh. supra.

this is what he remarks of the (31) Welsh, his countrymen. Neither the exportation of Saga, the use of golden chains, or dyed garments decorated with gold, made Strabo say the Belgic Gauls were opulent and polished; no, he observes with all this finery there was something (32) barbarous, and uncommon in their nature, and that this was true of all the northern people. But the Editor of the Collectanea and Lynch affirm the Irish to have been civilized, because acquainted with weaving and metallurgy; if so, then the natives of Africa, America, of Tartary, and all the savages of the new and old world who practised, in some degree, these arts may be said to be refined: such exactly was the refinement of the Irish, in the 12th century.

The Irish, continues (33) Cambrensis, are but lightly clad in woollen garments, barbarously shaped, and for the most part black, because the sheep of the country are black. Lynch (34) here remarks, that our author contradicts himself, for he elsewhere says their trowsers were dyed, whereas black will receive no colour. But it is our Hypercritic who errs, for Cambrensis guardedly makes use of an adverb, by which he does not exclude white sheep, and by another (35) adverb, we learn the trowse was not invariably dyed.

Naturalists (36) tell us, and with great truth, that the colours of animals are often their greatest security from destruction: thus the smaller evade the larger insects, and thus hares assuming a white colour in winter when snow abounds, elude their sharp-sighted enemies. What nature thus kindly does for animals, reflection does for man. The Highlanders formerly exercised in perpetual rapine, the better to conceal themselves, gave to their clothes an heath-tincture. Thus sings Melville, one of their poets.

*Verum nunc plures fuscum magis æmula frondi
Quæque ericina adamant, ut ne lux florida vestis
Splendentis prodat, recubantes inque ericetis.*

The

(31) Non mercimoniis, non navigiis, non mechanicis artibus, &c. Cambriæ descrip. p. 887. Navigiis here justifies the explanation I have here given. Rymer Fœder. v. 3. p. 510.

(32) Το βαρβαρικόν και το κτηνικόν. Lib. 4.

(33) Laneis enim tenuiter utuntur & his omnibus ferme nigris, quia terra istius oves nigræ sunt. Sup. p. 738. Sue-thans, Scandiæ populus pellium decora nigredine famosus. Jornandes.

(34) Cambrens. Evers. p. 104.

(35) Braccis plerumque colore fucatis. p. 738.

(36) Darwin's Botanic Garden, Canto 1. p. 35. note Rubia. Melville apud Pennant's tour in Scotland.

The black clothing of the Irish was for the same purpose, being the (37) colour of their bogs, their constant retreats.

Cambrensis next proceeds to an accurate description of the Irish dress as it was at the arrival of the English: "They (38) usually wear moderate close capuchins or hooded mantles, covering the shoulders and coming down to the elbows, composed of various colours and stripes, for the most part sewed together, under which they have Fallins or Jackets, and Breeches and Stockings of one piece." This account though very intelligible has as yet been strangely misunderstood. The capuchin or mantle with its hood covered the head, shoulders and breast: the fallin or jacket enclosed the body, and was met by the trowsers, which clothed the thighs and legs and were tied above the hips. It is no less extraordinary than true, that this was the dress of the (39) Belgic Gauls in the age of Strabo. What this author describes seems to be the full dress of one of superior rank; the trowsers loose and folded, the jacket open before and the (40) sleeves reaching to the fingers, belonged only to the higher classes. This ancient Teutonic dress, Strutt has well expressed in one of his (41) plates. It would be surprizing indeed to find among the rude Irish any thing like a pileus or petasus, which the Greeks and Romans long wanted; the (42) Suevi according to Tacitus had only their Cirri, and the Irish their Coolens.

The Birrus, Burrus, and Biretum of the Greek and Roman (43) writers were obviously the original of our Birred, the Teutonic Barret. It was (44) a thick woollen covering for the head and shoulders: it was synonymous with amphimallus. Juvenal says:

Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.

3 Where

(37) Borlase's Irish Rebellion, p. 75.

(38) Caputis namque modicis assueti sunt & arctis, trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus, protensis, variisque colorum generibus panniculorumque plerumque consutis: sub quibus phalingis laneis quoque palliorum vice utuntur, seu braccis calligatis, seu calligis braccatis. Page 738. Brompton. Chron. p. 1075. Compare this with Sidon. Apollinaris's account of the Gothic dress. Epist. l. 4. ep. 20. & Savar. in loco.

(39) Σαγηνφοῦσι δὲ καὶ κομποφοῦσι, καὶ ἀναζυρίσι χρώνται περιπταμένωσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ χιτωνῶν ἔχουσιν χειρὶδος φοροῦσι μετὰ σιδαίων καὶ γλετῶν. Strab. l. 4.

(40) Χειρὶδωται—Ultra brachia & usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos. Aul. Gell. l. 7. c. 3.

(41) Chronicle, V. l. p. 340. It is also on the obelisk of Effie. Cordiner's ruins, No. 8.

(42) Madido torquentis cornua cirro. Juvenal.

(43) Suid. in Buppi. Meurs. Gloss. in Buppos. Spelman. Gloss. p. 81.

(44) Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 390—514 Turneb. Advers. l. 18. c. 16. l. 22. c. 30.

Where the old Scholiaſt interprets this Santonge cowl the Gallic Birrus; and Martial ſhews it was the ſame as the Bardocucullus, a ſhort travelling mantle.

*Gallia Santonico veſtit te bardocucullo,
Cercopithecorum panula nuper erat.*

In latter ages, the Irifh detached the hood from the mantle, and formed it into a conical cap, and gave it the name of Birred. Rational, ſober and authenticated inquiries will not ſatisfy our Antiquaries; this cap, common among the Anglo-Saxons, and to be ſeen in Strutt's work before quoted, our Antiquaries make an academic Cap, conferred on the Bards, when they took the degree of Doctors in poetry: a regulation made by Ollamh Fodhla ſeven or eight centuries before Chriſt. Such wild and contemptible fictions have long diſgraced our Antiquities, and loudly ſpeak the want of civility and letters, in thoſe who liſten to them. Academies were not incorporated as Univerſities before the 12th or 13th century; antecedent to that, degrees were (45) not conferred. In Ireland there was no Univerſity till 1320.

In the Synodic (46) ſtatutes of Sodor in the Iſle of Man, A. D. 1239, where the natives were in origin and language Irifh, the Clergyman is directed to receive as a mortuary, the—Caputium, Pileus or Capella—of the deceaſed. The firſt was the hooded mantle, the ſecond the bonnet, and the laſt a (47) ſkin or woollen mantle, ſhagged on both ſides, barely covering the ſhoulders. The firſt was a holy-day dreſs, the laſt a working garment. Here we perceive an innovation in the dreſs, uſed in the age of Cambrenſis, the hood was ſeparated from the mantle. This diſtinction is ſtill more viſible in the next century, when the Irifh Chieftains did homage to Richard II, the (48) relator informs us, “they laid aſide their Caps.” This Author ſays, it was in the reign of the elder James they exchanged the mantle for the long cloke, but it was earlier, as (49) Spenſer teſtifies.

There is a drawing in (50) Strutt, exhibiting Mac Murrough the Irifh King and his two attendants, iſſuing from a wood to meet Thomas Deſpencer Earl of Gloceſter, in 1399. The king is ſaid to have a light pink robe over his ſhoulders: the figure next to him is in white, with a red Cap, and the third in red, with a white Cap. We ſhould be extremely cautious in giving credit to ancient drawings and illuminations, when not ſupported by other authority. The preſent inſtance is a
proof.

(45) Doctor Brett in the Works of the learned, No. 1. p. 6. Lond. 1722. Robertſon's Charles V. Note 28.

(46) Wilkins, ſub Ann.

(47) Martin in Capella and Bigerra. Du Cange in voce.

(48) Davis's Relations, p. 22—117.

(49) View, p. 36—37.

(50) Regal and Eccl. Antiq. p. 17.

proof. The robe never was the national dress of the Irish, besides Froissart, a contemporary, tells us, "Ces (51) roys estoient bien parés d'affluer un mantel d'Irlande:" these kings thought themselves well apparelled in an Irish mantle, and Mac Murrough is named as one of these kings. Perhaps the drawing was made after king Richard had ordered, as Froissart informs us, linen breeches, and gowns of silk furred with (52) miniver and grey to be provided for them. But surely no one will call this the Irish dress, or produce it as such.

Cambrensis observes the Capuchin or hooded mantle had various colours, and patches of cloth, for the most part sewn together, that is, it was striped either in the loom or with the needle. This was the Gallic (53) Caracalla, a short garment composed of cloth, cut out into parts, and then joined by a taylor. From the words of Cambrensis, it is evident these Capuchins were not wove whole, but made up of different coloured cloth, a rude sort of foppery, which (54) Strabo found among their ancestors, the Belgic Gauls, and Tacitus among the Germans. Lynch, not understanding Cambrensis, tell us, instead of patches and shreds, he ought to have said the capuchin was (55) fringed. Cambrensis put down what he beheld, but his critic had not knowledge enough of our Antiquities, to perceive that the mantle was always rugged within, and that thrums or fringe always appeared round its edge, and that these were very different from the stripes of various coloured cloth, in which the ancient Irish delighted. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when ruffs were fashionable, the Irish imitated them. Instead of a (56) cape to their clokes, they had a vast quantity of thrums or yarn fringe, so that when the mantle was put up close to the nape of the neck, as they usually wore them, the fringe hung down near a foot long.

Having dismissed Cambrensis' capuchin, we come next to his Phalang, Falang or Fallin. It is plain from Cambrensis, Brompton and Camden this was (57) the jacket. Cluverius (58) calls it the doublet, or pourpoint, a habit covering the back, breast and arms. Lynch, with his usual ignorance, says it was the outside rug cloke: this it could not be, for Cambrensis describes it as worn under the hooded mantle. The name came with the manufacture into this Isle. Fallen is the Anglo-Saxon

(51) Tom. 4. p. 203.

(52) See these explained by Skinner. Etymol. in voc.

(53) Ferrar. de vest. p. 62.

(54) Εἰσθαλαί Βαρυταί καὶ χρυσεπαστός. Strab. l. 4. Purpura variant. Tacit. Germ. c. 17.

(55) Supra, p. 120.

(56) Cox's Hist. of Ireland. Appar. V. 1.

(57) Gloss. ad Brompton. Skinner in Falang.

(58) Summa vestis erat Hibernorum lana, supra, p. 120.

Saxon (59) Falding, and at first was a skin mantle like the Sagum, and after a coarse woollen (60) mantle, and equivalent with the amphi-mallus and birrus. When the Irish jacket got the name of Fallin.

The Braccæ, or trowsers were breeches and stockings of one piece. Doctor Macpherson sneeringly remarks, "that if we consult either Lexicographers, or the writers of notes critical and explanatory, we shall find some difficulty in settling the precise meaning of the word Bracca: but every Highlander knows the Bracca was an upper garment of divers colours." This writer as well as every other Antiquary is much indebted to those who take the trouble of writing notes, critical or explanatory, and his own Dissertations are some proof. Had he consulted those literary drudges, he would not have so egregiously blundered in making the Highland breacan, (the Roman (61) Lacerna) the same as the ancient Bracca, and that merely from the similitude of names. The bracca was the favourite dress of the (62) Northerners.

Pellibus & fuitis arcent mala frigora braccis. OVID.

With us it only covered the (63) thighs and legs, as among the Belgic Gauls, and from the words of Cambrensis, before given, we learn the Irish went as (64) commonly with only the mantle and trowsers, as with the jacket, the latter being probably the full dress. As the braccæ or trowsers were sometimes coloured (plerunque fucatæ) and sometimes not, it is infinitely more likely they were denominated, rather from their shape or figure than from their colour, which was accidental. Hence the name seems to be derived from the Teutonic Broeck, which was Latinized Bracca, and alluded to the rupture or division of the body at the thighs, and such is the opinion of the (65) best critics. In an Icelandic (66) chronicle of the year 1129, the Irish dress is said to consist of a Skirta, a shirt or vest, Broekur, the trowse, Mottul, the mantle, and Hott Irkan, an Irish Cap; the trowsers tied with thongs passing under the sole of the foot. If there could be any doubt of Cambrensis' veracity

(59) Skinner in voce, who derives it from Feald, plica, but it is rather from Felle, a skin.

(60) Tyrwhitt's Gloss. to Chaucer. Voc. Falding.

(61) Ferrar. sup. T. 2. p. 8. For the Scotch dress, see Pinkerton's Scotland. V. 2. p. 73. note.

(62) Totum braccatum corpus. Mel. l. 2. c. 1. Ita hodie Gothi & braccatum nomen pro femoralibus adhuc plane genuinum & vernaculum illis est. Boxhorn. hist. univ. l. 1.

(63) These braccæ were named *anaþupidr*. See Strab. supra. Pinkerton's Scotland, V. 1. p. 394. for the Gothic dress.

(64) Note supra 39. Such the conjunction, "Sen," implies.

(65) Casaub. in Seut. c. 82. Salmas. in Tertull. de pallio, c. 1. Braun. sup. p. 444. Sperling, supra.

(66) Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 248.

veracity, this account, much earlier than his, dissolves it, both perfectly agree in the ancient dress of the Irish. Though Skirta may mean a linen shirt, yet it was (67) generally any close under garment, for linen among the northerns was worn only by persons of (68) rank. In like manner, the Icelandic hott or hat was any covering for the head, nor is it possible to determine its form without the aid of drawings. The braccæ coming down to the ankles seem to require no lachets, the latter must have been inconvenient in walking: I therefore think a sort of sandal is to be understood.

Mr. Whitaker imagines the Irish (69) brog or brogue received its name from brac, party-coloured, being variegated like the rest of their dress. No authority is produced, so that the conjecture rests on the resemblance between brac, brag and brog. If in remote ages the brogue was made of the (70) dried skins of beasts, and even at present of half tanned leather, where shall we place or find on it that variety of colours Mr. Whitaker speaks of? Such assertions gravely and peremptorily made are throwing antiquities again into the dark regions of fable. The old Anglo-Saxon expression "clouted shoen," has been brought to countenance Mr. Whitaker's explanation, whereas it simply means "pieced, or as we say, cobbled shoes," not adorned with patches of various colours, which if ever fashionable in England, were never in this isle. And thus the address of the tanner to the king in the ballad of Edward IV. is to be understood,

"If ever thou comest to merry Tamworth,

"Neate's leather shall clout thy shoen."

That is, shall repair thy shoes, not variegate them with pieces of different colours, of which sort of finery the tanner could be supposed to know very little. Some have believed they saw the origin of brogue in the Irish brog, an habitation, as if a shoe was the residence of the foot; others in broc, a badger, of whose skins brogues were anciently made. Before I quit this subject, it has occurred to me, that Cambrensis's "braccæ caligatæ seu caligæ braccatæ" intimate something more than breeches and stockings of one piece: for caligæ in (71) ancient and modern writers include the wooden, leathern or skin sole protecting the foot, as well as the

3 Z

latchets.

(67) Skinner, in Shirt. Whitaker, sup. V. 1. p. 230.

(68) Pinkerton, supra.

(69) Hist. of Manchester, V. 1. p. 228. Brog, says Ihre, is from the Suio-Gothic Bro, Stratum aliquod.

(70) Harris's Ware, p. 178.

(71) Byn. de calc. vet. Nigron. de Calig. Lynch well observes, "Apud Hibernos, bracca indumentum est continuum non intercisum, foccos, tibialia & femoralia complectens, quo uno ductu quis pedibus, furis & femoribus induat. Sup. p. 122.

latchets that secured it round the ankles or instep: this interpretation perfectly reconciles Cambrensis with the Icelandic chronicle. If ever the Irish adopted the luxury of long pointed shoes, as (72) Lynch says they did, it must have been from the English (73) crackowes, about the middle of the 14th century. Or whether the whole foot was covered as at present in early ages is not easy to determine. An ancient Irish brogue was found in a turf bog in Aghaboe, twelve feet under the surface, resembling the North American mawgafan, all of one piece, fastened round the instep by a running string. Whether tanned or not could not be ascertained, the leather being coloured and hardened by the water of ferrugineous bog-ore which abounds there.

While the Irish preserved their native language and dress there was no hope of civilizing them, or bringing them to an acquiescence in English dominion or English laws. Aware of this, the British princes endeavoured early to reduce, by very penal laws, the Irish to a conformity with their other subjects, and for this purpose were enacted the celebrated (74) statute of Kilkenny, A. D. 1395, the 25 Henry VI. 5 Edward IV. and 28 Henry VIII. The last informs us what was the dress of the Irish in 1539, and which the Hiberno-English had adopted; and hence we find in the act a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Irish names for the different parts and materials of which it is composed.

It forbids any to be shaven or shorn above the ears, or to wear long locks called glibbs. At the arrival of the English the Irish wore long hair and beards, these the (75) Normans esteemed barbarous, as they "were (76) all gallant, with coats to the mid knee, head shorn, beard shaved, arms laden with bracelets, and face painted." Henry I. abolished long hair with locks and perukes. A very curious (77) inedited statute of the 24 Edward I. A. D. 1295, tells us that the English having degenerated in the present times clad themselves in garments like those of the Irish, having their

(72) *Calceis anteriore parte in tenuem conum protensis. sup. p. 125.* Mac Geoghagan's brogue is modern. *Hist. d' Irlande. T. 1. p. 460.* Spelman says, *Vidi juvenes Hibernicos quosdam ejusmodi calceis indutos, sed cuspides mediocriter extendetibus. Glos. Galloches.*

(73) *Camden's Remains, p. 200.*

(74) *Leland's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 320.*

(75) *Gens hæc barbara, quia non tantum barbaro vestium ritu, verum comis & barbis luxuriantibus juxta modernas novitates incultissima. Gir. Cambrens. p. 739.*

(76) *Camden's Remains, p. 198—199*

(77) *Anglici etiam quasi degeneres modernis temporibus, hibernicalibus se induunt vestimentis, & habentes capita femirafa, capillos a retro capitis nutritunt & alligant, & illos Culan vocant, Hibernicis tam habitu quam facie conformantes. Concordatum est, quod omnes Anglici in hac terra, saltem in capite quod plus visui se præsentat, mores & tonsuram gerant Anglicorum, nec amplius præsumant avertere comas in Colanum. Harris's M.SS. apud Dublin Society.*

their heads half shaven, their hair behind they let grow, tie up and call it Culan, being thus in dress and appearance perfectly Irish. It is therefore agreed, that no Englishman, at least so far as regards the head, shall any longer presume to throw back his hair into the coolen, but observe the custom and tonsure of the English. Mr. Harris's note on this act or ordinance of state is, that what is here called Culan, was afterwards called Glibb. These Cooleens as they are commonly pronounced, are (78) derived from Culam or Culan to push or thrust back, and are well explained by a passage in (79) Hector Boethius, where the Scottish Cooleen is a twisted lock of hair, the Glibb running from the front to the back of the head, the rest shaven. This resembled in some sort the crest of an helmet, and had no inelegant appearance. Spencer remarks how convenient this glibb was for a thief; by cutting it off he became unknown, as well as by bringing it over his face.

The act also prohibits letting hair grow on the upper lip, which is called a Crommeal. I am unable to analyze this word. A law of the 25th Henry VI. enacts, "that no maner man, that will be taken for an Englishman, shall have no beard above his mouth, that is to say, that he have no haire on his upper lippe, so that the said be once at least shaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the neather lippe." See likewise the 5th Edward IV. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the hair of the upper lip was never shaven unless by (80) priests. The Normans on the contrary, according to this author, let their hair grow and shaved their faces. Cambrensis, as an old Briton, did not relish this novelty. Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus say, the Gauls, Germans and Britons wore mustaches, so did the Anglo-Saxons and Irish, until, in the capriciousness of fashion, the Normans their masters forbade it. However laws operated no reformation in this isle, the Irish had beards to a late period. At a contested election for Fermanagh, A. D. 1613, Bryan Mac Mahon had his beard (81) pulled, but Captain Gower affirmed he only shook it.

The statute of Henry VIII. goes on to forbid any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel, neckerchor, mocket or linen cap to be dyed with saffron, or to have in a shirt or smock above seven standard yards of cloth. This act gave rise to various ridiculous notions: the Irish it was said, used this as it (82) strengthened the body and limbs.

This

(78) O'Brien in voce.

(79) *Nudis semper capitibus idque tonsis, relicta modo in fronte tortula capillorum ac cirro quodam, nisi ægritudo obstaret, Scoti incedebant.* Pag. II. The German Cirrus was proverbial. Tertull. de vel. virg.

(80) *Crines tonsi, barbis in superiori labio nunquam rasis, exceptis solis Presbyteris.* Rous, p. 106.

(81) Desider. Cur. Hib. p. 342.

(82) Threlkeld's Synopsis, voc. *Crocus Sativus*.

This was on the supposition that saffron was the tincturing substance, which from its scarcity and dearth it was not: there were abundance of other vegetables known (83) that gave a fine yellow colour. A Portuguese (84) physician asserted that saffron was selected as a vermifuge, and that the Irish as well as the Icelanders, wearing their shirts six months without changing them, used it as such. The faculty, whose decisions are always accepted as oracular, gave an extensive circulation to this idle tale, which was eagerly caught up by Moryson (85) and others; whereas had these learned writers consulted Vopiscus, they would have seen the cause of this predilection in favour of yellow, from the fondness of the Belgic Gauls for it. The Emperor Tetricus is represented as dressed after the manner of these people: he has his (86) mantle of imperial purple, his tunic or vest yellow, and he wore the trowse.

Bendel in the statute is the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic Bendelen, from *bende* a fwathe or bandage, and expressed very well the Irish word, *Bannlamh*, similar to it in sense and sound, and signifying a narrow cloth of a cubit or eighteen inches in breadth, though little at present is so wide. This is vulgarly called bandle or bendel linen. Two bandles and an half, or six yards and three quarters in length of this narrow linen make now a shirt for a common labourer. The act allows seven yards, which is equal to about three yards and an half of yard-wide linen, which is the allowance for the finest shirt. (87)

The Irish, says Moryson writing in 1588, had in their shirts twenty or thirty ells, folded in wrinkles and coloured with saffron. Campion makes the quantity thirty yards. We are not certain whether the first means English or Flemish ells, there being between them a difference of eighteen inches in each ell. If we take the thirty yards of the last, there were in an Irish shirt or smock, six bandles or fifteen yards of yard-wide linen. No one has attempted to explain how so much linen could

(83) *Sambucinis baccis ad lanas flavas inficiendas. Ramis, cortice & folijs populi arboris contusis, indusia ista crocea efficiunt.* Elean's Atlas. T. 6. p. 47. Other vegetables are enumerated by Rutty, *Nat. Hist. of Dublin*, V. 1.

(84) *Porro apud Hiberniam & Islandium scimus nos homines semiferos subunculis croco infectis vestiri, ut pediculos fugent, quas per sex menses & amplius gestare solent.* Amat. *Lus. cur. morb. cent. 7. p. 311.* This was written in 1554. See Salmas. *Exerc. Plin. p. 1063, 1064.*

(85) Moryson's *Travels*, p. 180. Spenser, p. 43. Lauremberg, apud Threlkeld sup.

(86) *Chlamyde coccinea, tunica galbana, braccis Gallis.* Vopisc. in Aurel. & Salmas. in loco, p. 372. Martin's *Western Islands for the Leni Croich*. p. 206.

(87) In 1542, it was proclaimed, that noblemen should have but twenty cubits or bandles of linen in their shirts; horsemen 18; footmen 16; garçons 12; and clowns ten: and that none of their shirts should be dyed with saffron, on pain of twenty shillings. Cox, I. p. 272.

could conveniently be disposed of. Cotemporary writers supply some hints. Camden (88) describing the appearance made by Shane O'Neil at the Court of Elizabeth, A. D. 1562, attended by his Galloglasses, says, "the latter bore battle-axes, their heads were bare with locks curled and hanging down, their shirts stained with saffron or human urine, and the sleeves of them large, their vests rather short and their cloaks flagg'd." There are some wretched translations of this excellent author, noticed by (89) Nicholson, which convey not only an imperfect idea of the original but sometimes entirely misrepresent it. Such is that of this passage which tells us of "yellow surplices, short coats, and thrum jackets," not a word of which is in Camden. Spenser is more explicit, the men, says he, wear shirts exceedingly large, stained with saffron, the sleeves wide and hanging to their knees. He speaks elsewhere of their thick-folded linen shirts, their long-sleeved smocks, and their half sleeved coats. This statute of Henry VIII. mentions the mantle and the cote and hood, and Baron Finglas, about the same time, calls it the Irish over-slip cote and hood. From hence it is evident that the ancient Fallin, which at first had no sleeves, now was half-sleeved and had an hood attached to it, and over all was thrown a long rugged lacerna or cloke, which is still in the act called a mantle though it had changed its length. A vest scarcely reaching the elbows was well calculated to display the barbarous finery of monstrous sleeves, which Spenser assures us hung down to the knees. Though the neck was bare, great folds of this yellow linen adorned the breast and belly. Spenser mentions strait and short trusses plaited thick in the skirts above the breeches. These I apprehend (for no notice has been taken of them) were great folds of linen surrounding the waist, and serving instead of a vest, of which he gives no account.

According to Spenser, the women wrapped great wreaths of linen round their heads, and brought their hair over them, which, as he remarks, was rather unsightly. Moryson resembles this head-dress to a Turkish turban, but that the latter is round at top, whereas the former is flat and broader in the sides. This is nearly the same as the (90) Ossian preassagh, or the great plaited stocking of enormous length worn about the head by the women of Breadalbane. Lynch declares it was a genuine (91)

4 A

German

(88) Cum securigero Galloglassorum satellitio, capitibus nudis, crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humana urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus & lacernis villosis. Hist. Eliz. p. 69.

(89) English Hist. Library, p. 87.

(90) Pennant's Tour in Scotland. And Lynch: Quid memorem vulgaria illa e lino pepla, quorum pluribus spiris mulieres capita obvolvebant, aut ricas aliquarum etiam feminarum operimenta. Sup. p. 112.

(91) Germano Germanarum mulierum more. Sup. p. 125. And Spenser, supra.

German custom. The same was the adorning their necks with chains and carknets, and their arms with bracelets.

The suppression of monasteries; and the reformation of religion in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had more powerful operation in reclaiming the Irish from barbarism and evil morals than the severest laws. The settlement of English colonists in different parts of the kingdom, their domestic and personal neatness; their active industry, supplying them with all the conveniencies and comforts of life, their rational religion, looking for happiness from their own exertions, instead of blindly reposing on the merits of imaginary Saints, all conspired to awaken in the minds of the natives, a lively sense of their own wretchedness, groaning beneath the oppression of temporal and spiritual tyranny, from which however they were not completely emancipated, but by the abolition of the Brehon law in the Sixth year of the elder James. Submitting to the laws of England, and appealing to their decisions at Assizes and Sessions, their intercourse with the English in those great assemblies became frequent and necessary; their fondness for their ancient customs and dress diminished, and the better sort laid aside their trowsers, their fallins and glibbs. Sir John Davis adds, that now they changed their mantles for clokes, but from Spenser's account of the mantle, which from covering the whole body must have been a cloke, this change began many years before the reign of James. After this fashions multiplied prodigiously, scarcely a ship or passenger that arrived here from (92) Chester but introduced a new one. Retentive of their old habits, the common country people still preserved the mantle, but Hurd being deputy-governor of Galway under Colonel Peter Stubber, issued an order to prohibit the wearing of it, which he enforced, (as was usual with all Cromwell's officers) with such severity, that it came to be every where laid aside. Lynch, who was probably in Galway at this time, gives a very (93) laughable account of the appearance of the people there, who, having nothing but the mantle to cover their upper parts, ran half naked about the town, shrouded in table cloths, pieces of tapestry, and rags of all colours and forms, so that they looked as if they had just escaped from Bedlam.

The Plate, which is curious, refers to the following transaction recorded in the *Pacata Hibernica*. On the 10th of April 1600, Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, and the Earl of Thomond accompanied the Earl of Ormond to a
parley

(92) *Vix enim vector ullus Cestria Dublinium transmittit, qui non sit ite satius, ut novum indumenti morem viris ac feminis gestandum referat.* Cambrens. Evers. p. 17.

(93) Cambrens. Evers. supra.

parley with Owny Mac Rory O'More, the chieftain of Leix. They met at a place somewhere near Castlecomer, on the borders of Ormond's and O'More's countries. The former was advised to bring his troop of two hundred horse and one hundred of the President's as a guard, and to prevent a surprize. This was rejected as unnecessary, for Ormond, who had frequently reduced the O'Mores to obedience, and obliged them to sue for peace, imagined his presence was sufficient to intimidate him from any treacherous design, and therefore he proceeded to the conference with only seventeen armed horsemen, with about as many more of lawyers, merchants and others upon hacknies, with only their swords, whose curiosity led them from Kilkenny, the place of meeting being but eight miles from that city.

The spot where both parties assembled, was an heath ground, of no great extent, surrounded by a low shrubby boggy wood. O'More was attended by a troop of choice pikemen, and behind him the wood closed to a narrow pass; beyond which he had five hundred men, the best appointed and furnished for war of any in the kingdom. These were concealed from view. The Earl of Ormond discoursed with O'More for more than an hour, and after desired to see James Archer a Jesuit, who had been an active instrument in fomenting rebellion, and in bringing afterwards the Spaniards to this Isle, on whose defeat he fled to Spain.

While Ormond was upbraiding Archer for his conduct, O'More's men were forming an ambuscade, creeping into the wood, and concealing themselves and arms: others were carelessly mixing, and talking with Ormond's party, and increasing in numbers formed a croud about them. The Earl of Thomond on looking round was alarmed, and requested O'More to order his men to retire. The President on turning his horse about, was instantly seized by O'More, but extricated by Lord Thomond who rid on the rebel. Melaghlin O'More laid hold on Ormond, who having a weak horse, was unable to disengage himself, which the President and Thomond did by the strength and goodness of theirs: the latter was wounded in the back by a pike, and the Irish threw their skeins and pikes in showers at the English party, all of whom must have been made prisoners as well as Ormond, had O'More communicated his designs to his forces; but he was afraid to intrust more than four Bonaughts and two Leinster men lest it should be discovered to Ormond, who had much interest and many spies. Ormond continued a prisoner with O'More, until the 12th of June following, when he was liberated on delivering hostages for the payment of £3000. On the 17th of the ensuing August O'More himself was slain in a skirmish in Leix, with the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.

There

There are two drawings of the taking of the Earl of Ormond, which belong to two distinct points of time. That in the *Pacata Hibernia* refers to the moment of meeting, when both parties were ranged opposite to each other and the parley beginning. The sketch in Trinity College Dublin, here engraved, shows the taking of the Earl after the conference: both fully confirm what has been here advanced on Irish dress in the preceding pages.

The Irish appear with the conical cap, the remains of their *caputium* or *capuchin*. That on O'More is blue. He has on the *fallin* and *trowse*, which are yellow, the ancient and favourite national colour: his *cloke* is short and rugged about his neck, the colour red. Archer, who stands near him, as an ecclesiastic has a broad-brimmed hat, and long black *cloke*, his *trowse* is pink, and what is very remarkable his *fallin* is yellow. This preservation of the costume in the sketch inclines me to think it was made by a person who was on the spot, perhaps by Sir George Carew himself, afterwards Earl of Totness, an accomplished nobleman. The Irish, says Moryson, delighted in simple light colours, as red and yellow.





Published by John Jones, No 90, Bride St. Dublin.

The taking of the EARL of ORMOND April 10. 1690.

See Precat. Hib. p. 24.

From an Original. Sketch belonging to Trinity College Dublin. Islands Hi. Vol. 2. p. 373.

ON THE MILITARY ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

ONE of the strongest proofs that can be alleged of the uncivilized state of the Irish to a late period, is our little knowledge of their military affairs. Antecedent to these collections, a connected account of this branch of our antiquities would scarcely fill two pages. The novelty of the subject, it is therefore hoped, will excuse the multiplicity of citations, which seem indispensably necessary to give authenticity to the detail.

The Celtes, the primæval inhabitants of the Isle, were a timid and unwarlike race. Few in number and dispersed, they wandered over the country without infringing the bounds, or exciting the jealousy of neighbours. As they increased, contentions arose, acts of violence succeeded, places of refuge were sought for, and offensive weapons and defensive armour became interesting objects.

In treating of Irish coins it has been shewn, that there are not any original Celtic names for metals; consequently the Celtic weapons and fortresses were similar to those of every rude people; any improvement in either is clearly derived from the Belgic and Northern colonists.

The Irish, says (1) Giraldus Cambrensis, in 1185, have no castles, their woods serve them for camps, and their marshes for ditches. Lhuyd, in his *Synonymes* for castellum, gives us Tonnach, Babhun, Daingean, all denoting earth-defences, surmounted with stakes. It was Turgeſius, according to Cambrensis, and his Oſtmen who formed that infinite (2) number of earthen forts, and castles made of lime and stone, similar to those existing in their (3) native country. By castles, Cambrensis means the Keep, the Citadel or highest part of these lofty forts. So that, according

4 B

to

(1) *Hibernicus enim populus castella non curant. Sylvis namque pro castris, paludibus utitur pro fossatis.* Page 748. He has a curious chapter — *Qualiter Hibernica gens sit expugnanda*, — p. 809, confirming what is here advanced. For the Welsh castles of the same period, see page 809.

(2) *Unde & fossata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque ac pleraque triplicia.* Gir. Cambrensis. p. 748.

(3) *Rudera talium caſtellarum a Scandinaviis extructa, quam plurima, tum in Scotia tum in Hibernia extant.* Johnstone ad Lodbrokar quida, p. 51.

to this author, the Irish had no fortresses, but sheltered themselves in woods and bogs. Perched aloft on these eminences, these Firbolgian forts resembled the ayries of ravenous birds, and were properly termed (4) "nids de tyrannie;" and in Cambrensis we find Turgesius recommending to the King of Meath, who asked him how he could rid his kingdom of these pestilent birds, the Ostmen, (5) destroy their nests every where, answered the Danish prince.

In relating these things no one will be so weak and prejudiced as to affirm, that Cambrensis had any design or motive to swerve from truth; he fairly represents what he saw, nor was he inattentive to tradition, or the literary documents of the natives, for he frequently refers to both. Walsb (6) complains, "that being enfranchised from the tyranny of Turgesius, we resigned ourselves to ease and unmasculine laziness; neglected navigation and fleets, which alone could secure us from fresh attacks; and were so far blinded as to slight all the Danish fortifications, making none in their stead, not even in the sea-ports." I cannot think therefore (7) with Mr. Harris, who inconsiderately argues for the Celtic original of these forts from their Irish appellation of Rath, which though it figuratively imports a fortress, primarily signified security. It is probable Rath is a Teutonic word, for we find in (8) Germany, Junker-raht, Immer-raht, Raht-Vorwald, and applied to artificial mounts and places of defence as in Ireland. "Rath," says (9) Hanmer, "whereof there are many in Ireland made by the Danes, if Bede had not said it was a Saxon word. I would have said it had been British." Tradition gives them to the Northerners, and calls them (10) Danes' Rathes. Ware rightly believes them to be the same as the Brigantian castles mentioned by Juvenal:

Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantium.

These raths, always on high ground, are of different (11) dimensions; some not measuring more than ten or fifteen yards in diameter; others contain eighteen or twenty English acres. They were always proportioned (12) to the property and power of the Toparch. Round these the clan resided, and within these they retreated from danger. Many of them are artificial, with subterraneous chambers and fally-ports.

(4) Hearne's Antiq. discourses, p. 191.

(5) Nidos eorum ubique destruendos, de castellis Norwagiensium hoc interpretantes. Gir. Camb. p. 749.

(6) Prospekt, p. 51.

(7) Ware's Antiq. p. 137.

(8) Rau, mon. vet. Germ. p. 118.

(9) Chronicle, p. 11.

(10) Warai disq. p. 123.

(11) Hist. County Down, p. 214.

(12) Petty's pol. anatomy, p. 105.



Published by John Jones, N.º 50. Bride Street Dublin.

ports. Spenser informs (13) us "it was a great use among the Irish to make assemblies upon a rath or hill, there to parley about matters and wrongs between township and township." From this circumstance of its being a place of judicature, as well as the residence of the chieftain, it obtained another name, that of (14) Lios, or the Court. Hence Lis and Leasa, the names of many places, as Lismore, Liffetown, Lisbigny, Lisanure, and Leas or Leix, a district in the Queen's County. These raths or hills were, according to the dialect of the foreign tribe that possessed them, named Motes. Mota, in the (15) Icelandic, is a place of meeting. The Mote of Monacoghlan, in the parish of Aghaboe, is an high artificial hill, surrounded by entrenchments, and defended by outworks, the residence of a toparch subordinate to Mac guil Phadruig, or Fitz Patrick, Prince of Ossory. These raths and motes were likewise named Talk-motes, Mute-hills, and Laws. The Mote of Monacoghlan is also by the common people called Larah, a word which does not appear in Lhuyd's or O'Brien's Dictionaries, but is seen in the Perth Agricultural Survey, page 528, where *Larach ty an ri*, is—the ruins of the King's house. Here, as in numberless other instances, we perceive the imperfection of the Irish language.

The (16) Dûn or Din was another sort of fort, and the same as the Welsh Dinas. This originally was an insulated rock, as is proved by the application of it to Dunamase, (17) Dundunolf, and others. (18) Smith and (19) O'Connor confound the Dûn with the next kind of Irish fortress called (20) Daingean, expressing a close, secure place. This the English styled a Bawn, from the Teutonic Bawen, to construct and secure with branches of trees: a defence practised in the (21) Homeric as well as in every other age, and by every people. In this way the first English adventurers secured their posts at (22) Ferns and Idrone. When King Dermot entered Ossory, he found that its prince, Donald, had (23) plashed a pace. Plashing, from the Franco-Gallic pleffer, is to intertwine, and equivalent to the Teutonic bawen;

fo

(13) View, p. 54—55.

(14) O'Brien in Lios. Baxter in Durovernum. Hammer, p. 11. Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 126. Leg. Wall, p. 577.

(15) Lodbrokar quida, p. 62—63.

(16) O'Brien in voce.

(17) Subrupe quadam marina quæ Dundunolf dicitur. Gir. Cambrens. p. 767.

(18) Hist. Waterford, p. 353.

(19) Diss. p. 81.

(20) O'Brien in voce.

(21)

Τετάρτην δὲ ἐκκολοπιεῖται

Οἷον ἡρπεῖ.

Hom. Il. 12.

Non te fossa patens, nec hispidarum

Objectu sudium coronat agger.

Sid. Apol. ad Narb.

(22) Gir. Cambrens. p. 764—774.

(23) Regan, apud Harris's Hibernica.

So that plashing a pace was to strengthen the top of the vallum with stakes, interlacing them with branches. Four hundred years after the Irish had the same practice. "Within (24) half a mile of the entrance of the Moiry, the English found that pace by which they were to pass, being naturally one of the most difficult passages in Ireland, fortified with good art and admirable industry; the enemy having raised from mountain to mountain, and from wood to wood, and bog to bog, long traverses, with huge and high flankers of great stones, mingled with turf, and flaked down on both sides with palisades wattled." Such seems to be the principal warlike constructions and defences of the Irish previous to the arrival of the English in 1169, when large and strong castles of lime and stone were erected. Let us next consider the military weapons of this period.

Keating (25) amuses us with the bardic tale of the Fine Eirion, or national militia; which in time of peace amounted to 9000 men, but was increased in time of war. It is not the least surprising part of this fabulous narration that they had colonels, captains, lieutenants, and serjeants: that no soldier was to be received who had not a poetical genius, and was well acquainted with the twelve books of poetry: that he was to be so swift and light of foot, as not to break a rotten stick by treading on it; that he was to leap over a tree as high as his forehead, and to stoop under one as low as his knees, and that he was to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance. "These (to use Shakespeare's phrase,) were like Pharoah's soldiers in the reechy painting." These wild and ridiculous tales served to amuse an ignorant, credulous, and barbarous age, and to the disgrace of common sense, find admirers and advocates in modern times. Where were the Fine Eirion, so famous under the Irish monarch Seadhna, seven centuries before our æra, to prevent the desolation of the island by perpetual internal commotions? Were there no remains of them in the 7th and 8th centuries, when the Ostmen over-ran the country, or in the 12th, when sixteen hundred Welshmen marched triumphant through every part, and laid the foundation of the British domination?

Antecedent to the coming of the Belgic colonies, and probably during some subsequent ages, stone hatchets and spears and arrows headed with flints or stones were only in use. In the age of Tacitus, the Fenns or Finns armed their (26) arrows with bones. It can never be conceived, how barbarous and ignorant soever the
Celts

(24) Moryson's hist.

(25) Hist. p. 133.

(26) Fennorum, sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri ossibus asperant. Tac. Germ. c. 46.

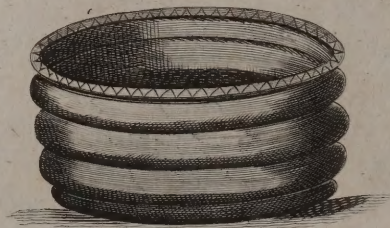


FIG. 5



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 7

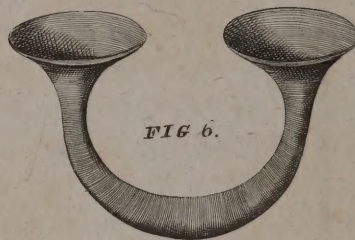


FIG. 6.



FIG. 2

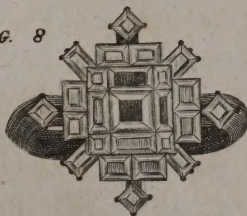


FIG. 8

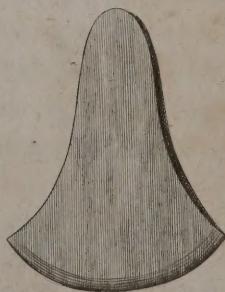


FIG. 1

Celts. Spear heads &c.

Published by John Jones N^o 90 Bride St. Dublin.

Celtes were, that they would have made their battle-axes and spear heads of stone, and this with great difficulty and labour in the execution, if they were acquainted with metals. The Britons had scythed chariots when Cæsar writ, so that the fabrication and use of these stone weapons must have been much earlier. It is (27) a groundless suggestion, that these stone implements might have served domestic rather than warlike purposes. We know that the North American tomihawk is frequently applied to cutting branches of trees to form wigwams, and is also used as a pipe for smoking, and yet it is a dangerous and principal military instrument of savages. In Normandy, stone hatchets were found placed under the skulls of skeletons, and near lay spears and lances made of bone, and arrow-heads of bone and stone. Surely these were military (28) weapons, and as such interred with this warrior.

The Celtes, from practice, having acquired a dexterity in using the stone hatchet, the Firbolgs made brass ones of the same shape. Doctor Lort (29) was struck with the exact similarity of both, and declares that the stone furnished the idea of the metal one. Many of these brazen Celts, as they are called, have a loop or ear on their sides, and annular mouldings, which strengthened the instrument, of these stone ones were not susceptible. These ears have puzzled antiquaries, who imagined they were for a thong, which facilitated the use of the weapon: but examining the sockets, which all these celts have, it is incredible to suppose these ears could be for any other purpose but that of a more easy carriage, when a number could be tied together without handles: the latter easily procured in a country almost a forest: or they might have been slung across their shoulder with their handles, or suspended at their sides as has (30) been conjectured. Most of these celts are from eight to twelve inches long, and of various thickneses: some resemble stone-hammers, others have obtuse points like a pick-axe, and many are shaped like a small hatchet, some have perforations for an helve, and others are smoothed, to be held in the hand: they are generally of close grit or granite.

When such instruments as brazen celts were fabricated, it was not difficult to make brazen swords, and they have been discovered, at different times, in great numbers in this isle. Solinus, in the third century, says the Irish polished the teeth of sea animals to adorn the hilts of their swords, and that their greatest glory was

4 C

in

(27) *Archæologia*, V. 2. p. 122.

(28) *Archæolog.* V. 2. Plott's Stafford, p. 396. Lewis's isle of Thanet, p. 19. A curious celt, pale green and well polished was found in Holstein. *Nov. lit. maris Balt.* Nov. 1700, p. 342.

(29) *Archæologia*, V. 5. p. 118.

(30) Whitaker's *Manchester*, V. 1. p. 15.

in the (31) brightness of their arms. He does not mention of what metal they were composed, it is probable it was of mixt brass, which did not easily rust, and was very resplendent. To believe the (32) brass swords found in the bog of Cullen in the county of Tipperary were of the same manufacture as the Carthaginian ones met with at Cannæ in Italy, is an antiquarian reverie, branching from the ridiculous Phœnician system of some authors. The composition of the metal may be the same, but the shape demonstrates them to belong to a very different people. It would be no easy matter to prove that the Cannæ swords were real Carthaginian ones, dropt there 2000 years ago; for historians say, but 1500 Africans and Spaniards fell, and more than 45,000 Romans. Is it not therefore a shameful perversion of common sense to say, that the Cannæ swords are more likely to be African than Roman: besides Cannæ was noted for being the theatre of other great battles in after ages, as well as for that between Hannibal and the Romans. Now it is well known (33) from ancient writers that it must be the celebrated Spanish swords with which Hannibal's army was furnished, and as well known that they were short.

Cantaber exiguis & longis Teutonius armis.

Whereas the Roman were, like those found in Ireland, long and (34) heavy, by which they penetrated the armour to the very body. The Carthaginians never visited the frozen regions of the North, and yet brazen swords, arrow-heads, spurs, copper daggers, golden sepulchral urns, a mund harp of gilt copper, and other metallic implements have been (35) discovered there.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who with his countrymen bore a part in the Irish wars towards the end of the twelfth century, is our best authority for the military weapons of the ancient Irish. He (36) tells us, they had long lances, two darts, broad axes, and threw stones with great quickness, force, and effect. Diodorus Siculus says, the (37) Gauls throw spears, which they call lances. The (38) Suevi used them. The lance was of various lengths, for throwing, or close engagement; but as the Irish were furnished with darts for throwing, their lances must have been long.

The

(31) *Præcipua viris gloria est in armorum nittela.* Solin. Edit. Salmas. p. 42.

(32) *Archæologia*, V. 3. p. 358.

(33) *Lipf. de milit. Roman.* l. 3.

(34) *Μαχαιραι εκεινων απο βαρης και καταφορας δια παντος σπλη χαρμενοι επι τα ιωματα.* Plutarch in *Æmil.*

(35) *Cypriæ ann. ecc. l. 1.* Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 47. *Phil. Transf.* for 1703, &c.

(36) *Lanceis longis & jaculis binis, securibus quoque amplis. Lapides quoque pugillares promptius & expeditius ad manum habent.* Gir. Camb. p. 738.

(37) *Προβαλλονται λογχαις, ας εκεινοι λαγκιαις καλεσι.* Lib. 6.

(38) *Suevii lanceis configunt.* Non. Mar. p. 799. *Ecl. Gothofredi.*

The jaculum or dart is translated javelin, and is described to be an half pike, five feet and an half long; the lance was sixteen or more. In the (39) Speculum Regale, an Icelandic tract written about the middle of the twelfth century, the young soldier is desired to prepare a staff, and to set up a mark against the butts, by which he may know how far, and with what degree of exactness he conveniently could throw his spear. Nor is it less pleasant, adds the author, than useful in an army, to throw stones with precision to a great distance from a sling, whether held in the hand or fixt to a staff; also to throw the war-stone with exactness. If such was the discipline of the Northerns with whom we had the closest intimacy, we may easily account for our adroitness at missile weapons.

The battle-axe was a weapon which, Cambrensis explicitly declares, we adopted from the Ostmen and Norwegians. The Irish and Britons, who fought with darts and lances, were (40) unable to resist the long swords and axes of the Anglo-Saxons. Richerius (41) the monk assures us, that neither the shield, the helmet, the coat of mail, nor any other armour could resist the Haches Danoises, the Danish hatchets; and Cambrensis informs us, an Irish soldier lopped off with the single blow of an axe the thigh of a man, though cased in well-tempered armour. It was one of the weapons with which the heroes in Valhalla were delighted. These axes in Gothic are called bards, and from the use of long ones, the Longobards derived their (42) name. An old writer, cited by Du Cange, informs us they threw these axes at the enemy.

Haches Danoises, pour lancier & ferir.

The (43) Irish did the same, for Meyler, one of the Welsh adventurers, had three axes stuck in his horse, and two in his shield. This practice is of Scythic origin:

Excussisse (44) citas vastum per inane bipennes.

This axe or hatchet they carry constantly about with them, says (45) Cambrensis, and use it as a walking staff, and he intimates that they used it treacherously. Bows, arrows, and swords were of later introduction. They did great execution with stones, to prevent which the English placed archers in the ranks with the heavy-armed

(39) Antiq. repertory, V. 3. p. 63.

(40) Securius & gladiis horribiliter corpora Britonum findebant. Langhorn. Chron. p. 7.

(41) Apud Bartholin. p. 583.

(42) Loccen. sup. p. 136.

(43) Gir. Camb. p. 785.

(44) Sidon. Apoll. ad Majorian. and also ep. 20. l. 4, where he mentions, lanceis uncatis, securibus que missilibus.

(45) De antiqua imo iniqua consuetudine, semper in manu quasi pro baculo securim bajulant.—Nunquam a securibus sit illa securitas, Gir. Cambrensis. p. 745—810. Livy, l. 31, for the German Gauls. Tacit. Germ.

armed infantry. In the age of Cambrensis the Irish had (46) bridles, but no stirrups, boots, nor spurs: even in 1584, when Stanihurst writ, they were (47) without spurs; as was (48) Mac Murrough in 1399.

The Irish cavalry were styled Hobillers: this name points out its northern origin. Hobiller is from the (49) Belgic Hobbelen, to skip or dance, and hence our small light horses were called Hobbies, and our cavalry Hobillers. From hobben the Irish made (50) obann and hobann. Spelman informs us, that Hobillers made part of the Irish army to the reign of Henry VIII. They were attended by horse-boys named (51) Daltins, who were the foster children of the clan, and the same as the French (52) Garciones, and the English Goujats. A practice taken from the Romans, whose (53) Calones attended the soldiery, were divided into corps, had standards and arms, and were frequently extremely useful. Spenser thus speaks of our Daltins, "the reason why such are permitted is the want of convenient inns for lodging of travellers on horse-back, and of hostlers to attend their horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth to be specially reformed; for out of the fry of these rake hell horse-boys, growing up in knavery and villany, are their Kern continually supplied and maintained."

This reason is not more applicable to Ireland than any other part of Europe in those uncivilized ages, for inns were not then common in any country. The Normans seem to have taken the idea from the Romans, who found them useful, as the Irish did from the English. In England one page, as he was called, was allowed to (54) two soldiers. By (55) constitutions proclaimed in Ireland, A.D. 1542, it was ordained "that no horseman shall keep more garçons or boys than horses, on pain of twenty shillings." And in 1596, the Lord Deputy and council direct but one boy to two soldiers, and that they be no charge on the country.

The Kerns or infantry do not seem to have received this appellation till some time after the arrival of the English. It is probably derived from Cearn or Kern, victorious, or the conquering band. Vaunting titles were common among the military corps of every nation. Spenser (56) draws a very disagreeable picture of those Kerns,

(46) *Sellis equitando non utuntur, non ocreis, non calcaribus, &c. supra.*

(47) *Ferreis scalis in equos minime ascendunt.* Stanihurst, p. 41.

(48) Warzi disq. p. 63.

(49) Skinner, in voce.

(50) O'Brien, in Obann.

(51) O'Brien, in Daltin.

(52) Grose's English Army, p. 262.

(53) *Ex ipsis caloniis, quos galearios vocant, idoneos ac speritos usu legebant. His vexilla dabunt.* Veget. l. 2. c. 2.

(54) Grose, supra.

(55) Cox, V. 1. p. 271—409. Macpherson's Crit. Diss. p. 131.

(56) View, p. 50.

Kerns, that “they be in the most barbarous and loathly condition of any people under heaven; they oppress all men; they spoil as well the subject as the enemy; they steal; are cruel and bloody swearers, ravishers and murderers of children: and yet they are valiant and hardy; great endurers of cold, labour, and hunger; active, swift, vigilant, very present in perils, and great scornors of death.”

It was customary for the great Irish Lords to have large bodies of Kerns with whom they plundered their neighbours and ravaged the country. This was a severe grievance, and was prohibited by an (57) ordonnance, A. D. 1331. In 1542 they roamed about committing every kind of excess. The government ordered, that every kern who had not a master to answer for him should be apprehended as a vagabond. At length they so far degenerated, through the turbulence and licentiousness of the times, from the military character, that a kern is defined by Skinner in 1671, prædo Hibernicus, an Irish robber. As the hobillers had their Daltins so the kerns had their Stocach or boys.

The other foot soldiers of the Irish were Galloglasses. These seem to have taken their name from two Irish words, gal—glac, the courageous band. Spenser thinks it comes from gal—ogla, the English fervitor; but he did not consider, that the Irish never would have given themselves, nor would their countrymen permit them to adopt a hated and degrading appellation. It was the opinion of my late learned friend Abraham Lionel Jenkins, M. D. who assisted Mr. Harris in his history of the County of Down, that the Galloglasses were originally Scots, hired by the Irish chiefs in their domestic wars; to whom they assigned portions of land: that they were (58) selected for their size, strength, and courage, and had always a larger portion of victuals than others: that Martin, in his account of the Western Islands, informs us every chief had an armour bearer, bold and watchful, who attended him night and day and was called Gallo-glach; that all the Mac Donnells are the descendants of these Galloglasses, and finally that Moryson always distinguishes them from their countrymen who invaded and conquered the Route and Glins in Ulster; the latter he calls Scots, the former Gallo-glasses. Thus far Dr. Jenkins. Shakespeare in Macbeth brings our soldiers from the Hebrides:

“The merciless Macdonel from the western isles,

“Of kerns and gallo-glasses is supplied.”

4 D

Mr. Pennant

(57) Quo nullus manuteneat nec ducat Kernes. Cox. p. 114.

(58) Stanihurst, p. 41.

Mr. Pennant (59) mentions the Scotch Earnaugh and Gilli-glassies, and Hamilton's letters (60) concerning the coast of Autruut throw some light on this subject.

Stanihurst's (61) account of the morals and conduct of the Gallo-glassies is similar to that of Spenser's of the Kerns. The Bonoughts were soldiers hired by one chief from another to increase his force, and they were supported by a cess called after their name.

To meet the English with any degree of equality in the field the Irish were obliged to make alterations in their ancient arms, and they soon became almost the same. The Hobillers had lances, bows, arrows, and swords. Few at first wore mail, but in Spenser's age the Irish horseman had his long hose, his riding shoes of costly cordovan, his hacqueton or doublet stuffed with wool or cotton, and his haubergeon or short coat of mail. Spenser remarks the ridiculous military foppery of the Irish, who wore the hacqueton under a shirt of mail; it was framed, says he, to be worn in war only, but to use it daily at home in towns and civil places is a rude habit and most uncomely, seeming like a player's (62) painted coat.

Imitating the custom of the English, our Hobillers seldom (63) rid on geldings; to be seen on a mare was highly disgraceful. In 1596 the Irish were accoutred exactly like the (64) English cavalry: the strong brags bit, the sliding reins, the shank pillion, the manner of mounting, the fashion of riding, the charging of the spear over the head, the form of the spear, and the whole horse-furniture were common among the Irish and introduced by the British colonists.

Spenser describes the Galloglass as dressed in a long shirt of mail down to the calf of his leg, with a broad axe in his hand: Stanihurst adds, that the axe was double edged and as sharp as a razor, and Ware informs us, he had a bacinet or iron helmet and a long sword. I do not recollect to have seen any military weapon which exactly answers the description of these Irish axes, and yet they were the usual arms of the (65) Ostmen. Camden (66) says, O'Neil's Galloglassies, in 1562, bore battle-axes, their heads were bare, with locks curled and hanging down, their shirts stained

(59) Tour in Scotland, V. 2. p. 227. Ed. Dublin. These were our Kerns and Galloglassies.

(60) Page 120. (61) Supra, p. 41—42.

(62) He forgot that it was a continuation of the Irish custom of constantly going armed, before noticed.

(63) *Canterius raro advehuntur. Nil turpius quam in equa sedere.* Stanihurst, p. 41. Grose, sup. V. 1. p. 108.

(64) Spenser, p. 49.

(65) *Bipennibus securibusque frequenter armati erant majores nostri, quæ Danis familiaria erant arma.* Barthol. p. 582.

(66) Hist. Eliz. p. 69.

stained with saffron or human urine, the sleeves of them large, their vests rather short, and their clokes shagged.

The Kerns were the light armed infantry and had swords and javelins to which a (67) thong was fastened; the latter they (68) twirled violently and sent with amazing force and execution; in the Roman times they exceeded the distance of an arrow by a fourth.

Quale quater jaculo spatium, ter arundine vincas. STATIUS.

The late ingenious Mr. Grose, I think, does not mention this practice in his curious work on ancient armour and weapons. It was (69) said to be invented by the Ætolians and adopted by the Romans. The thong or cord was tied round the dart, and that fastened to the fore fingers.

Amentum digitis tende prioribus,

Et totis jaculum dirige viribus. SENECA HYPOL.

When the air was (70) moist, or they received wet, the cords lost their elasticity. I should imagine this weapon was derived to us through the medium of our Firbolgian ancestors from the Romans, the former having probably felt its force and effect.

Our Skene is evidently (71) a contraction of the Anglo-Saxon Segene, a short sword. The skene was sometimes a foot and a half long, sometimes shorter, and was a Firbolgian instrument. When the Irish did homage to Richard II. they laid aside, as Davis tells us, their caps, skenes, and girdles. This also was (72) a German practice when a vassal approached his lord. In the poem of Robin Hood, in the ingenious Bishop of Dromore's Reliques, the Irish skene and Irish decapitation are mentioned.

Robin pull'd forth an Irish knife.

And nick'd Sir Guy in the face,

That he was ne'er on woman born

Could know whose head it was:

He

(67) Stanihurst, p. 42. The Daltins used the same. Waræi disq. p. 63.

(68) Isti Karni hastas amentatas toris viribusque adeo viriliter torquent, ut eas, instar circuli, inorbiculatum gyrum compelli existimares. Stanihurst, p. 42.

(69) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Heylch. in *μισαγκυλον*. Xenophon. Anab. l. 5.

(70) Quod humor amenta jaculorum moliverat. Liv. l. 37.

(71) Skinner, in Skene.

(72) Antequam vassallus accedat ad Dominum, gladium, cultellum & calcularia deponat. quia si in his se neglexerit reus est pœna. Jus feud. Sax. c. 32. f. 5.

He took Sir Guy's head by the hair,

And fluck it upon his bow's end,

"Thou hast been a traitor all thy life

"Which things must have an end."

Whether Robin Hood came to Ireland and became so expert at beheading and the use of the skene is doubtful, but it is certain, the Irish were as remarkable as their Fírbolgian ancestors for (73) decapitation. When our (74) Hobillers rid over and prostrated the enemy our Kerns immediately deprived them of their heads.

The Irish had (75) iron gauntlets, which were substitutes for the shield. Of their bows and arrows, Spenser says, "the Irish short bows and little quivers with short bearded arrows are very Scythian, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. These bows are not above three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hemp, slackly bent, and their arrows not above half an ell long, tipped with steel heads made like common broad arrow heads, but much more sharp and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakly. Their going to battle without armour on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thickness of their glibbs, the which they say will sometimes bear off a good stroke, is mere Scythian, as you may see in the images of the old Scythes and Scots, as set forth by Herodian and others. Besides their confused kind of march in heaps, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and manner of flight resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have been used by the Scythians; by which it might almost infallibly be gathered, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythians originally, though since intermingled with many other nations repairing and joining unto them."

William the Conqueror first encouraged archery, it soon became the strength of the British army. The ancient bow was six feet long, and the arrow two feet three inches, so that the small Irish bow and arrows which seem to me lately introduced by the Scots, were very inferior to the others. Spenser likewise acquaints us with the wretched state of the native, as well as of the degenerate English soldiery; and of their manner of training them to arms. "The Bards," says he, "easily trace an Irishman from the head of some great sept, he is then a gentleman and scorns to work, thinking that only fit for a peasant or churl. He then becomes either a horse-boy

(73) *Tas κεφαλὰς ἀφαίρουντες*. Diod. Sic. p. 306. The northern people continued the practice long. Barthol. l. i. c. 5.

(74) *Quos equestris turma in terram dejiciunt, capitibus statim securibus destitunt*. Gir. Cambrens. p. 763.

(75) Stanihurst, *supra*.

boy or stocach, inuring himself to his weapon and the gentlemanly trade of stealing. He then joins himself to three or four stragglers or kern like himself, when he commits some outrageous act he is then looked on as a man of courage, and soon after runs into open rebellion, and this is the course not only of Gentlemen's but Noblemen's sons." To these practices the statute of the year 1331 refers, when it prohibits the maintaining kerns or idlemen unless in the marches. Idlemen here are the Teutonic Edelman or noblemen. These gentlemen plunderers for the most part took refuge from public justice in bogs as their best security; and hence they are styled by Henry of Marleborough about 1420, Turbiculi, by (76) others Turbarii, and by the English Bogtrotters.

In obedience to Henry's commands, his great feudatories erected castles in their respective possessions. About 1180, Lacy castellated (77) Leinster and Meath. Giraldus Cambrensis and (78) Hanmer give the following list of castles constructed about this time.

Leighlin,	Kilkea,
Leix,	Tullow,
Clonard,	Carlow,
Killeen,	Athboy,
Sureport,	Norragh,
Delvin,	Derwath,
Fethard,	and
Castledermot,	Trim.

Cox (79) is more copious; he says, Ardfinnan, Nenagh, Lismore, Tyrbrack within two miles of Carrick, and Limerick were built by King John. Castledermot, Castlederwagh, Kilkea, and Leighlin by the Lacies. Ferns (80), Sligo (81), Tralee (82), Geashill (83), Adare, and Askeaton by the Fitzgeralds. The Grey Friars at Leighlin, Ballymarter, Ardtully, Lixnaw, and Macrome by the Carews. Philipstown and Maryborough by Bellingham. Athenry by Bermingham. Green Castle,

4 E

(76) Du Cange, in Turba.

(77) Tam Lageniam quam Mediam castellis egregie communivit. Gir. Camb. p. 797. Cox, p. 37.

(78) Chronicle, p. 160—161.

(79) Apparatus to his History of Ireland.

(80) And Wicklow, about 1176. Archdall's Peerage, V. i. p. 58.

(81) About 1248. Archdall, sup. p. 60. At this time he had the castles of Aldleck, Roscommon, and Randen. Ibid. Roscommon was built by Ufford, Lord Justice, A. D. 1268. Hanmer.

(82) About 1260. Archdall, sup. p. 61. He had Dungarvan castle at this time. Ibid.

(83) About 1307, the castle was razed. Archdall, supra.

Castle, Castle Carbery, Athassel, Carlingford, Castle Connel, Loughrea, and Portumny by the De Burgos. Kilkenny by Ranulph Earl of Chester. Castle of Kilkenny by the Earl of Ormond. Thomastown by Thomas Fitz Anthony. Ross and Carlow by Isabel, daughter of Strongbow. Carrickfergus by Sir Henry Sydney. Castle Island in Kerry by Geoffry de Marisco. Timoleague by Barret. Trim by William Peppard.

Sir John Davis (84) thinks it was very ill judged of the English to erect their castles in the plains, by which the Irish were driven to mountains and forests, where themselves and cattle were not affailable. This is a political reverie of our Knight; for had the English retired to mountains and woods, they must have left the plains to the Irish, being not numerous enough to expel the latter and at the same time defend their castles. Whereas by establishing a chain of garrisons round the Pale, and securing passes by slight forts, they enjoyed the richest lands in the kingdom, and received an advantage and profit to be procured in no other way. A record (85) of the 1 Edw. I. A.D. 1272, informs us, that these castles being at first built for the common safety against enemies and rebels, and whereof the king had the supreme custody, disposal, and command in time of war, a female, being incapable of feudal tenure, could not be entrusted with them. A petition of the Lords and Commons in the last cited author, dated the 16 Edw. III. A. D. 1342, states the decay of Ireland to proceed from the neglect and loss of its castles and forts: so that in every age they were considered as of the last importance to the English interest.

A licence from the crown was always a step previous to their erection: their number in Stephen's reign had, in England, created infinite trouble, nor was it ever forgotten. The same political jealousy was necessary here; our great Barons frequently resisted government, nor was it easy to subdue their great castles and large garrisons. However we cannot but smile at peaceful ecclesiastics suing for a licence (86) to crenellate and battlement their belfry: a specimen of clerical foppery, expressive of the sentiments of the age, but inconsistent with the rosary and tonsure. The wild and rude manner of life of the Irish made them look on castles and

(84) Historical Relations, p. 71.

(85) Prynn on the 4th Institute, p. 256.

(86) The Convent and Prior of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, apply to Edward III. through the Earl of Ulster, for this licence: Records of Christ Church, Dublin. The late Doctor Lyon, who transcribed these, has committed a slight error, probably from the original being nearly obliterated. It concludes, "teste I, Darcy, le-Osyn, justic. nostro." Le-Osyn should be Roger Outlaw, for he was Justiciary at that time.

and the confinement within them with abhorrence. Sir John de Courcy (87) constructed two in Mac Mahon's country : these awed the latter, he became complaisant, swore fidelity, and made Courcy his gossip. Courcy at length bestowed on him the castles and their appendent lands. Within a month Mac Mahon demolished both. Being asked the reason for doing so, he answered, that he did not promise to hold stones but land ; that it was contrary to his nature to live within cold walls whilst the woods were so nigh. It was late before the Irish, in imitation of the English, raised a few (88) Piles for the Captains of the country : " I dare boldly say," adds Davis, " that never any particular person from the conquest to the reign of James I. did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation, but such as have lately obtained estates according to the course of the law of England." The reason of this he explains in his report of Tanistry. Baron Finglas in 1534 affirmed it to be easy to secure Ireland from the number of forts and castles in it ; but Fynes Moryson and Spenser thought more were necessary, as the Irish had possessed themselves of many, and according to Stanishurst, even built some. The latter (89) tells us O'Neal, O'Carrol, and the other great Irish Princes had large strong castles, and well furnished with military stores, and (90) watchmen on their tops constantly calling out to alarm robbers.

The colonization of this isle by English settlers was a scheme steadily pursued for many centuries, and particularly by the (91) ministers of Queen Elizabeth, who obliged every grantee to construct a castle, fort, or bawn, for the protection of his family and tenants. On the escheating of Ulster by the flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in 1606, King James, treading in the steps of his predecessors, bound each undertaker to the performance of these (92) conditions. If he had 2000 acres he was, within two years, to build a strong castle with a court or bawn about it : if 1500 acres, he was to erect a stone or brick house, with a court or bawn ; if less, a bawn. Thus Lord Aubigny had 3000 acres, on these he made a strong castle of lime and stone five stories high, with four round towers for flankers : the body of the castle was fifty feet long, twenty-eight broad, and the roof slated. Adjoining it was a bawn of lime and stone, eighty feet square, with two flankers fifteen feet high. The castle stood on the meeting of five public highways, and kept the neighbouring

(87) Cox, p. 33.

(88) Davis, p. 75.

(89) *Hi igitur principes castella possident, munitione ac mole lapidum fortiter extructa.*

(90) This was the Scandinavian Gockman. Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 103. Macpherson's *Crit. Diss.* p. 279.

(91) See *Desiderat. Curios. Hib.* Vol. I. passim. Cox, V. i. p. 392.

(92) Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 125—140. Pynnar's *Survey*

bouring country in subjection. William Hamilton had 1000 acres, on these was a bawn of lime and stone eighty feet square, with two round towers for flankers, and two stories high vaulted, the wall itself being thirteen feet high. Within the bawn was an house of lime and stone thirty-six feet long and twenty feet broad. Many other curious particulars may be found in the author last quoted. In consequence of these resolutions of Government, there were constructed in the six escheated Northern counties in the space of a few years, one hundred and seven castles with bawns, nineteen castles without bawns, and forty-two bawns without castles or houses. The grantees of escheated land in every other part of the kingdom were bound to build in like manner. Borlase (93) speaking of Lord Strafford's administration observes that "multitudes of British were brought in and planted even in the most barbarous places: many corporate towns were erected and some walled towns built, and castles, stone houses, and villages daily made in every part in great abundance." By these means castles multiplied prodigiously, there were more in this island than perhaps on an equal surface in any other part of the world. I can reckon the remains of eighty in the Queen's County, and am sure there were more; so that there were probably not less than three or four thousand in the kingdom. By a minute survey of the half barony of Rathdown, in the County of Dublin, A. D. 1655, it appears there were in it twenty three castles in good preservation, besides the remains of others, and fortified houses. The most decisive evidence of the rude manners and bad policy of the times.

The reader has already anticipated me in remarking, that all our castles till the time of James I. were built by English masons and on English plans: to describe therefore their various parts after the curious and very circumstantial account already given by Mr. King of the English ones in the *Archæologia*, would be but to transcribe what he has written. Many of our Anglo-Hibernian castles, as they were in 1599, may be seen in the *Pacata Hibernia*; a work, when to be had complete, extremely valuable for its curious maps and engravings. These castles appear to have been large and well fortified, so as to bear a long siege and the assault of artillery, and most of these remain though in ruins. As for the battlemented houses and bawns, increasing civility has levelled most of them. The common small square castles, by far the most numerous, were the residence of English undertakers. All these are existing monuments of the infelicity of former ages, when cruel and domestic

(93) History of the Irish Rebellion.

.....
 mestic wars convulsed and desolated the island, leaving little (94) more than one million of wretched miserable beings to occupy this beautiful and fertile country. The final settlement of the kingdom at the Revolution, and the cherishing care of the illustrious House of Brunswic, gave us a regular government and just and equal laws; emancipated us from commercial restraints, and promoted a spirit of industry. Four millions of souls now gratefully acknowledge such signal blessings, and devoutly pray for a continuance of them. I shall describe two of our old castles, Dunamase and Ley.

Before I proceed to the account of Dunamase, it may not be improper to notice an opinion of an (95) ingenious writer, who thinks the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman forts and keeps had a sort of Celtic original, and that the first idea of them was brought from Media and the East. The error of confounding the Celtes with subsequent colonies, and thereby the antiquities of every European nation, has been largely insisted on in the course of this work; on the present occasion it is very apparent. The heppahs or forts of the (96) new discovered islanders are thus described: a small rock detached from the main, and sixty feet above the sea, is fenced round, the area at top will contain but five or six houses, and could be approached but by one narrow steep path. Another heppah is situated on a rocky promontory, two of its sides are washed by the sea, and are altogether inaccessible, the other sides are defended by strong palisades about ten feet high, tied together with withes, these were protected by ditches, twenty-four feet deep, the vallum is palisaded. The first is exactly the same as our Dûn Dunolf, Dûn Aengus, and others, and the latter is a compound of our Dun and Daingean. What was the medium of conveyance of these ideas from the old to the new world? In literary records or tradition it cannot be found, it must therefore exist solely in the warm imagination of writers. Such hypotheses deserve not the smallest attention, how respectable or celebrated soever the authors of them may be. The energies of the human mind called forth into action by particular circumstances will, in every part of the world, produce similar effects. Imitation may very well be allowed where the colonization of one country by another can with certainty be traced. Thus I have endeavoured to shew from the mode of life among the Celtes, that they probably adopted from their Firbolgian invaders, a warlike race, the use of insulated rocks

(94) Petty's Political Anatomy.

(95) Mr. King. *Archeologia*, V. 6. p. 294—373.

(96) Hawkesworth's Voyages, V. 2. p. 164. Edit. Dublin.

rocks as places of safety : but I am not so wedded to this or any other notion, as not instantly to relinquish it on better evidence and information.

Dunamase is situated in the Queen's County, about four miles east from Maryborough. In records in Bermingham tower, it is written Dunemaske ; by Sir John Davis, Duamase ; by Ware, Dunemaufe ; by Baron Finglas, Dunnemaufe. Its name, which imports—the fort of the plain—evinces it to have been considered and used as a place of strength in the earliest ages : the plain is what is called the Great Heath, nearly surrounding it. Ware (97) following Ptolemy, makes the Dunum of the latter Dunamase, but Camden more truly Downpatric : Ptolemy's information was but imperfect as to the interior of our island, but tolerably correct as to what respects the sea-coast. This rock is an elliptical conoid, and inaccessible on all sides, except to the East, which in its improved state was defended by the Barbican. On each side of the Barbican were ditches, and where they could not be continued for the rock, walls began ; to the S. and S. E. were two towers, the latter protecting the Barbican. From the Barbican you advance to the gate of the lower ballium ; it is seven feet wide, and the walls six thick, it had a parapet, crenelles, and embrasures. The lower ballium is three hundred and twelve feet from North to South, and one hundred and sixty from East to West. You then arrive at the gate of the upper ballium, which is placed in a tower, and from this begin the walls which divided the upper and lower ballium. The former is a plain of one hundred and eleven feet from East to West, and two hundred and two feet from North to South where broadest. On the highest part was the keep, and the apartments for the officers : there was a Sally-port and a prison.

Dermot, King of Leinster, marrying his daughter Eva to Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, made him his universal heir, whereby he possessed the province of Leinster, of which he was (98) after enfeoffed by Henry II. To his followers he assigned large portions, and particularly to Walter de Ridelford, that (99) part held by the Irish Chief, O'Morethie. This O'Morethie is also called O'Mordha, O'Morgha, O'Morchoe, O'Mordris, and lastly O'More, as may be seen in Camden's Annals and other writers. His property extended from Abbyelex, where it joined the Mac Guil Phadruigs, or Fitzpatricks, to Dunamase, and from that to (100) Mullagh-mast, and took in part of the barony of Slieumargah : his castle and residence were at Leix or Leas, called Abbyelex, from a Cistercian abbey founded there

A. D.

(97) Disquis, p. 51.

(98) Davis, p. 85—96.

(99) Regan, p. 41.

(100) Walsh, p. 113.



Geo. B. Jones Del.

Wm. Woodcut.

CASTLE OF DUNAMASE in the QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Published by John Jones, No 30, Bride Street, Dublin.

A. D. 1183, by one of the (1) O'More's. Here also Hugh Lacy constructed (2) a castle to curb this powerful sept in 1174. The Earl of Pembroke dying in 1176, left an only daughter, Isabel, who espoused William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, by whom she had five sons who succeeded to his great estates in Leinster. Upon the death of the last in 1245, his possessions gavelled among his sisters. She who married, says Finglas, William de Bruce, Lord of Brecknock, had the manor of Dunamase in Leix, with other lands in the county of Kildare. Dunamase was now erected into a lordship, barony, or manor, by Bruce. This was to be his residence; here he held a domestic or court-baron, and to it the (3) tenants resorted for suit and service. Accordingly Sir John Davis tells us, Dunamase was the principal house of Lord Mortimer in Leix. A castle was constructed on the rock, and a military tenantry formed round it, ready (4) to appear in arms for the defence of the realm, or the service of their Lord. Thus the castles of Dyfart, Pallis, Shean, Coolbanagher, Moret, Ballymanus, Kilmarter, Ballyknockin, and others, were held as of the castle of Dunamase. The same (5) tenure was universal in France. In 1264, Maurice Fitzgerald took Richard de Rupella the Lord Justice, Theobald le Butler, and John de Cogan prisoners, and committed them to the prisons in Leix and Donemus or Dunamase. (6)

A wide waste, the constant concomitant of baronial grandeur, lay about the castle, this is now called the Great Heath, and was common to the tenantry: the castle was crowded with armed men, the terror of the neighbourhood and the bulwark of the pale. Such was the state of Dunamase, when it was made a manor by Lord Brecknock, and so it remained for some years. While the British settlers preserved their original manners, the fickleness of the Irish, and their proneness to rebellion were effectually restrained; but when the pride of power without any of the

(1) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 586.

(2) Giral. Cambrens. supra. Hanmer, p. 161. Giraldus Cambrensis early recommended a chain of castles and forts, and his advice was followed. *Satius enim est, & longe satius paulatim primo locis idoneis castra conferere, & quasi peditum in eorundem constructionem procedere, quam intervallis distantia magnis variis passim locis multa construere; nec invicem sibi vel coherenti vel necessitatis articulis opitulanti.* Expugnat. c. 36.

(3) *Poterit etiam esse per se manerium capitale, & plures villas & plures hamletas quasi sub uno capite aut dominio.* Bracon's Definition of a manor. Lib. 4. Baronio de Castro nomen habet. Lindenbrog. Cod. LL. Antiq. p. 1363.

(4) *Debent universi liberi homines secundum suum fœdum & secundum tenementa sua arma habere, & illa semper prompta conservare, ad tuitionem regni & servicia dominorum suorum.* Lambarde, 135.

(5) *Et cum cunctis villis & fortibus quæ erant sub ejusdem castri dominio, in quibus erant viginti fortia.* Catell. Hist. Franc. Tom. 5.

(6) Hanmer, p. 201—202.

virtue that acquired it was only found among them; when corruptions had degraded the national character, they then were looked on with contempt by those who formerly dreaded them, and instead of masters became suitors for protection. "Taking advantage, (says Davis,) of those weak times, the Irish usurped those feignories that were in possession of the English, setting up a perpetual claim to those great lordships, they were employed by the English noblemen for protection, but seized them as their inheritance when opportunity offered. Thus about the end of Edward II.'s reign, Lyfagh O'More, the ancient proprietary of Leix, being intrusted by Lord Mortimer, who had married Lord Brecknock's only daughter, with the care and protection of his estates, assumed the name of O'More, took eight castles in one evening, destroyed Dunamase, and recovered the whole country. "De servo dominus, de subiecto princeps," saith Friar Clynn in his Annals.

In a (7) patent roll of the 17th of Edward II. we find O'More summoned as a powerful Irish chief to oppose Bruce and his Scots: here we see he held his land by feudal tenure, but he performed the conditions no longer than he was coerced by superior power. For in 1346, throwing off all subjection, Lord Walter Bermingham and the Earl of Kildare collected their forces, destroyed his country with fire and sword, and obliged him to acknowledge at Athy, that he held his manor (8) of Bellet, and his other lands in Leix, of Roger Mortimer, as of his manor of Donmaske (Dunamase). For two centuries very little is recorded of Dunamase, the English during this interval frequently losing this old fortress, and as often recovering it from the O'Mores. In the beginning of the Irish Rebellion, 1642, the insurgents secured Maryborough, Dunamase, Carlow, and other strong castles and holds. The Earl of Ormond arriving at Athy from Dublin, detached parties to the relief of these.

On the retreat of Ormond, the castles in the Queen's County submitted to General Preston, but were retaken by the King's forces. In 1646, Owen Roe O'Neil appeared, and committing every act of outrage and cruelty in the county, seized Dysart, (9) Maryborough, Cullenbrack, Sheehen or Shean, Bealaroyne or Ballyrone, Castlereban, &c. Dunamase, within a mile of Shean and Dysart castles, did not escape. In July 1650, Maryborough, Dunamase, and other places of strength surrendered to Colonels Hewson and Reynolds, and were dismantled, in which state they have continued to the present time. I shall now conclude with some remarks

on

(7) Pat. 17. Edw. 2. m. 7.

(8) Harris's Hibernica, p. 74.

(9) Desider. Cur. Hib p. 506.

 Walls Standing
 Remains of Walls
 Foundations



Inaccessibile Rock

LOWER

BARBACAN

Barbican Tower

Portcullis

BALLIUM

Inaccessibile Rock

Inaccessibile Rock

CASTLE

UPPER

BALLIUM

Inaccessibile Rock

CASTLE
 OF
 DUMAGUITS

on the Castle of Ley, near Portarlinton, one of the oldest structures made by the English in this kingdom, and of which the ground-plan is given in the plate.

About 1176, Henry II. bestowed on (10) Maurice Fitz Gerald the barony of Ophaley, in which Ley is situated; the latter was the patrimony of the O'Dempseys. From what has been before observed of Lacy and the other great captains who made conquests here, we may conclude that Fitz Gerald erected this castle with many more to protect the property he had acquired. The Irish beheld these with jealous eyes, and watched every opportunity to destroy them. In 1284, the O'Dempseys, O'Dunnes, and O'Carrols united and (11) surprized and burnt the castle of Ley: Verdun attempting to revenge the injury, and to recover the fortress, lost both his men and horses. However the Irish were soon dispossessed. In 1292, says Davis, (12) "John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald having, by contention with the Lord Vesci gotten a goodly inheritance in Kildare, grew to that height of imagination as he fell into a difference with divers great noblemen, among others with Richard De Burgo, the red Earl, whom he took prisoner and detained in his castle of Ley."

On the eve of the translation of St. Thomas a Becket, the Irish sept beforementioned burnt the town of Ley, and besieged the castle, but it was soon raised by John Fitz Thomas and Edmond Botiller. This was in 1307. In 1329, O'Dempsey took this castle, but the next year it was surrendered to Sir John Darcy. Sieges, surrenders, and recaptures compose the the uninteresting history of ancient fortresses in rude and turbulent ages.

The castle of Ley was erected on an hill or gently rising ground. Its length externally is sixty feet, its breadth forty-six. The walls are eight feet thick, and in some places ten. It was three stories high: the arches are all circular, except one pointed leading from the causeway into the bawn, probably a later construction. On the North ran the river Barrow, the other sides were secured by a ditch twenty-five feet broad, which could occasionally be filled with water from the river. Within the ditch was a wall, the foundations of which only remain. The approach to this fortress was by a causeway one hundred feet in length; the outer ballium from East to West is four hundred and ten feet, and from North to South, including the bawn, three hundred and fifty in diameter. The inner ballium from North to South is one hundred and forty, and from East to West one hundred and thirty feet. The

4 G.

bawn

(10) Lodge's Peerage, Vol. I. initio.

(11) Camden's Annals. Cox, p. 76.

(12) Relations, p. 65.

bawn was a common appendage to castles. Stanihurst (13) describes it as connected with castles, and being a large area surrounded with great ditches and ramparts; within these cattle were driven and protected from an enemy or thieves.

The following notices will give some idea of the art military in Ireland in later times. By (14) instructions sent to the Lord President and Council of Munster, places of defence are there distinguished into forts, castles, piles, or houses. By the first are meant old Danish forts, surrounded with earthen works, and in the centre a keep of lime and stone: these forts had often circular walls of masonry, as that at Maryborough. By (15) piles, I understand a collection of buildings, encompassed with a rampart impaled; these were our bawns: and by houses, are intended those for defence, with battlements and flankers. A good instance of such a house is at Morett, near Maryborough. These castles and defences while they encouraged murder and rapine, and made the natives ferocious and sanguinary, were sufficient to protect them before the introduction of artillery and fire-arms. It was in 1489, that the (16) latter were brought hither from Germany; six musquets being presented to the Earl of Kildare, which he gave to his guard. This, (17) according to Anderson, was thirty-two years before they were known in England.

Before this, it was enacted by the 5 Edward IV. that every Englishman and Irishman, who dwell together, and are between the ages of sixteen and sixty, shall have an English bow of his own length, and one fistmale, at the least, between the necks, with twelve shafts of the length of three quarters of the standard: yet not prohibiting gentlemen on horseback to ride, according to their disposition, with spear. The Constables to see a pair of butts provided in every town, and archery practised.

By the 10 Henry VII. every subject, according to his property, to have an English bow and sheaf of arrows, a jack and sallet, and butts to be in every town. No one to keep in his house or garrison ordnance or artillery, that is to say, great gun or hand gun, except only long bows, arrows, and bills. It is also enacted, that no soldier on his journey shall pay more than five farthings for one meal, and four for his servant; and for every horse a penny, with six sheaves and litter.

The following (18) stores were provided against the Spanish invasion of Ireland, A. D. 1601.

5 Last

(13) *Habent item areas magnis aggeribus & fossis circumdatas, dumetis & virgultis circumseptas. In his, quoties angustiiis urgentur, armenta detrudunt, uti melius a grassatorum incurfionibus & a tagacium furtis obvallata inclusione vindicentur.* De reb. Hib. p. 33.

(14) Desider. Cur. Hib. V. 2. p. 14.

(15) Skinner, in vocs.

(16) Harris's Hist. of Dublin, p. 283.

(17) Hist. of Commerce, V. 2. p. 53. Ed. Dublin.

(18) Sydney's state papers, p. 187

5 Last of corn powder,	500 Black Bills,
1 Last of serpentine powder,	200 Halberts,
6 Fodder of lead,	200 Turkey morrions,
33000 weight of Match,	200 Pick-axes,
400 Bows,	100 Sledging Bills,
1200 Arrows,	200 Reaping hooks,
50 Grofs of Strings,	1000 Coils of hand-rope,
300 Pikes,	200 weight of gun-rope,
500 Corslet complete, of best mould,	20 Dozen of spades and shovels.

It was not before 1584, that the Irish became (19) reconciled to the fire and explosion of guns. In the Irish wars of 1600, the army was badly furnished with ordnance, having seldom any whole cannon, but demy cannon, fakers, and light pieces. In 1616, every grantee (20) of escheated land was bound by tenure, if he had 500 acres, to have for his own defence and the king's service, three musquets and calivers, and three hand weapons, to furnish six men, and so in proportion to the number of acres. In some pamphlets published in London, A. D. 1642, concerning the Irish rebellion, we find halberts and double battle-axes were used, which latter was the Danish hatchet: also pertuifannes; a heavy sword, called a faulchion, with which an Irish soldier cut through Lord Inchiquin's armour; they had also their old weapons, skenes and hand-stones. In 1649, the (21) artillery taken by Jones, the Parliament's General, from the Earl of Ormond, were two whole cannon, three demy cannon, one long square gun, carrying a ball of twelve pounds, one faker drake, and one mortar piece, all of brass. In the last cited author we read of an army of 3700 cavalry and 14500 infantry with but four pieces of ordnance. It is remarkable, that in the demolition of our castles and forts, and in the improvement of their demesnes very few iron bullets have been discovered, but much round stones, with which they charged the cannon. Iron bullets were (22) unknown in England and France in 1514.

The (23) Earl of Essex, in 1599, tells Queen Elizabeth, that the Irish were unable to force any walled town, castle, or house of strength: but they used a military engine, called a (24) Sow, which was used at the siege of Sligo, A.D. 1689, and is thus

(19) Ferrearum fistularum jam tandem apud eos usus increbuit; etsi enim primis temporibus harum sonitum inflammare audebant. Stanishurst, p. 42.

(20) Desid. Cur. Hib. V. 2. p. 41.

(21) Borlase, p. 121.

(22) Anderson, sup. V. 2. p. 38.

(23) Cox, V. 1. p. 419.

(24) Harris's Life of King William.

thus described: "It was made hollow to contain men, and was composed of very strong whole timbers bound with iron hoops, and covered with two rows of hides, and as many of sheep skins, which rendered it proof against musket-ball or steel arrows. The back part was left open for the men to go in and out at pleasure, and in the front were doors to be opened, when the sow was forced under the wall; which was done with little labour, the engine being fixt on an iron axle-tree." "The Irish, (says (25) Stafford,) besieged Liskaghan castle in 1600, and placed an engine well known in this country, called a Sow, to the walls thereof, to sap the same: but the defendants did so well acquit themselves in a sally, that they tore the sow in pieces, made her cast her pigs, and flew twenty-seven of them dead in the place."

I had almost forgot to notice a very remarkable particular recorded (26) by Strada. He tells us, that Sir William Pelham, who had been Lord Justice of Ireland, led into the Low Countries, in 1586, fourteen hundred wild Irish, clad only below the navel and mounted on stilts, which they used in passing rivers: they were armed with bows and arrows. Having never met with this use of stilts among any other people, it seemed a matter of curiosity to notice it here.

The glorious Revolution, and the accession of the illustrious House of Brunswick to the throne, fixed the liberty of the British Isles on the firmest basis: and may our castles and forts peaceably moulder to decay, and the labours of the plough and active industry succeed military tyranny and the din of arms. Every lover of his King and of Ireland will join with me in the words of the Poet, and say;

*Dii tibi, quæcunque preceris,
Commoda dent.*

(25) Pacata Hib. p. 68.

(26) Hiberni meccc, e sylvestri omnes genere atque ferino, medio tantum corpore subter umbilicum velati, cætera nudi, grallis seu perticis, quarum usus in trajiciendis amnibus alti impositi, longè aliis superstabant, arcubus & sagittis minaces. Strad. Belg. l. 8. p. 404. Borlase's reduction, p. 132.

ON THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE ANTIEN T IRISH.

FROM the arrival of the English in the reign of Henry II. to the 5th of James I. (when the ancient Irish laws were (1) abolished) a period of above 400 years, the Brehon law prevailed in every part of Ireland, not immediately subject to the English power. It is not less singular than true, that nothing like a regular sketch of the political constitution and jurisprudence of the ancient Irish has been given by foreign or domestic writers during this long interval. And this seems the more extraordinary, as one obvious mean of weaning the Irish from their rude customs was, by detailing the Brehon laws, and shewing the evident superiority of those of the English in every instance. Nor were men of talents and knowledge wanting to execute such a work: for Henry II. a wise prince, sent (2) discreet and able lawyers with his son John to Ireland: such we must believe them to be, when selected by the celebrated Ranulph Glanville, who accompanied the young King to Milford haven. Whether it was considered as degrading to pay attention to the laws of a conquered people, cannot be determined, but the English would have acted wisely in doing so; for they would have soon found on enquiry, that the Irish Brehon laws, unless in their abuse, differed but little from those which they themselves practised. The Irish would have quickly perceived the abuses, and as gladly have corrected them, and the legislation of both people would have soon assimilated. What increases our regret at this silence of former ages, while it raises our curiosity is, that these Brehon laws are pronounced to be of so malignant a nature, that the adoption of them generated the most (3) deplorable depravity in the English colonists, and therefore their use was declared by (4) statute to be high treason.

However we are not left intirely ignorant of the subject: numerous hints are supplied by Spenser, by Campion, Davis, Stanihurst, and more recent authors, who present such materials, as if carefully collected, will give a tolerably correct

4 H

idea

(1) Davis's Reports, p. 78.

(2) Ipse secum duxit viros discretos & legis peritos. Davis's Hist. Rel. Cox, I. p. 51.

(3) Davis, sup.

(4) Stat. Kilkenny, 40 Edw. 2.

idea of our subject. It is much to be wished, that some author of legal education and habits had made the present attempt: but fortunately for them, lawyers can more profitably employ their time than in antiquarian investigations.

But it may here be asked, are not translations of the Brehon laws in MS. in Trinity College library, those in the Seabright and other collections indispensably necessary for the purposes of this Essay? To this I answer in the negative: but granting them to be so, the thing is impossible and for the following reasons.

1. John Lynch, titular archdeacon of Tuam, and a good Latin and Irish scholar, published (5) in 1662, a peevish and absurd critique on Giraldus Cambrensis's account of Ireland. The latter had said, the Irish were without laws. Lynch opposes this by reciting the titles of MS laws, communicated to him by (6) Duaid M'Firbis. They relate to thefts, mulcts, asyla, hunting, hawking, sepulture, &c. He (7) tells us that a Bishop, a Judge, and a Poet, in 686, reduced into a body the writings of lawyers and the scattered fragments of laws, and called them Brathaneimhadh, or sacred judgments, and he sums up their contents in these verses:

*Quod sit jus Cleri, Satrapæ, vatisque fabrique
Necnon agricolæ, liber iste docebit abunde.*

One law fairly given and fairly explained would have done him and the nation more honour, and carried more conviction of the legislative talents of the Irish than one hundred meagre titles. But this is not attempted.

2. O'Flaherty gave the world his Ogygia in 1684, a work of considerable learning. He mentions the (8) Brethe-nimhe, or celestial judgments, and says they were compiled, A. D. 647. He was the pupil of M'Firbis, said by (9) O'Connor to be the last great-Irish antiquary, and yet throughout his large production he gives us not one Brehon law or translation.

3. Lhuyd, in 1707, published his Archaeologia Britannica, wherein are excellent dictionaries of all the surviving dialects of the Celtic, and whom all must allow to be incomparably superior to any writer before or since his time, in a knowledge of that language, yet this man, thus accomplished, tells the Royal (10) Society; that he had procured in divers parts of Ireland about twenty or thirty MSS in parchment,

(5) Cambrens. everfus, pass.

(6) Ex his superiores titulos ante aliquot annos decerpfit Duaidus Viruifius. Camb. evers. p. 159.

(7) Camb. evers. p. 157.

(8) Ogyg. p. 218.

(9) Ogyg. vind. p. 8.

(10) Philosoph. trans. Baddam's abridg. V. 5. p. 492.

parchment, and though he consulted O'Flaherty, one of the chief Irish critics, and several others they could scarcely interpret one page.

Here the secret is revealed why Lynch and O'Flaherty declined the Brehon laws and their interpretation: they were inexplicable by them.

4. The Editor of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, in 1774 and 1782, gave two specimens of Brehon laws, the originals with translations. It may easily be imagined, that the thus dispelling an obscurity which had baffled the learning of Lynch, O'Flaherty, and Lhuyd must have excited the attention of antiquaries and every lover of Irish antiquities in particular. Mr. Charles O'Connor, author of dissertations on the history of Ireland, and confessedly the best Irish scholar then in the kingdom, was applied to for his sentiments on the occasion, which he candidly delivered in a letter to a friend, of which the following is an extract.

“ Our Irish jurisprudence was almost entirely confined to the Phœnian dialect, a dialect understood only by the Brehons, the law-advocates, and a few who had curiosity to study our law-language. I have seen and possessed some of our Phœnian tracts; and having an opportunity in my youth of conversing with some of the most learned Irish scholars in our island, they freely confessed to me, that *to them* both the *text* and *gloss* were equally unintelligible. The key for expounding both was so late as the reign of Charles I. possessed by the Mac Egans, who kept their law-school in Tipperary, and I dread that since that time it has been lost. But I have been informed, that Duaid M'Firbis, the ablest scholar instructed by these Mac Egans, was employed on a Law-Lexicon, in which, it has been said, he made a good progress. Possessed of such an expositor, our law-learning, the product of many ages, might be discovered, and become a valuable acquisition.”

Roused, as others were, by these literary phenomena, I consulted Doctor Young, the late Bishop of Clonfert, and the learned (11) translator of Ossian, who assured me that he had spent some time in endeavouring to decipher these laws, and that he found it impossible without a key. The same assurance I received from other good Irish scholars, whom I furnished with Lhuyd's, Macurtin's, O'Clery's, and O'Brien's dictionaries, and with some MS vocabularies in my possession. They tried first the direct interpretation of the words, and then resorted to etymology and analogy, but all in vain, fully establishing this truth, that without a glossary or key these laws were not to be explained. The translations therefore in the *Collectanea* must

(11) In the Transl. of the Royal Irish Acad. V. I.

must be esteemed a literary imposition on the public, until the author produces such glossary or key. The author himself seems to have felt some qualms on this head, when he (12) confesses that he does not pretend to determine when the Brehon laws were enacted, and in (13) another place he begins his preface to his second specimen with these words: "I presume not to think that I have given a proper translation of the laws of the ancient Irish." This is giving up the point, I have therefore passed over these fictitious translations as totally undeserving notice.

The next thing to be considered is, what has given rise to this obscurity, and wherein it consists. Perhaps the following opinion is not far from the truth. When the Normanno-Anglic princes acquired the dominion of Ireland, they established their laws co-extensively with their power, and with these laws, a jargon intelligible only to professors and their elevés. This answered the double purpose of making the science respectable and profitable: objects too interesting to native Irish lawyers not instantly to adopt. To prove what has been advanced, take the following instance of Norman Law-Latin. "*Albinus jectatus, namatus erat pro abrocamentis, primo in misericordia deinde infine, quanquam in abersherfing per munimenta.*" That is, the stranger being cited, was distrained for selling goods before they were brought to the public market, first in a small, then in a larger mulct, though he was freed from amerciaments by charters.

It is superfluous to remark, how unintelligible this language must be to the best classical scholar without the aid of Spelman's, Du Cange's, and Cowel's glossaries. Of such gibberish, I believe, the Brehon laws will be found to be composed, whenever a key to unlock them is discovered. I had therefore reason for saying, that at present it is impossible to derive any advantage from MS Brehon laws; whether a just idea of these and of the ancient political constitution of the Irish are here given without their aid, must depend on the authorities cited, and the judgment of the reader.

There is a striking analogy in the primitive political institutions of most nations. Plato, who traces the origin and progress of society, calls that superiority or power which enforces peace and order (14) *Dynasty*. This was first exercised by the heads

(12) Collect. V. i. p. 6. What this author has published on the Brehon laws, and other branches of Irish Antiquities are the waking dreams of a deranged intellect.

(13) Collect. V. 3. pref.

(14) *Δίκη μὴ πάντες τῇ ὡς τῶν χρηστῶν πολιτικῶν, ἀναγκαστικὴ καλεῖται.* Plat. de leg. l. 3.

heads of families, and was found even among the savage Cyclopes, who (15) dictated laws to their wives and children. As families multiplied tribes were formed, over whom, those who in their youth were distinguished for valour, as in their old age for wisdom, held rule, yet still subject to a supreme head, (16) the centre and union of the whole. These Dynasts were exalted into Kings, and vanity and ambition enlarged their number. In the Trojan times, there were ten kings in Theffaly, according to Homer: six in Peloponnesus, and almost every corner of Greece was parcelled out into regal districts. Though kings were believed to be descended from the (17) Gods, and educated by (18) them, yet respect was not carried so far, as not to require from them a conformity to laws and established customs. And hence Homer distinguishes the (19) sceptre, that is, the indefeasible right of regal succession from the laws, by which the prince was to conduct himself.

Tullius, the Roman king, † divided his land among his citizens, and classed them into tribes. The chief of every tribe was the Phylarcos, who chose an elevated spot, strong by nature and easily defensible, whither the tribe resorted for justice and protection.

Let us come nearer home and take a view of the political state of the Highlands of Scotland, inhabited by a people descended from the same stock, and speaking nearly the same language with the Irish. There the country was (20) divided into a number of districts or territories, called counties, and separated from each other by rivers, lakes, or mountains, and frequently by ideal and arbitrary boundaries. Each district was the residence of the Cean Cine, or head of the tribe, he was hereditary magistrate, judge, and general of the clan, and his surname was the name of the clan. Often the clan was so numerous that it branched out into different tribes, the head of each was the representative of the tribe, he was descended from the Cean Cine; his patronymic denominated the tribe of which he was chieftain: he had lands which were let to his relations and friends. It was a species of treason to appeal to any court from the decision of the Cean. Inveterate quarrels and deadly

41

feuds,

(15)

Θεμιστευσι δε ακαστος

Παιδων ηδ' αλλοχων.

Homer. Odysf. 9.

(16)

Ουκ αγαθον πολυκαιρανι' εις καιραν εστω,

Εις βασιλευς

Hom. Il. 2.

(17)

Διογενυς.

Homer. pass.

(18)

Διογενειδης.

Hom. Chara deum soboles, magnam Jovis incrementum. Virgil.

(19)

Σκεπτρον ηδε θεμιστας.

Hom. Il. 3.

† Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

(20) Home's hist. of the Rebellion in 1745, p. 7 & seq.

feuds, and rapine constantly harraffed the country ; and it is recorded that Lochiel, a Cameron, and Macintosh carried on war and law for 360 years. The Highlanders went always armed, and at the end of the last century it was not uncommon to see a clergyman go to church with his broad sword, and a servant attending him with his bow and quiver of arrows. Thus far Home, whose account is defective in many particulars, which a view of our ancient political state may, in some sort, supply.

Davis (21) is so full and clear in his account of the state of landed property among the old Irish, that it cannot be represented better than by giving his own words. " It is to be known, that the lands possessed by the mere Irish were divided into several territories or countries, and the inhabitants of every Irish country were divided into several septs or lineages. In every Irish territory there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Tanist, who was his successor apparent ; and of every Irish sept or lineage there was also a chief, who was called a Canfinny, (Cean Fine,) or caput cognationis.

All the possessions within these Irish territories ran always, either in course of Tanistry, or in course of Gavelkind. Every feignory or chiefry, with the portion of land which passed with it, went without partition to the Tanist ; who always came in by election or strong hand, and not by descent ; but all the inferior tenancies were partible between the males in Gavelkind. Yet the estate which the Lord had in the chiefry, or the inferior tenants had in Gavelkind, was not an estate of inheritance, but a temporary or transitory possession. For as the next heir of the Lord or Chieftain was not to inherit the chiefry, but the oldest and worthiest of the sept, who was often removed or expelled by another, who was more active and strong than he, so the lands of the nature of Gavelkind were not partible among the next heirs male of him who died seized, but among all the males of his sept, in this manner.

The Canfinny, or chief of a sept (who was commonly the most ancient of the sept) made all the partitions at his discretion ; and after the death of any tenant who had a competent portion of land, assembled all the sept, and having thrown all their possessions into hotchpot, made a new partition of all ; in which partition he did not assign to the son of him who died the portion which his father had, but he allotted to each of the sept, according to his seniority, the better or greater portion.

These

(21) Davis's Reports, p. 134, Ed. Dublin.

These portions or purparties, being so allotted and assigned, were possessed and enjoyed accordingly, until a new partition was made, which at the discretion or will of the Canfinny was to be made on the death of each inferior tenant. And so by reason of these frequent partitions and removals or translations of the tenants from one portion to another, all the possessions were uncertain; and the uncertainty of the possessions was the very cause that no civil habitations were erected, no inclosure or improvement was made in the lands in the Irish countries, where this custom of Gavelkind was in use, especially in Ulster, which seemed to be all one wilderness, before the new plantation made by the English undertakers there. Also by this Irish custom of Gavelkind, bastards had their portions with the legitimate; the wives were utterly excluded of dower, and the daughters were not inheritable, although their father had died without male issue."

These general notices of Mr. Home and Sir John Davis are extremely valuable so far as they go, but they are not sufficient to convey distinct ideas of the different ranks in society, of what are called the Brehon laws, or of the political constitution of the ancient Irish: these I shall now consider in their order.

The Irish monarchs derived themselves from Milesius, the great Hero of Irish fable, as the northern Kings did from Odin. The posterity of Milesius was the seed-plot out of which future sovereigns were (22) chosen. The (23) Swedes, says Adam of Bremen, have Kings descended from ancient ancestors. It was one of the laws of this people, that whatever native, especially the sons of kings, if such existed, was elected by universal suffrage, he should be king. And the author last cited gives instances of such regal races in the Amali of Ostrogothia, the Balthe of Westrogothia, and the posterity of St. Eric, who ruled Sweden for 200 years.

Whatever the power of the Ard-riagh, or supreme monarch was in idea, it was nothing in reality. Even with the appanage of Meath, it was not strong enough to curb the excesses of inferior princes, or command obedience; nor were they at any time secure of their lives or throne: of this perhaps no stronger proof will be required than what Walsh tells (25) us, that out of 200 monarchs, 170 died premature

(22) Regia materies apta ad recipiendam regiam formam suæ familiæ. O'Flah. p. 58. See a curious account of royal races in Pinkerton's Scotland. V. 1. p. 261.

(23) Populi Suenonum reges habent ex genere antiquos. Hist. ecc. c. 23.

(24) Quicumque ex indigenis, præcipue regum filiis, si tales superstites sunt, omnibus omnium, aut plurimumque suffragiis electus fuerit, illum pro rege habebunt. Apud Loccen. p. 38.

(25) Prospect, p. 2. Gir. Canbr. 3. c. 45. O'Flah. p. 420.

ture and violent deaths. The remote history of such a nation cannot be more interesting than that of the Choctaws or Hurons.

The (26) succession to the monarchy was elective, and they received investiture, sitting on the Liafail or stone of fate. O'Flaherty conjectures that this stone was sent (27) by Aid Finliath, in the year 850, to Kineth, King of the Scots, his father-in-law: that Edward I. in 1300, brought it to London: that it was disused for 300 years, when James I. the 25th day of July, 1603, was anointed King of Great Britain on it, as was his son in 1625, and his grandson the 23d of April, 1661. In Sweden (28) the election of a king was in an open plain near Upsal: there was a Morasteen, or large stone on which he was inaugurated, and smaller ones for inferior chiefs.

In an (29) Irish MS, called the book of rights, there is a detailed account of the subsidiary and tributary payments made by and to the Monarch. There might have been laws which defined the presents to be given to his subordinate kinglets, and the tributes which he was to receive from them; the latter were his principal revenue. I am inclined to think this was the case, as like every other particular in the antiquities of Ireland, it agrees with the (30) practice of the northern nations. Though Tacitus notices the presents of provisions made to chiefs, yet Dithmar, on the place, remarks, that these were not tributes, or for the support of an army, because each foldier warred at his own expence: nor were they any of the feudal incidents, because as yet the Germans had no fixed habitation, but removed annually. In return for these presents and for their bravery, the German princes bestowed horses, arms, chains, bracelets, and other military ornaments on their warriors.

At what time the feudal policy was introduced into Ireland, there are not documents to determine: from our northern colonization, it is probable it was little later here than on the continent. A learned writer (31) has proved, that feuds were adopted from the Romans some time between the age of Tacitus and the promulgation of the Salic law, in the 5th century. I once imagined there was an allusion to feuds in a (32) passage of Diodorus Siculus, but I found it did not apply.

The

(26) O'Flah. p. 57.

(27) Extat hodie in thorno regio Westmonasterii lapis super hoc monumento Hiberniæ reges investituræ suæ auspiciis olim solenniter recipiebant. O'Flah. p. 45.

(28) Loccen. p. 41. See more instances in these Antiquities before, p. 149.

(29) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 3.

(30) Tacit. Germ. c. 14—15.

(31) Clarke on Saxon coins, p. 437. Heineccius shews the origin of feuds may be found in Tacitus. Hist. jur. Germ. p. 5.

(32) Βασιλεὺς τὴ καὶ δυναστεὺς πολλὰς. Lib. 5, in Britain. The first I supposed monarchs, the other feudatories.

The person in dignity next to the monarch was (33) the Tanist. "On the death of a chief, (says Spenser,) the people assemble, and elect not the eldest son, or any child of the deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother, or next cousin, and so on, to be Tanist. He is then placed on a stone on a hill, where he swears to preserve all their customs, and deliver peaceably the succession to his Tanist; after which descending from the stone, he turns (34) round thrice forward and thrice backward." Spenser adds, that the reason for electing a Tanist of the description now given, was to have a person of age to defend the land of the sept, in case of the death of the chief. Tanistry was said to be in (35) use among many nations, particularly the Scottish two hundred years ago.

The Tanist was supported by (36) mensal lands, which were not subject to gavel. At first he was commander of the forces and chief judge. In the Saxon times, the Thanes had judicial power, but Alfred, in 896, deprived them of it. In this our kings followed his example, and conferred the administration of justice on certain families. The Tanist, while he possessed these powers, was extremely formidable to the reigning prince, and ever looking to sovereign sway, must have been constantly engaged in rebellious cabals. This custom of Tanistry (37) was argued at great length in the Court of King's Bench, in the 5th of James I. and from its unreasonableness, violence, and uncertainty declared a pernicious and void custom.

The next order were the provincial kings. Ireland, it is said, at the arrival of the English in 1169, was (38) divided into seven principalities; Desmond under the Macarthies; Thomond under the O'Briens; Hy Kinsellagh or Leinster under the line of Cahir; Uladh under the O'Dunlevies and Mac Mahons; south Hy Nial or Meath under the Clan Colmans or O'Melaghans; north Hy Nial under the O'Neils and O'Donnells; and Hy Brune with Hy Fiachra or Connaught under the O'Conor's. O'Conor and north Hy Nial were competitors for the rank of monarch. These provincial princes were monarchs in respect of their immediate feudatories, who were styled kings: thus there (39) were eighteen kings in the monarchy of Munster,

4 K

(33) For the etymology of this word, see O'Brien in voce. Macpherson's Crit. Diff. p. 165.

(34) View, p. 5. The Scots had this custom, Martin's West. islands. So had the Gauls, according to Athenæus; and Pliny; in adorando dextram adosculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in lævum fecisse Gallie religiosum credunt. Lib. 28. c. 2.

(35) Cambr. evers. p. 314. Macpherson's Crit. Diff. p. 166. Stewart on the English const. p. 153. Pinkerton's Scotl. V. 1. p. 261.

(36) Waræi disq. p. 42.

(37) Davis's reports, p. 78. ed. Dublin. Hume's essays, V. 1. p. 483.

(38) O'Conor's diss. p. 172.

(39) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 3. p. 375.

ster, and they were equally numerous in the other Provinces. These great feudatories possessed (40) every regal power and dominion: if they acknowledged a superior, it was on very extraordinary occasions, and not as allowing any jurisdiction over their subjects, or permitting any appeal from them. These were styled Riagh or Kings; their prerogatives and revenues will be seen in considering the fourth rank in the state. These were called Tiarna, Tosche, and Toiseach, and were feudatories to the Riagh. O'Flaherty says, the Toische or Tassius was the same as the Saxon Thane, but does not inform us whether he alludes to the greater or lesser Thanes: indeed scarcely a ray of light is thrown on this subject by any native historian or antiquary, so wretchedly defective and trifling are Irish MSS.

These Tiarnas were what Davis calls Canfinnies, the heads of Clans. We had our Clanbreasil, Clancarty, Clanaboy, Clancolman, Clansfergal, and many more. In most cases the Tiarna's surname was that of his clan. Macarthy was Riagh, or King of Desmond, his Tiarnas were (41) the Clans O'Keefe, O'Donoghue, O'Callaghan, O'Sullivan, &c. The last, by his tenure, was obliged

- I. To aid Macarthy with all his strength, and to be Marshal of his army.
- II. He was to pay for every arable plowland five Galloglasses or Kern, or six shillings and eight pence, or a beef for each, at the option of Macarthy.
- III. Macarthy was to receive half a crown for every ship that came to fish or trade in O'Sullivan's harbours.
- IV. O'Sullivan was to give Macarthy merchandize at the rate he purchased it.
- V. O'Sullivan was to entertain Macarthy and all his train two nights at Dunboy, and whenever he travelled that way.
- VI. O'Sullivan was to send horse-meat to Paillice for Macarthy's saddle-horses, and pay the groom three shillings and four pence out of every arable plow land.
- VII. O'Sullivan was to find hounds, grey-hounds, and spaniels for Macarthy, whenever he came, and one shilling and eight pence annually to his huntsman out of every plow land.

Before we examine this policy it will be necessary to mention, that a fifth rank was the socage and villenage tenants, and a sixth were slaves, both similarly circumstanced as persons of the same condition in England.

From this sketch of the different ranks in society among the ancient Irish and the nature of their tenures, the existence and practice of the feudal system is very evident,

(40) Duck de usu & auctor. jur. civ. p. 426.

(41) Smith's Kerry, p. 27.

dent. It may be said, that this was adopted after the arrival of the English: by no means; this policy is found in the Alamannic and Anglo-Saxon laws; it may be traced in Giraldus Cambrensis, and in the Canons made at Cashel, and was introduced by the foreign tribes who settled here at different times.

The first head of O'Sullivan's tenure proves that a military association and subordination universally prevailed, and these were the essentials of the feudal system. His being Marshal of Macarthy clearly evinces that (42) grand serjeantry was in use, as this is a tenure in capite, and could only be held from a sovereign prince. If this was a feudal tenure, as it must be allowed it was, then there can be no doubt but the other services were likewise feudal. Through all the subinfeudations there was the same (43) obligation of military duty. If any from neglect or perfidy disobeyed the call of their Lord, he compelled them by force of arms, or expelled them from their possessions, for they owed military service by their tenures. An ancient poet thus expresses the feudal call and penalty;

(44) *Ligno suspenditur alie*

Erecto clypeus; tunc præco regius omnes

Convocat a dominis feudalia jura tenentes.

At quicumque domi (domino nolente) relictus

Defuerit; foedo privari curia censet.

Every branch of our political institutions evince the principles of feudality and agree with the definition of a feud. Land was the property of the prince; King Malcolm, says the (45) *Regiam majestatem*, gave and distributed all his lands in the realm of Scotland among his men; and in (46) the Welsh laws, the king is declared Lord of the whole kingdom. Which lands, according to the definition, being the (47) property of the Prince he bestowed for military and certain services.

From

(42) *Serjantia major est servitium militare, quoquis prædia tenet a rege in capite.* Spelman, p. 511. We had our hereditary Falconers, Huntsmen, Hiltorians, Poets, &c.

(43) *Isti tyranni inferioris ordinis præfectos domitos et subiectos habent, qui cum magno evocatorum numero parati sunt, quoties eorum princeps signum sustollit, ad bellum exire.*—*Quod si officium vel indiligentia vel perfidia præteritum sit (nam ad tale militare obsequium in illius fundis, seu ditione viverent) solet princeps illos ad arma compellere vel eos a propriis sedibus exterminat.* Stanihurst, p. 32. This was the practice of the Franks. Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 26. l. 7. c. 42.

(44) Apud Spelman, p. 218.

(45) Reg. Maj. initio.

(46) Rex dominus est totius regni. Leg. Wall, p. 341.

(47) *Feudum est jus in prædio alieno, in perpetuum utendi, quod pro beneficio dominus dat ea lege, ut qui accepit sibi fidem & militæ munus, aliudve servitium exhibeat.* Cujac. l. 1.

From O'Sullivan's tenure, before given, every part of the feudal policy appears to have been realized in this island. The same policy existed from the Ard Riagh to the inferior toparch and ruler of a Rath.

Having taken a view of the ranks in society, and stated the bonds by which they were connected, I shall next briefly touch on the ancient Irish laws. And here we cannot but admire the ignorance or inattention of O'Flaherty, O'Conor, and our native antiquaries, who disgust us with their fables and etymologies, when topics, highly honourable to their country and within their reach, are shamefully passed over. An instance in point is the neglect of our old Canons.

That the Irish attained uncommon eminence in literature in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries will hereafter be made evident. The establishment of christianity, and the regulation of Church affairs gave rise to Councils and Canons. As our alphabet so the plan of our Canons were the same as the Anglo-Saxon, without however infringing in the smallest degree on the purity of our faith. In 750, Ecgbriht, Archbishop of York made (48) his Excerptions; these were a collection of Canons for the use of his diocese compiled from general and provincial councils, the Fathers and Popes. Among these the five following appear; no dishonourable specimen of our legislation at this early period. I give them in Mr. Johnson's translation, with a few illustrations.

I. "An Irish canon. Let him who lifts up his hand with spear or sword to strike any man near a Bishop, redeem his hand or lose it: but if he have wounded him too, let him shave his head and beard, and serve God. Yet first let him make satisfaction to the Bishop, and to the party whom he hurt. But if any man hurt a Clerk, or any of the ecclesiastical order, let him make satisfaction sevenfold, in proportion to the order he is of, and do penance according to the dignity thereof; or else let him walk off an exile from his country: for the Lord saith by his prophet, Touch not mine anointed."

To spare the life of a criminal and redeem it by a composition seem to have been the practice of every people in the infancy of society. Among the ancients, (49) lesser crimes were compounded for two sheep, the greater for oxen. The Irish called this composition *Eric*, the Anglo-Saxons *Were* and *Weregild*. Tacitus found this law among

(48) Wilkin's Concil. Johnson's Sax. Councils. sub. ann.

(49) *Ovibus duabus multabantur apud antiquos in minoribus criminibus; in majoribus autem bubus.* Fest. Tacit. Germ. c. 12.

among the Germans: it was in use in all the northern nations. In (50) Sweden, as with us, a cow was the standard for value; after Oras, when money was coined. Every the minutest public and private injury, has its Eric or Were in the Welsh laws, and the barbaric codes of Lindenberg.

The words of the Canon, "let him shave his head and beard and serve God," mean that he shall be degraded from his rank, and doomed to perpetual penance. Decalvation and cutting off the beard were the (51) most ignominious punishments.

II. "An Irish canon. Let restitution, fourfold, be made for the goods of the church stolen or plundered; double for the goods of common men."

This mulct is more (52) reasonable than that in Ethelbert's first canon, where God's fee and church's fee are twelve fold.

III. "An Irish canon. If one have stolen goods from the church, let the lot be cast, whether the thief's hand be cut off, or he thrown into goal, there long to fast and mourn. And let him restore what he had taken, or be sent into banishment and make double restitution. But if he stay in his own country, let him make fourfold restitution, or do perpetual penance."

This canon, says Johnson, may justly be esteemed to have come from Ireland, for it favours of the barbarity of that people. This however is shameful partiality; for in the same note he describes a punishment among the Anglo-Saxons, and adds the practice of pulling the skin from the whole head, was so familiar among our ancestors, that they had a single word or term of art whereby to express it: viz. "Hettian." This was exactly the same as the scalping of the Indians. The continental nations (53) interrogated the criminal while whipping him: he was then decalvated; his right hand was amputated; and lastly, the skin of his head torn off: these punishments were inflicted for different crimes, and for different degrees of guilt. Both the Irish and Saxon inflictions are cruel in the extreme; but surely Hettian, which we did not practise, favours most of barbarism, as it protracted longer the misery of the unfortunate culprit.

IV. "An Irish canon. They who fly to the church for refuge ought not to be forced from thence; but their Lords may persuade them to be gone, by promising

4 L

(50) Vacca bimula aut trimula loco pecuniae erat, aqua aestimatio ceteris mercibus plurius aut minoris pretii animatis accessit. Stiernhook de jure Suenon. p. 142.

(51) Du Cange in Decalvatio, Capillus, & Barba.

(52) Johnson, sup.

(53) Primum verberibus interrogatus, deinde turpiter decalvatus, post hæc dextra amputata, &c. Du Cange in Decalvatio & Crines.

“sing their intercession. But if the Lord inflict any punishment on them, when they so go out, let him be deemed an enemy and excommunicated. If any man do hurt a man under church sanctuary, or under seal of sanctity, let him make seven-fold satisfaction and restitution, and likewise continue seven years in hard penance; otherwise he is to be excommunicated from the whole catholic church.”

This canon is cited as of the Council of Eliberis, but Johnson shews (54) the improbability of this; for both this and the supposed Eliberitan canons in Burchard are Irish.

V. “An Irish canon. Let him who kills a man within the verge of a monastery get him gone into banishment with damnation: or else quitting his arms and shaving his head, let him serve God the rest of his life. Yet first let him make satisfaction to God and the kindred of the party murdered.”

As the German youth received military inauguration by the delivery of a shield and (55) spear, so the greatest disgrace that could befall them, was the being (56) deprived of these arms.

An author, whose intellectual vision was not then obscured by oriental whimsies, very justly observes, “that in (57) the various maxims of the ancient Irish, a perfect uniformity of manners and customs is observable between the old Irish and Germans, according as those of the latter are described by Tacitus.” And in a few pages after he says; “on the whole matter, it is a real fact, that the general system of government among the Irish kings and princes of the Scotie nation, were very nearly if not exactly of the same nature with that of the Saxon Heptarchy.” Every page of genuine Irish antiquities accords with the ideas of this writer, and the great object of these Essays.

I would not have dwelt so long on the foregoing Canons, but to evince that our legislation in the eighth century was worthy of notice: I may ascend a century higher and ask, would Cummin in his letter to Segienus, Abbat of Hy, quote Councils and Decrees if the study of them and of ecclesiastical discipline were not then cultivated? It would be no incurious work to collect and illustrate our ancient canons
dispersed

(54) Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum, V. p. 10. 2d Edit.

(55) Tum in ipso concilio vel principium aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus scuto, frumenta juvenem ornant. Tacit. Germ. c. 13.

(56) Scutum reliquisse præcipuum flagitium. Tacit. sup. c. 6.

(57) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 470—572.

dispersed in Dachery's *Spicilegium*, in Martene and Durandus's *Anecdotes*, in Burchard's *Decrees*, and other compilers. In such a collection we might trace the customs and municipal regulations of the different tribes that colonized Ireland: some of them very contradictory to each other. "I wish, (says Agobard, (58) writing in 840,) that it would please Almighty God, that the Franks were ruled by one law, which might be a standard for the Prince and his people. In Sweden (59) almost every province had its peculiar laws. This variety, in the Saxon times in England, made Alfred compile his *Dom-boc* for general use. Customs were at first (60) unwritten laws; after, the written laws of each people. Lynch informs us, that about 686, three (61) learned men collected the scattered laws of the Irish and reduced them into a body, calling them *Breathe Nimhe*, or celestial judgments. The reason for adducing the precedent instances is to shew, that the Irish were similarly circumstanced as to laws with other rude nations in the middle ages. However paradoxical it may appear the fact is indisputable, that notwithstanding the most scrupulous attention was paid to property and its minutest subdivisions, that the punishments for public and private injuries were proportioned with affected nicety, yet the rust of barbarism was with difficulty removed, and the advancement in civilization extremely slow. What retarded the improvement of other people, we leave to their antiquaries and historians to explain, and shall now consider the laws that operated to the injury of Ireland.

The law of Tanistry, which by election, gave a monarch to the Isle, kings to provinces, and rulers to inferior toparchies was the fruitful source of domestic dissension and commotion. There were (62) various political divisions of Ireland, according to the pleasure and power of its princes. O'Flaherty enumerates five under one dynasty. King Achy made a new partition of the isle into five provinces, and established a pentarchy in each. A constitution so formed was not calculated for the peace and happiness of society: it called forth the fiercer passions by offering power

(58) *Advers. leg. Gundob. Lindenbrog. L. L.* p. 1444. *Franci sua lege vivebant, Longobardi sua, Burgundiones item & Saxones sua, ac sua Gothi, & sic de aliis.* Baluz. in *Regin.* p. 652.

(59) *Quamlibet provinciam suas sibi leges & peculiare legum codices habuisse.* Stiernhook, p. 10. About 1347, Magnus Smeck endeavoured, "ut universale quoddam jus regnum haberet, sed non obtinuit, quo minus, ut ante, singulae provinciae suo sibi arbitrio & jure peculiari viverent." Stiernh. *sup.* p. 23.

(60) *Νομους αἰνῶν ἀγγραφῶς, συνθεσὶς δὲ ἀγγραφῶς νόμος.* Schol. in *Ajac. Sophol.*

(61) *E jurisperitorum scriptorum scriptis, legum undequae decerptarum accessione cumulatis, unum opus confecerunt.* Cambrens. Evers. p. 157.

(62) *Variae fuerunt Hiberniae divisiones politicae juxta principum voluntates & jurisdictiones.* In *Scotorum dynastia* quinque memorantur. Ogyg. p. 268.

power and property as their rewards. No prince was safe on his throne, or toparch in his rath. "No man, (says Davis,) could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands, or goods if a mightier than himself had an appetite to take (63) them from him. Wherein they were little better than canibals, who hunt one another; he that hath most strength and swiftnes doth eat and devours all his fellows."

These two customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind, by length of time confirmed into laws, were the true causes of the desolation and barbarism which prevailed in Ireland, "as the like, (adds Davis emphatically,) was never (64) seen in any country that professed the name of Christ." O'Connor's apology for these (65) odious old Irish customs demonstrates a weak, bigotted, and perverse mind. As well might he apologize for "the (66) common repudiation of their wives, their promiscuous generation of children, their neglect of lawful matrimony, their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging, and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man." If his arguments are valid in one case they are equally so in the other; for tanistry and gavelkind originated the latter.

As by our (67) custom of Gavelkind every man was born to land, and derived himself from some princely Clan, they held themselves for gentlemen, and scorned to descend to the practice of husbandry, merchandise, or any mechanical art or science. Hence neither trade, manufactures, nor corporate towns were to be seen: what little mercantile business was transacted, foreigners did it.

One distinguishing property of the tenure by Gavelkind was, that it (68) did not escheat in case of attainder and execution for felony. "Hence the English, to defend their (69) possessions against the Irish, retained such of the natives as claimed title to their possessions. For after a thousand conquests and attainders by our law, they would in those days, pretend a title still, because by the Irish law no man could forfeit his land. To the same purpose (70) O'Connor:—The head of a Clan, or the factious insurgent was alone answerable for his own, or his people's delinquency; the innocent successor was free from the guilt and enjoyed his property.—

Though Tanistry and Gavelkind (71) may have existed in other countries, yet as now described they seem to be peculiar to Ireland, and they entailed misery on it.

The

(63) Hist. Relations, p. 73.

(64) Relations, p. 74.

(65) Diff. p. 130.

(66) Mentioned by Davis, sup. p. 80.

(67) Davis, sup. p. 75. Spenser, sup. p. 101.

(68) *Hæc hæreditas feudalibus legibus non coercitur, nec felonizæ multæ est obnoxia.* Spelman in Gavelkind. Blackstone, V. 2. p. 84. Reeves shews land did not escheat among the Anglo-Saxons. Hist. of Engl. Law. V: 1. p. 10.

(69) The words of Davis, sup. p. 97.

(70) Diff. p. 63. 1st Edit.

(71) See note before 35.

The king or chieftain of every district, being only tenant for life, exercised every species of extortion for the support of barbaric pride and state. The feudal policy gave them rights over their feudatories; these rights they carried to the most destructive excess, and to the utter impoverishment of their tenantry. The (72) petty kings paid to their monarch, cows, sheep, cloaks, horses, ships, hounds, and swords. The scarcity of money obliged tenants to pay in kind. Thus in the (73) laws of Ina, the Anglo-Saxon king, he who held ten hydes of land, supplied his Lord with honey, bread, beer, oxen, sheep, geese, hens, cheese, butter, salmon, eels, and fuel. In these Irish and Saxon duties, the quantity and quality of which each article consisted was exactly ascertained, and so they continued for some ages, but at length they degenerated into such oppression of the subject, that the English princes, Henry I. John, and Henry III. were (74) compelled to remove such grievances by charters. Where no such controuling power could be exercised, as was the case in Ireland, and every kinglet and toparch shared in the plunder of a wretched commonalty, ingenuity was racked to invent tallages, of which the following is a specimen. Bonaght-borr was free quarters at discretion, or in specie: bonaght-beg was a commutation for money, or provisions. This exaction was generally for the pay of Kerns and Galloglasses, and hence in our writers, a body of such troops were called Bonaghts. Sorohen was a tax paid four times a year. Gillycone, an imposition for the Lord's hounds and huntsman. Cuddy, a supper and entertainment for a night. "But the most (75) wicked and mischievous custom of all others was that of Coigne and Livery; which consisted in taking man's-meat, horse-meat, and money at the will and pleasure of the foldier. This extortion was originally Irish, and did draw down as great, or greater plagues upon Ireland than those of Egypt; for the latter though heavy were but of short continuance, but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years together. And hence the depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects. This extortion of Coigne and Livery was for the support of their men of war; but the Irish tallages extorted by their chieftains and tanists, by colour of their barbarous seignory were almost as grievous a burden as the other, namely Cosherings, which were visitations and progresses made by the Lord and his followers among his tenants. Sessings of the Kern, of his family called Kernety, of his horses and horseboys. And lastly cuttings, tallages,

4 M

and

(72) Coll. de reb. Hib. p. 382.

(73) Spelman, p. 230.

(74) Wilkins, L. L. Hen. I.

(75) Davis, sup.

and spendings, high and low at his pleasure: all which made the Lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villein, and in some respect more miserable than bond slaves." In another place, Davis, who saw the distressed condition of the natives, and was instrumental in removing it, makes use of these strong expressions, "These extortions were called in the old statutes of Ireland—damnable customs—and the imposing and taking them made high treason. And it is said in an ancient discourse of the decay of Ireland, that though they were first invented in hell, yet if they had been used and practised there, as they have been in Ireland, they would have long since destroyed the kingdom of Beelzebub."

Besides the foregoing there were other exactions called (76) Musterowne, South, Assaut, Bode, Garty, Caan, Byenge, Saults, Slaunciaghs, Shragh, Mart, Refection, and many more whose names are not come down to us, all these were taken as feudal duties. Thus (77) in Doomsday book are duties of one night, half a night, three nights, ten nights, one day, and a month; that is provisions, or a commutation in money, were to be supplied for these periods. Enough has been said to evince the feudality of our laws, and that where they differ from those of other people it was principally in their abuse. The English colonists styled them Brehon laws, because Brehon was the title of the Judge who administered them. Campion (79) in 1571 thus speaks of them, "Other lawyers they have, liable to certain families, which after the custom of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony or trespass, all is redeemed by composition. The Breighoon, (Brehon) so they call this kind of lawyer, sitteth him down on a bank, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance, round about him, and then they proceed." Spenser's (80) account of the Brehon law is this, "It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which often times there appeareth great shew of equity, in determining the right between party and party, but in many things repugning quite to God's law and man's. As for example in the case of murder, the Brehon, that is their Judge, will compound between the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is slain, a recompence, which they call an Eriach (Eric). By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst

(76) Ware by Harris, p. 74.

(77) Spelman, p. 230.

(78) Brodan is—sententiam dicere, See Wall. pref. Breath in Irish is judgement; in Welsh it is Brawd.

(79) Hist. Ireland, p. 19.

(80) View, p. 4.

amongst them are made up and smothered. And this judge being, as he is called the Lord's Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soil, or the head of that Sept, and also unto himself for his judgement, a greater portion than unto the plaintiffs or parties grieved."

In investigating the Antiquities of Ireland, I have had frequent opportunities of admiring the profound erudition of Spenser, and his extensive knowledge of classical writers: these are traits in the character of this eminent Poet but little attended to, yet admitting the strongest proof. However the citation now given betrays false assertions and want of information, very probably from his application to more pleasing studies.

1. He says, "the Brehon law is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition." This is absolutely false, and the great number of MSS in Dublin College library, in the Mahon, Seabright and other collections evince it to be so. In 1606, when it was necessary to ascertain what were (81) the duties, services and rents paid to M'Guire out of Fermanagh, O'Brihan, his Brehon, was sent for, and they appeared in a parchment roll. So that though tradition might be authority for some customs, the principal laws of the Sept were constantly committed to writing.

2. Spenser speaks of composition for murder as peculiar to the Irish, which it was not, being exactly the same as the Anglo-Saxon, Were and Weregild. Hume says, the † Irish, who never had any connection with the German nations, adopted compositions for murder and robbery very lately. How ignorant of our Antiquities!

3. Spenser accuses the Brehon of partiality to his Lord and himself in apportioning the Eric. In the barbaric codes, if homicide was committed it was redeemed by three compositions; Megbote, which went to the family; Manbote to the Lord of the Vassal, and Fredum to the treasury or judge. The Salic and Riparian judges had their fredum or perquisites for hearing and determining causes: The Brehon (83) had the eleventh part.

We

(81) *Consuetudinum Hiberniæ, sermone Hibernico conscriptarum, plurima apud eos adhuc extare volumina, mihi retulit Rev. D. Usserius, cujus eximia divini humanique juris omnis scientia, magnam Hiberniæ genti gloriam attulit.* Duck. p. 413.

(82) *Collect. de reb. Heb. V. 1. p. 160.*

† *Hist. of England, V. 1. Append. 1.*

(83) *Spelman in Freda. p. 247.*

We have seen how little the Brehon law was understood by Campion and Spenser, but we might expect to have their defects supplied by Stanihurst, who was bred a lawyer, and was Recorder of Dublin. Yet he, if possible, is more incorrect than the others. He says the Brehons are unacquainted with the (84) English law, and totally ignorant of the canon and civil: that they have certain decisions, confirmed by use and time, which they keep secret to increase their credit among the vulgar. On the contrary, Davis informs us, that the Brehons gave judgement with the assistance of certain scholars, who had learned many rules of the civil and canon law, rather by tradition than by reading. It is really astonishing, that none of the learned men now mentioned, particularly Stanihurst and Davis, lawyers, should not have perceived that the Irish constitution and laws were feudal, and resembled those of England unless in their abuse. The evidence I have alleged seems decisive that this was the case, and yet I feel a delicacy in being positive in an attempt, where men of very superior talents have been silent.

I have shewn, that the Irish very early had written laws. When Malachy O'Morgan, the Pope's **legate** was seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh in 1134, a close intimacy was established between Rome and Ireland; this introduced a knowledge of the Roman civil law, discovered at Amalphi in 1127. This was every where eagerly embraced, as it softened the rigour and tempered the severity of the feudal code. Vacarius, in 1149, read lectures on the Pandects at Oxford, and so increasing was the avidity for this study, that about 1184 Giraldus Cambrensis (85) complains, that it had stifled all the other sciences.

As the Irish became attached to the Roman See, and as the latter, notwithstanding the (86) resistance of our Princes, filled almost all our bishopricks and ecclesiastical dignities when vacant; and as the property and rights of the clergy were matters of very great concern, the canon and civil law became a necessary part of education. They discovered a great propensity, says (87) Duck, for the cultivation of the canon and civil law, and obtained the reputation of being the best canonists, and he

(84) *Intelligentiam juris Britannici non habent. civilis etiam ac pontificalis imperitissimi Stanihurst de reb. Hib. p. 37.* In 1614, Lord Coke's knowledge of Irish Brehon laws was nothing more than a few terms. 4th Instit. p. 358. And Blackstone's is as trifling in 1765. *Comment. Introd.*

(85) *Quod leges imperiales reliquas scientias omnes suffocaverant. l. i. apud Duck sup. p. 363.*

(86) Pryne's records, passim.

(87) *Quod plerique scriptores tradunt, Hibernicorum ingenia valde propensa esse ad jus civile & canonicum. — Rosellus apud suos percerebuisse dicit, Hibernos olim studiis juris pontificii delectari solitos, & fuisse optimos. Canonistas Duck sup. p. 416.*



W. Beauford Delin

BREHON'S CHAIR.

Published by John Jones, No. 17, Bridge Street, Dublin.

he mentions a celebrated professor at Oxford, in the time of Edward III. named William of Drogheda. Hence Polydore Virgil, who addressed his history of England to Henry VIII. and from collecting the Pope's revenue must have had good information, tells us, the Irish in 1533, were not (88) unacquainted with learning, for from their youth they applied to the study of grammar and the canon and civil law; and Campion, in 1570, says, "without either precepts or observation of congruity, the Irish speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leachcraft (phyfic) and law; whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates, the civil institutions, and a few other parings of the two faculties."

In these citations we learn, that the Brehons consulted occasionally canon and civil lawyers to assist their decisions: that civil and criminal causes were their sole provinces, and pure ecclesiastical matters were left to the Clergy. It is probable the Brehonic institutes were not unlike those of the (89) Welsh. The latter were tripartite: one related to the King's court, another to the laws of the country, and the third were the customs appertaining to both. But as no ancient document has been deciphered to illuminate this subject, conjectures are idle. Macpherson (90) reckons the Brehon among the nobility, though he assigns no reason for this, yet as he held of the prince by grand serjeantry he might be accounted noble. His office and property were hereditary. He sat on the (91) summit of a hill or its acclivity, fronting the east, to hear causes. This practice was copied from the northerns. Stephanius (92) supposes such places were chosen, because ancient superstition adored hills as well as groves and fountains, and it was (93) believed the influence of magic was less in the open air than in confined places. It was common in Wales to throw up an earthen mount, whereon the judges sat, and this was called a (94) Gorsedde. One of these ancient judgment-seats is on the hill of Kyle, in the Queen's County: a view of which with the chief in costume is given in the plate.

4 N

ON

(88) *Literarum non expertia, nam a pueris grammaticæ & juri tam pontificio quam civile operam dant. L. 13. p. 296. Ed. Thyfii.*

(89) *Leg. Wall.* (90) *Difs. p. 170.*

(91) *Stanihurst, p. 33. Spenser, p. 54.*

(92) *Consueverat autem in editi montis vertice consulenti populo plebiscita depromere. Sax. Gram. Stephan, in loco, p. 93. This was the Lægbergis of the Icelanders. Thorkelin's tractis, p. 54. Olim in collibus sub dio. Loccen. p. 49. Sub dio veterum judicia habebantur. Sternhook, p. 26.*

(93) *Bed. l. 1. c. 25.* (94) *Hearne's Antiq. discourses, V. 1. p. 132.*



ON THE OGHAM CHARACTERS, AND ALPHABETIC ELEMENTS OF THE
ANCIENT IRISH.

THE origin of letters among the Celtes is thus delivered by the fabulous Berosus. The great giant Samothès, the brother of Gomer and Tubal, promulged a code of laws for the Celtic nations, taught them the courses of the planets and the nature of sublunary things, gave them the Sagæ or Phœnician letters, and led colonies into the Celtic regions 143 years after the deluge, and into Britain 252 years after the same memorable event.

Now for the Irish elements. The celebrated Feniufa Farfa, according to Keating, was the son of Magog, and King of Scythia. Desirous of becoming master of the seventy-two languages created at the confusion of Babel, he sent seventy-two persons to learn them. He established an University at Magh-Seanair near Athens, over which he, Gadel, and Caoith presided. These formed the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters. Gadel was ordered to digest the Irish into five dialects: the Finian, to be spoken by the militia and soldiery; the poetic and historic, by the senachies and bards; the medical, by physicians, and the common idiom by the vulgar.

Mr. O'Connor's account of the Bethluifnion of the Ogma is in the same wild romantic strain. "This, observes he, has not the least resemblance with either the Greek or Roman alphabets. Had our Bards been silent on the original of our letters from a celebrated Phenius or Phœnician, yet the signatures of an early commerce between our predecessors and an oriental lettered people, would appear evident. These letters are arranged in a different order from the alphabet of the Greeks, or abecedarium of the Romans: their ancient virgular figures were peculiar to this western nation alone; and their names partly Phœnician and partly vernacular, not only shew their Asiatic origin, but their great antiquity in this island." Mr. Pinkerton very (1) justly calls such writers, "visionaries, who detail superficial dreams to the public, upon no ancient authority, and upon the most silly and irrational ratiocination,

(1) History of Scotland, V. 2. p. 31. He treats some Irish Antiquaries and their compositions with critical severity.

ration. Hence, (adds he,) what no foreign antiquary, what no man of sound learning would even imagine, has been seriously advanced, that the Phœnicians settled colonies in the South of Britain, and in Ireland, and that traces of the Phœnician language may be found in the Irish!"

Gower's (2) relation of the progress of the Latin language exactly matches that delivered by O'Connor of the Irish. Gower supposes the Latin invented by the old Tuscan prophets Carmens; then reduced to method, prosody, &c. by Aristarchus, Donatus, and Didymus; adorned with the flowers of eloquence by Tully; enriched by translations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek, and especially from St. Jerome's version of the Bible. Here both fictions breathe the same spirit, and are probably of the same age.

Truth, though clouded, will at length burst the thick envelope of fable. "What, (says (3) O'Flaherty,) if I should affirm, that our Phenissus was the Phœnician Cadmus, who depicted the ancient Greek letters, and which resembled the Latin. Nor are the Irish far distant from the Latin." Here he states an indisputable fact, that the Irish elements are from the Latin, and the Latin from the Greek: but how painful to a liberal mind is the diffidence with which he expresses himself! He had written too large a work, and staked his reputation with his countrymen too deeply, to make the proper application of his learning and abilities to the subject of Irish Antiquities. Like many others, to be consistent he was obliged to be absurd, and to be patriotic, he sacrificed his fame on the altar of national prejudice.

O'Connor, whose dissertations on the ancient History of Ireland, are nothing but scraps translated from Lynch's *Cambrensis Everfusus* and O'Flaherty, grants the letters used by the old Irish, since the reception of christianity, are evidently (4) borrowed from the first christian missionaries, as more commodious than the old, uncouth, and virgular forms imported into Ireland by the Celto-Scythian colony from Spain. What a direct contradiction is this of his former assertion, and how changed his tone from the tumid and bombastic verbosity of his former citation? Sir George Mackenzie and Bishop Stillingfleet had examined the Irish claim to remote history and literature, and found it to be a heap of impertinence and imposture. Father Innes, the two Macphersons, and Mr. Whitaker have since totally subverted it. Ashamed of persevering in gross errors, and unable to withstand the conviction
 flashed

(2) Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*. V. 2. p. 24.

(3) *Ogyg.* p. 221. *Innes*, p. 442.

(4) *Ogyg.* vindicated, p. 242.

flashed on him from every quarter, the Irish antiquary gives up his fables, and reluctantly owns the triumph of learning and criticism.

For the reprobation of these puerile figments no great extent of reading, or strength of judgment is requisite: nor should they have farther engaged the reader's attention, did I not imagine the subject has hitherto been totally misunderstood, and of course imperfectly treated. The Irish ground their pretensions to an original alphabet on the traditions of their Bards, (who bring their ancestors from the East) and the agreement of these traditions with allowed history. Thus O'Connor compares the accounts in the *Leavar Gabhala* and *Leavar Lecan*, two MSS which have never seen the light, with the facts given in Newton's chronology. In his way of conducting this matter, he might have parallels equally accurate in *Amidis de Gaul* or any other romance, as in these *Leavars*. But what is most extraordinary is, to find in this obscure corner of the Globe literary memorials of unimpeached veracity, not only to supply the defects, but fill up the chasms of sacred and prophane history! The genealogies of the Virgin Mary, Joseph and the other holy persons in Scripture, are not to be had but in this book of (5) *Lecan*; and where so likely this book to be preserved as in the island of Saints!

*O Fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint
Hibernos!*

This book of *Lecan* was compiled (6) between the years 1380 and 1417, a period, like the rest, of rebellion and domestic confusion. Uneasy under the English yoke, and unable to shake it off, the (7) miserable *Seanachies* of those times amused themselves and their countrymen with fabulous tales of the antiquity and nobility of their descent; the grandeur and power of their former princes, and the distinguished learning and civility of their ancestors. This invaluable information we are told, was preserved solely by the use of the Irish or Phœnician letters in this isle. The identity of these letters, we see has been much insisted on. But where, it may be asked, did these erudite and perspicacious antiquaries discover the name, figure, order, and power of the Phœnician elements, which have escaped the acute eyes of Swinton, Barthelemy, Hottinger, and Gebelin? For the Phœnician alphabets

(5) *Lhuyd Archaeol. Brit.* p. 435.

(6) *Ogyg. vind.* p. 141. This seems doubtful, the specimens of Irish from it are too modern for so early a date.

(7) The wretched Aodhgan or Egan, in 1575, could find no place to shelter him, while making remarks on the Brehon laws, but the mill of Donadaigne. *Collect. No. 10.* p. 123. *Cox. V. 1.* p. 346, for the state of the country.

alphabets of Syria, Crete, Malta, Sicily, Spain, and Carthage differ (8) very remotely. The learned M. Dutens thus delivers his sentiments on this point, in his preface to the explication of Mr. Duane's Greek and Phœnician Coins.

“Tous ceux qui ont recours aux sources savent fort bien, qu'on n'est pas encore arrivé au point de connoître les fineses de la langue Phénicienne, dont, les noms propres exceptés, on sçait à peine cinquante mots. Il faut être de bonne foi, & ne pas mettre plus d'ostentation dans l'étude d'une langue, ou d'une science qu'il ne convient de faire. On n'ignore pas, que les savans ne sont pas d'accord entre eux sur la (9) valeur de toutes les lettres de l'aphabet Phénicien, & supposant même qu'ils fussent, après les avoir réduites à la valeur des lettres Hébraïques, ils n'ont pas d'autre moyen d'interpréter les mots que par la signification qu'ils ont dans la langue Hébraïque ou Syriaque, & dans ce cas, on ne peut pas plus dire que ce que l'on appelle la langue Phénicienne ou Punique soient des langues propres, que l'on ne pourroit le dire du texte Samaritain du Pentateuque, qui ne diffère de l' Hébraïque que par les caractères. Et cependant tout en errant dans ce labyrinthe, on voit des Savans en consulter d'autres, qu'ils disent s'y être égarés comme s'ils en tenoient eux-mêmes le fil.”

But to obviate every doubt respecting the oriental colonization of Ireland, the Irish language is adduced as proof, “that the (10) speakers were a civilized and lettered people, which could only be derived from an eastern connection: that the language is masculine and nervous: harmonious in its articulation; copious in its phraseology, and replete with abstract and technical terms; free from anomalies, sterilities and heteroclite redundancies.”—We are told, says (11) Mr. Pinkerton, of many abstract terms in the old Irish language, as a proof that the people were civilized; yet no such terms are produced, and if they were, how old are they? The use of Latin abstract terms is quite modern. There is not one Irish MSS. extant older than the 11th century, long after metaphysics and such trifling sort of learning had been successfully studied there. To which I add, that its copiousness arises from its corruption, and so does its harmony; for in the 4th and 5th centuries, and much earlier, it is branded by the (12) ancients with the harshest expressions for its barbarism;

40

(9) To the same purpose one of the first Orientalists of the last century, speaking of some Punic coins says: *Priores duos Punicos esse libentur darem, si Punicæ literature vestigia extarent. Necdum ab aliis, meo judicio, ostensum perspicue fatiscit, cujuscmodi veterum Pœnorum elementa.* Hottinger. Cipp. Heb. p. 183.

(10) Irish Grammar, p. 2. Edit. 1781.

(11) Supra, p. 19.

(12) Irenæi adv hæres. lib. 1. Non esse fastidio rudem hunc & incultum transalpini sermonis horrorem. Pacat. Panegy. Sermonis Celtici squamam. Sid. Apollin. l. 3. ep. 3.

barism; and a (13) native writer, about the year 700, calls it a vile tongue. As no genuine specimen of old Celtic has been produced, or possibly can, to warrant the praises bestowed on it, it clearly follows, that to speak it in such panegyrical terms must be to deceive the unlearned reader, while at the same time it betrays the writer's profound ignorance. But to evince how easy it is to indulge in the praise of any tongue, even the most barbarous and unpolished, take the following instance from an admirer of the Gothic. "Les Goths (14) n'étoient pas une nation si grossiere que l' on imagine: ce qu' il prouve par la politesse & par a régularité de leur langue. C'est ce que l' on peut voir, 1. par les genres masculin, féminin, & neutre des noms, &c. Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la langue Gothique, c'est qu' elle ne se sert point due verbe auxiliaire avoir, non plus que les Grecs & les Latins, pour ne point parler des langues orientales, ce qui est une preuve incontestable de sa grande antiquité." That any nation, particularly the Gothic, wrapt in Cimmerian darkness, should rival the Irish in politeness, regularity and antiquity of language, is enough to stir the bile of the most stoical Hibernian, nor is it less irritating for (15) Rudbeck to make his Gotho-Runic the fountain from whence flowed the Greek and Phœnician letters, whence all the world knows the Irish bethluifnion of the ogma can alone aspire to that distinguished honor; and that the (16) Celtic is the true parent of the Hebrew, Arabic, Persic, Japonese, Mungallic, Greek, Latin, Sclavonian, Oscan, Showiah, Tamzeght, Algonkin, and a thousand more. The author of this most eccentric whimsy cannot be serious: if he only meant to banter the unprofitable studies of some Antiquaries, he has succeeded admirably: for

Non potuit melius litem finire jocosam.

The † aid of etymology is called in to demonstrate the eastern complexion of the Irish tongue, by the Author last cited. If he designed to prove the Celtic to be originally the same as the Hebrew or any other Oriental language, he ought, as a scholar, to have shown their agreement in (17) matter and form; for it is from these, and not from resemblances in sound, the affinity of languages is to be inferred. The Celtic,
in

(13) Adamnan. apud Usser. Syllog. p. 42.

(14) Bibliothèque Chos. par le Clerc. T. 28. p. 307.

(15) Atlant. c. 38.

(16) Collectanea reb. Hib. and Irish Grammar, sup. passim.

† Scis enim quam proclive sit quidvis ex quavis lingua exculpere, si genio indulgeamus, Goropii & Rudbeckii & ejus exemplo, qui nuper de origine Hungarorum scripsit. Primus in Belgica, alter in Suecica, tertius en Hungarica vetera eorum vocabul nullo negotio invenit. Leibnitz. Oper. T. 8. p. 133.

(17) Wotton. de conf. Ling. apud Chamberlayne, p. 46.

in its structure, varies from every other tongue. In it, (18) words are declined by changing not the terminations but the initial letters in the oblique cases. Its pronouns alter the beginning of nouns, and its grammar cancels every rule of language. Not to insist on the (19) uncertainty of etymology from the vicious orthography of words by Lexicographers, and the vicious orthoëpy of sounds by the natives themselves, the Irish leavar for liber, litur for litera, and scriptuir for scriptura, abundantly demonstrate, that we had neither letters, writing or books, until received through a Roman intercourse. This Innes has long since observed. The corrupt state of ancient tongues has, at all times, been a fine field for literary trifling, and a rich soil for sciologists and alphabetarians to flourish in. On the whole, the pretensions of the Irish to an eastern origin is a vain and groundless notion, generated in ignorance and mistaken patriotism, disgraceful to the good sense of the nation, and not to be supported by reason, history, or learning.

The part we have now been travelling over is described by Virgil :

Umbrarum hic locus est somni noctisque soporæ,

Hic & lucifugæ posuere cubilia blattæ.

Something of light and certainty breaks in upon us as we advance in this inquiry. The voice of antiquity is silent as to Druidic letters, which are said to have been used in this isle. Cæsar (20) says they existed, but that passage has been long suspected as the interpolation of Julius Cæsar; who, I believe, had (21) Strabo in view when he inserted it. The want of native British letters is strongly (22) inferred from the legends on the coins of Cunobeline, for if the Druids had a peculiar alphabet, or used the Greek letters, as Cæsar asserts, superintending religion and learning as they did, and obstinately retentive of their opinions and customs, they assuredly would have put their own and not Roman letters on the coins of their princes. Mabillon (23) is more than doubtful about the existence of the Gaulish letters, nor does

(18) Mallet, V. 1. pref. p. 42. Pinkerton's Diss. p. 123, and Scotland pass.

(19) Mr. Pinkerton can scarcely keep his temper when speaking of our absurd and ridiculous Irish etymologies; he considers them as instances of the grossest insults ever offered to the sense and reason of mankind. Scotland sup. V. 2. initio.

(20) Cæsar's hic locus est & alii apud eundem de Græcorum literarum usu, suo tempore apud Gallos, longe suspectus superioris ætatis viris summis. Burton. Hist. Græc. ling. p. 19. Hotoman. Franco-Gall. c. 2. Lips. Elect. l. 2. c. 7. Bayle. Article Cæsar.

(21) The words are: φιλελληνας, οὐκ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν. Lib. Cæsar's words are: publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis literis utuntur. Lib. 6.

(22) By Whitaker, sup. p. 372—373. Asle's Origin of Writing, p. 56.

(23) De re Diplom. l. 1. c. 11. Leibnitz is of the same opinion. Tom. 8. p. 195. Edit. Dutens.

does he seem to lay much stress on the alphabet collected by Boterue from sepulchral inscriptions. It is above fifteen hundred years ago since Celsus opposed the antiquity of the Druids and their wisdom to those of the Jews. What was Origen's answer? I do not know, says (24) the Father, that they have left us any writings. It was incumbent on Celsus then as on our Druids now, to support the extraordinary things they have advanced concerning these sages by other arguments than confident assertions.

But the boldest attempt to silence the opposers of ancient Irish literature is the (25) production of an inscription on Callan mountain, in the county of Clare, its date A. D. 295. Here the Gauntlet is thrown down, and the literary world challenged to an investigation of these extraordinary Irish elements. The article in the *Archaeologia* informs us, that the Irish Seanachies and Antiquaries seriously assert the use of a character called Ogham, not used as a cipher but as an uniform alphabet, wherein all matters relating to the state and religion were recorded. But in the next page, the modern bards are charged with inventing Ogums, and changing 150 circular scales of Profodia into right-lined Ogums, and imposing them on the world for so many different alphabets. How this author will reconcile the positive accusation of invention and mistake in the (26) writers below cited, with their serious assertion of an uniform alphabet, will require some ingenuity to explain. He confesses he erroneously said, the Ogham characters were marked by certain strokes standing perpendicularly on an horizontal master-line, but from ancient MSS he found the master-line was drawn perpendicular, and the characters marked by strokes perpendicular to it, on the right and left. Such are the author's words in the *Archaeologia*. Notwithstanding all the new lights he received, he gives in page 281, another manner of writing the Ogham, which is with horizontal strokes on each side of a perpendicular line. It appears then, that neither the circular mode of drawing the Ogham, nor the horizontal master-line with perpendicular strokes, nor the perpendicular master-line with perpendicular strokes, are right, but the perpendicular line with horizontal strokes. So that here Seanachies contradict MSS and MSS oppose inscriptions. Does not this jargon approach very near Persius's

Ægroti

(24) *ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐι φέρεται συγγραμματα.* Contra Cels. l. 1.

(25) Inserted in the *Archaeologia*, V. 7. p. 276.

(26) The writers here disguised under the name of modern bards are, I apprehend, Mac Firlis and O'Flaherty. Let the reader judge. Ex his aliquas inter antiquitatum monumenta apud se (Mac Firlis) supersuisse, ut ei diversas characterum formulas, quas ter quinquagenas a Fenicii usque ætate numero, & croabb ogham, i. e. virgeas characteres nomine recenseret, non ita pridem ad me scripsit Dualdus Firlisius, O'Flah. Ogyg. p. 233. Ogyg. vind. p. 9.

Alphabets & Ogums.

1 Ogum Croabh			2 O Sullivan's Ogum			British Ogum			Bobeloth			Bethluifnion 2		
Charact.	Power		Character	Power		Char. ^r	Pow.	Name	Char.	Po.	Name.	Charact. ^r	Pow.	Name.
	B			B			a	Alap		B	Boibel		B	Beth
	L			L			b	Braut		L	Loth		L	Luis
	N			F			c	Curi		F	Forann		N	Nion
	T			S			d	Dexi		S	Salia		F	Fearn
	I			N			e	Egin		I	Neiagadon		S	Suil
	H			H			f	Fich		H	Uiria		T	Tinne
	D			D			g	Guidir		D	Daibhaith		C	Coll
	T			T			h	Huil		T	Teilmon		M	Muin
	C			C			i	Jechuit		C	Caori		G	Gort
	Q			M			k	Kam		G	Gath		P	Peth-box
	M			G			l	Louber		M	Moiria		R	Ruis
	G			ng			m	Mum		R	Ruibin		A	Ailm
	Ng			R			n	Nihn		A	Acab		O	On
	Id			A			o	Or		O	Ose		U	Ur
	R			O			p	Parth		U	Ura		E	Eadhadd
	A			U			q	Quith		E	Esu		I	Idbo
	O			E			r	Rat		I	Jaichim			
	U			I			s	Sung						
	E			ia			t	Traus						
	I			ai			u	Vir						
				ei			x	Teil						
				co			e	Off						
				ua			z	Zeire						
				eg			ac	Aunv						
				feo			et	Eftiaul						
				oar			eu	Egri						
				oar			au	Aur						
							ei	Emc						
								Kenc						
								Elau						

b. t. n. t. s. b. d. t. c. q. m. g. na. sd. r.

a. o. u. e. i. ea. oi. ia. ao. p. z.

a. a. u. e. i. q. oi.

Callen Inscription. 3

Marcomannic Runes.					
Charact.	Po.	Name	Char.	Po.	Name
	A	Asc		I	His
	B	Byrith		K	Chilch
	C	Chen		L	Lagu
	D	Tborn		M	Man
	E	Ecb		N	Not
	F	Feck		O	Othil
	G	Gibu		P	Pere
	H	Hagale			

*Ægroti veteris meditantis somnia : Gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti?*

I believe the reader will be apt to credit Mr. Pinkerton, who affirms this same Celtic has the strange effect to obnubilating the mind, and this he demonstrates, by numerous examples, has been unhappily the case with this writer.

Our author in the *Archæologia* grants, that he has never been able to discover Ogum inscriptions on stones, altars or cromlecc, and yet in a (27) former work he asks with strong emphasis—"shall we doubt the authority of Sir James Ware, shall we disbelieve our eyes, when we behold Ogum inscriptions on many remains of antiquity?" In four pages after he says: "we are sorry it is not in our power to quote any passages of our Druidic Ogum, such books having not fallen into our hands." This sort of contradictory writing goes to the subversion of all sober inquiry; it resembles this author's Ogum, which, like the characters of the Montcheou Tartars, are legible up and down, backwards and forwards: it is a sort of literary conjuring, where the reader,

Obstupuit, varia confusus imagine rerum.

To rescue therefore a subject thus in danger of being irretrievably lost, we must recur to the old Irish antiquaries, who, after all their vagarees, give the only rational information. Ware is the first, I think, who mentions the Ogum, and that in a way not to afford matter of triumph as to its usefulness or antiquity. He describes it as made up of various occult forms, or artificial modes of writing for secrecy. The 150 notes mentioned by Mac Firbis, O'Flaherty calls "different forms of characters." These expressions indicate stenographic as well as steganographic notes, referring to some fictitious characters or ciphers.

In 1669, O'Molloy, in his *Irish Grammar*, enters more fully into this subject, and is literally copied by every writer since. He informs us the Ogum was divided into three kinds: 1. Ogum beith, when bh, or the Irish letter beith being part of the first consonant, is placed instead of the vowel a. This Ogum is also called Ogum consoine, or the Ogum made out of consonants. Here is an (28) example:

a e i o u
bh. fc. ng. dl. ft.

The same method may be observed in substituting consonants for diphthongs. Thus,

4 P

ac

(27) *Irish Grammar*, p. 7.

(28) *Harris's Ware*, p. 19.

ae ia ua io oi
mm. ll. bb. cc. pp.

The second fort is Ogum coll, or the Ogum composed out of the letter c: when for all the vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs the letter c is substituted, variously repeated, doubled and turned, as thus:

a	e	i	o	u
c.	cccc.	cccc.	cc.	ccc.
ea	ia	oi	io	ua
o	o	o	o	oo

The third fort is the Ogum croabh, or the virgular Ogum; it has an horizontal master-line, through which and on each side are perpendicular strokes which stand in the place of vowels, consonants, diphthongs and triphthongs. This is exhibited in the Plate No. 1. as the perpendicular master-line with horizontal strokes is seen in No. 2. and the Callan inscription in No. 3. What is now produced from Molloy is rational and intelligible, nor can there be any doubt but all these (29) cryptographic modes were practised in all the northern countries of Europe: for in the celebrated (30) Icelandic Edda at Upsal is an instance of the Ogum consoine, where instead of the vowel, that consonant which followed next in the alphabet is placed. As

Ðfxtrft scrkptprks bfnfdkth skt pmnkbxs hprks. instead of a, e, i, o, u, y, the letters b, f, k, p, x and z were put, so that it reads thus:

Dextera scriptoris benedicta fit omnibus horis.

Von Troil remarks, that a similar Ogum may be seen in Rabanus Maurus's tract, *De usu literarum*, written about the middle of the 9th century. Verelius, Wormius, with many existing monuments prove, that the Northerns writ their runes in every possible form; in circles, in angles, from right to left, and vice versa. Wormius (31) enumerates twelve different ways of making runic inscriptions. The German (32) Buchstab or runes were drawn sometime in horizontal, and sometimes in perpendicular lines. Here we have, if not the original of our Ogum Croabh,

(29) The ancients disposed letters variously for secrecy and amusement. For the scytale of the Greeks see Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. Plutarch in *Lyfand.* A. Gell. 1. 17. c. 9. For Roman contrivances, see Suet. in Aug. c. 88. in J. Caf. c. 56. Dio. 1. 39 Morhoff, *Polyhist.* T. 1. p. 624. Salmuth in *Pangipol.* tit. 14.

(30) Von Troil's *Letters on Iceland.* p. 299.

(31) *Literat. Run.* p. 138, 139.

(32) Pelloutier, *hist. des Celtes.* T. 1. p. 492. Mallet, V. 1. p. 363.

Croabh, a practice exactly similar. In a word, these wonderful Irish Ogums were nothing, as we see, but a stenographic and steganographic contrivance, common to the semibarbarians of Europe in the middle of ages, and very probably derived from the Romans.

Mr. Macpherfon, after ably (33) stating the great improbability of the early use of letters in Ireland, remarks that Ogom is a word which has no affinity with any other in the Irish language, and seems therefore to be a cant name imposed upon a species of stenography or cipher, in which the old Irish, like many other nations, write their secrets. This opinion is not quite correct. As to Ogom being a cant name and not found in dictionaries, that is partly true and partly false. The word is preserved in the (34) Welsh, where Ogan is augury, divination. Keyzler also tells (35) us, that Oga, Ogom and Ogma are old Celtic words, implying letters written in cipher, and indirectly an occult science. Thus its true import is ascertained. Innumerable words, in the lapse of time, have been lost in the Irish as well as every other language.

The most polished nations of the world have beheld with astonishment the art, whereby can be comprehended the thoughts, word and actions of men, past and present, and that by the combination of a few letters. The Indians could not conceive how paper marked with black strokes could communicate intelligence, unless it was animated. When (36) Leri wrote down some sentences of the Brazilian language, and the next day repeated them to the natives, they instantly concluded he did it by some magical or supernatural means. The North America Indians thought (37) Carver's book a spirit, when he told them the number of leaves by looking at the figures at the top of the page. The eastern and western Runes and Ogums were all posterior to the invention of letters, for barbarians, as we have seen, ascribed occult qualities to the former, from discovering the power of the letter. And this is the opinion of (38) Arngrim Jonas, a most skilful northern Antiquary, who thinks the northern Runer or conjurers had some little common learning, but that they greatly corrupted the alphabetic elements by virgular ciphers and points, which he supposes invented by them, the more to excite admiration of their

(33) Introduction: Indes, 1. p. 445. Artf. p. 122.

(34) Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 238. 5d Edition.

(35) Antiq. septent. select. p. 38.

(36) Navig. in Braz. c. 16. Benzoin. hist. nov. Orbis.

(37) Travels, p. 241.

(38) Existimo verisimile esse magos illos literatura aliqua usos, & quidem vulgari, majori ex parte, sed virgulis & punctis suo Marte excogitatis corrupta. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 34.

their wisdom and knowledge among a rude people. Letters themselves, says (39) Mallet, were more frequently employed among the Danes for the foolish purpose of working prodigies than to assist the memory, or render words fixed and permanent. And no wonder, when Odin taught, that the art of writing was to be regarded as the art of working all sorts of miriacles.

The persons in the North, who thus affected superior skill in learning, in magic, astrology and other branches of ancient lore, were, according to Wormius, styled Runer and Adeleruner: so that † Rune and Ogum are perfectly equivalent in sense, and had the same origin. One singularly remarkable fact here offers itself, which has hitherto escaped notice, and that is, the existence of the word "Run," in the Irish language and dictionaries, signifying a secret or mystery. The word and its meaning must have been adopted from the Northerns, for it could not co-exist in the Teutonic or Gothic and Celtic in similar letters and import, unless we assert these tongues to be the same. As all know they were not, then we must have had it from the Northern invaders of this isle, and to them is to be attributed the loss of the old Celtic name, Ogum, for that of Run, introduced by them. O'Brien (40) treating of this word, without any design of doing so, confirms the truth of what is asserted by shewing, that in five dialects of the Teutonic it is preserved, in its original signification.

It is very likely the Northerns had the first notions of these Runes from an eastern connection, when they dwelt on the western side of the Euxine; particularly from the (41) Greeks. To omit the oriental (42) Cabbala, the Greeks had their Ephesian letters, which not only protected (43) from harm, but insured safety and success. The early ages of christianity were infected with this error, as we learn from Irenæus, Tertullian and Philastrius: nor were even some of the most learned fathers, as Origen, free from it. There is a passage in Eustathius upon Homer on the power of these Ephesian letters, too long for insertion here, but its spirit is well expressed in these sentences of the (44) Edda. "Do you, say says Odin, know how to engrave Runic characters, how to explain them, how to prove their

(39) Supra. V. 1. p. 216. The Chamans of Siberia, and the Hottentot priests are equally addicted to magic conjurations. See Gmelin and Sparman's travels.

† Cum literæ inter barbaros initio arcanæ essent, arcanarum notarum appellatio literis mansit, etiam cum publicæ esse cœperent. Leibnitz. apud Chamberl. p. 28.

(40) Irish Dic. voce Run. (41) Clarke on Saxon Coins, p. 53.

(42) Holm de script. apud Crenii Analect. p. 422. (43) Hug. de orig. scribend. p. 315. Ed. Trotz.

(44) Mallet and Wormius, supra. Barthol. p. 649. Loccen. p. 83.

their virtue? If we see a man dead, and hanging aloft upon a tree, I engrave runic characters so wonderful, that the man immediately descends and converses with me, &c." They were believed to have a physical innate quality, which made them noxious, favourable, medicinal and fitted for every wish, action or undertaking.

As soon as the Germans had learned the use of letters from the Romans, their Runer, Adelruner, necromancers or priests adopted the Roman (45) divinary notes for magic purposes. It would have been very difficult to have determined the figure of these notes, were we not told by (46) Cicero and Suetonius that they resembled old obsolete letters. Il n'y a rien si vrai, que l'entêtement des savans septentrionaux pour les Runes: les suédois y tiennent le premier rang; mais Mr. Sperling m'a écrit autrefois qu'il ne les croit pas si anciennes. C'est pourtant une chose assez remarquable, que beaucoup de ces lettres sont semblables à celles qui se trouvent sur les médailles d'Espagne, dont j'ai beau coup de copie tirés du cabinet de Mr. de Barry, et sur les piédestaux des statues Etrusques publiées par Bellori, & je n'ai encore trouvé personne, quoique j'en aie consulté divers Italiens qui peut me donner quelque éclaircissement là-dessus. This is part of a letter from Cuper to La Croze. The ancient notes are comprized under three (46) heads: 1. hieroglyphical, where the thing to be understood is expressed by a symbol, as a circle for the sun. Where a cipher or character has the power of many letters, as in the Tyronian notes. Ennius, it is (48) said, invented eleven hundred of the latter, but in reality he took them from Eastern and Grecian archetypes. Tiro and others added many to those of Ennius, and Seneca augmented and digested the whole, and they are to be found at the end of Gruter's Inscriptions. In these and in the second sort or Sigla were the Roman laws and proceedings written, which of course became so obscure, that Tribonianus, who compiled the Justinian Code, was frequently at a loss to develop their signification. This induced the Emperor in 533 to (49) forbid their use. From their forms they were called (50) puncta, lineæ, flexuræ, catenationes, signorum capitones and compendiosa ænigmata; terms not easily rendered

(45) Virgam fructiferæ arbori decissam, in furculos amputant, eosque Notis quibusdam discretos, &c. Tacit. Germ. Sed manendum, tum ista aut populina fors aut abiegina est tua. Plaut. Cas. Ac, 2. Taubman. in loco. For the employment of the Adelfruni. Worm. Fast. Dan. l. 1. p. 124.

(46) In robore insculptas præscarum literarum notas. Cic. de divin. l. 2. c. 41. Nactus puerilem iconculam ejus æneam veterem ferreis ac fere jam exolecentibus literis inscriptam. Suet. in Oct. c. 7.

(47) Astle, supra sub fin.

(48) Isidor. Orig. l. 1. c. 21.

(49) 1. Cod. rit. 17. leg. 1.

(50) Lips. epist. ad Belg. cent. 1. ep. 27.

into English, yet conveying to us an idea of the multiplied modes of ancient brachygraphy and cryptography. Besides these there were notæ serviles, pecuariae, juridicæ. &c. and many more in common and daily use, all taken from the great body of Tiro's and Seneca's notes. Wherever a Roman station or colony was, there notes were necessary, and we have seen to what purposes they were applied by the surrounding barbarians. In the 6th century, Venantius Fortunatus mentions the old German custom of carving or painting Runes to have been common among the Franks.

Barbara fraxineis pingatur Runa tabellis.

About the year 1500, Trithemius discovered, that the ancient Norman and Francic alphabets were mixt with these (51) notes. He met with them in a Davidic Pfalter in the Straßburgh library. The Franks had (52) letters before they received christianity. Here then is an extraordinary authentication of the existence and use of these notes in Germany for more than a thousand years, and this proves, that the Northerns (contrary to what is generally believed) were acquainted with the alphabetic elements so early at least as their intercourse with the Romans.

There is no part of literary history more obscure than the formation of alphabets; nor is there any part of it more curious. Writers (53) have contented themselves with deducing the Francic and Saxon from the Latin, and the Runic from the Gothic, which in the improved state of these alphabets is, in some degree true; but they have not accounted for the strange and barbarous characters found in all, nor ascertained the time and cause of their insertions: I presume to offer but a few hints, introductory to an investigation of our Irish elements. The complete elucidation of this subject requires uncommon philological and critical learning, and would very properly have made a part of Mr. Asple's ingenious work on the Origin of writing. On the arrival of letters in the North, the various cryptic and stenographic modes of writing practised by the Romans were immediately known. The latter the barbarian priests adopted and studied, and that, in preference to the former, as being better calculated for magical purposes, and to make the vulgar stare. Such was the degradation of Religion in those ages, that it had sunk into enchantment and the grossest superstition; and such the corruption of letters, that they were become Tironian or Runic ciphers. The last particular every diplomatic writer, and every table of alphabets will confirm. During the time of the Gothic power

(51) Trithem. de Polygraph. p. 599.

(52) Hickes Thesaur. Franco. Theotife.

(53) Bernard's tables improved by Morton.

power in Italy, the Roman elements suffered a (54) remarkable change. A greater deviation ensued under the Longobards, and in the 8th century Roman letters were only found in the titles of MSS. Alphabets were composed of letters and Roman notes, uncouth in their figure, confused in their order, and barbarous in their name. The annexed plate demonstrates this. These alphabets seem to have been a national and even provincial concern. For as each country and tribe was distinguished by some particular ensign, as a Dragon, Raven, &c. so were they by a peculiar alphabet, which, while preserved, was supposed to contribute by its magic and occult qualities to the power and permanence of the state. Let us now attend to the proof.

"It appears, (says a most learned (55) Antiquary,) that the various foreigners inhabiting Britain, in the Saxon times, framed each an alphabet for themselves. From whence otherwise could spring such a diversity of Letters and Alphabets unknown elsewhere, and greatly surpassing in number those found in the MSS of any other country?" And as evidence he adduces a rubric prefixed to one of these fictitious alphabets, which runs thus: "Nemninus being upbraided by a Saxon scholar, as if the Britons were ignorant of the rudiments of learning, invented these letters, suddenly forming them from his own conceptions, to wipe away from his nation the imputation of dulness and ignorance." This was placed before the British Ogam in the Plate. Neither Langbaine, who I believe first communicated this rubric to Archbishop (56) Usher; nor (57) Hickes, who found it in the Bodleian Library, nor La Croze seem to understand its meaning: the last observes, if it be not a *jeu d'esprit*, the Britons must have lost all memory of their antiquities, for it suggests, that before this they had not letters. This however is a thoughtless guess, because the Britons had letters at least four centuries before the arrival of the Saxons; and if they had not, this extempore alphabet was not likely to render them general. The rubric records a contest between two literary men, one a Briton, the other an Anglo-Saxon. The latter was well acquainted with stenography and steganography, which in reality required much application and study, and therefore he prized very highly, calling them "*Rudimentum*," as the Schoolmen did their *Quiddities*, the only solid foundation of learning. In these he believed the Briton eminently defective, but by producing an extemporaneous alphabet, the latter shewed
the

(54) Mabillon, *supra*.(55) La Croze. *Vindic. Vet.* p. 89.

(56) Usher's letters by Parr, p. 551.

(57) *Catalog. Lib. septent.* p. 149.

the Saxon he was mistaken. It was not with ignorance of letters the Briton was upbraided, but of this rudimentum.

That each people had peculiar and appropriated alphabets, I need but cite Arngrim Jonas, who writing to Wormius tells him, there were Greenland, Opland, Greek, and Ira † letur or Irish runes. And from the same (58) work we learn, that the Malrunæ were proper to some people and invariably used by them. All the northern alphabets were originally made up of letters and Tironian notes, the latter seem to have been the Malrunæ. Wormius has (59) tortured his ingenuity to explain the consonants and vowels in these ciphers, but in vain; as well might he reduce to an alphabet the scrawling of an infant. Used in (60) diabolical exorcisms and conjurations, the zealous Roman missionaries endeavoured to destroy these notes or Runes. Mallet (61) also remarks, that as soon as the Gospel was preached in the North, an intermixture of the Roman letters appeared with the Runic, and that the latter continued to give way till finally abolished. Here he intimates what was nearly the truth, that the Runic like the other barbarous alphabets, was at first almost entirely made up of notes or magic Runes. The (62) Marcomannic Runes, in the plate, have out of fifteen but four letters resembling the Roman. And Wormius declares they agreed with the Runic, in the strangeness of their shape and names. The Norman alphabet in Bede is another instance. The Gothic, improperly ascribed to Ulphilas, has many characters, as given by Johannes Magnus and Bernard in his tables, quite unlike the Greek and Roman, and taken from the notes. The present Runic, without reason said to be derived from the Gothic, exhibits but three or four letters similar to the Greek and Roman. Hickes explicitly declares, (63) the present Anglo-Saxonic elements are not the entire old ones, but a more modern compound of Latin letters; and a very good (64) judge observes, the old Saxon letters resembled the Runic, that is, the notes. Here is a variety of testimonies

(58) Literat. Run. p. 37—40. Ut literas confingerent, quasi proprias gentis suæ. La Croze, supra, p. 89.

† The Ira Letur, or Irish Ogham characters did not differ greatly from the other Runic ones. Worm. Literat Run. c. I. Rowlands never saw the Ira Letur, and does not know whether they were the same as the Bethluisnion. Mena Antiq. p. 110. They were all the same.

(59) Worm. supra. p. 40.

(60) Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library, Preface.

(61) Supra, p. 378.

(62) Rab. Maurus says, they were used in incantations and divinations. De invent. liter. Tam quoad figuram, quam quoad nomina cum nostratibus convenire. Worm. supra, p. 47.

(63) Alphabetum Anglo-Saxonicum non est integrum illud vetus, cujus multi desiderantur characteres. Gram. Angl.-Sax. p. 2.

(64) Walker on Saxon Coins, apud Camden.

testimonies all uniting in proof of the same fact: that the Northern priests and necromancers, on their acquaintance with the Roman letters, adopted the Roman divinary and other notes: that these being used in conjurations, and known only to their Runer and Adelruner, acquired the name of Runes: that whole alphabets were formed from them, or with but a few letters scattered through them: that these magical alphabets multiplied in the dark ages, and spread over Western and Northern Europe, and that such were the ancient Irish elements we shall now see.

The oldest Irish alphabet is said to be the Bobeloth, so called from the names of certain (65) masters, who assisted in forming the Japhetic language. So idle a tale one would not expect to find in a modern Grammar: it is obvious this alphabet was denominated from Bobel, Loth, its two first letters. The other names and the figure of the letters are exactly in the style of the British, Runic, and Marcomannic Runes, as an inspection of the plate will evince. As might be expected, they resemble the Roman notes and Northern Runes. The learned Mr. Pinkerton (66) remarks, that the Bobeloth was a contracted mode of writing, well known by the name of *Notæ Longobardicæ*. If he had added "secreta" to contracted, he would have been perfectly right; for according to Mabillon, these Longobardic notes were the same as the other northern alphabets before spoken of.

Kinfaoladh, an author of the 7th century, is (67) said to have transcribed and illustrated the Irish Grammar. This notice would have been passed over, but that what it records happened in other countries. Thus the Runic, Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, and other alphabets were gradually purged of their Runes, and in their place Roman letters substituted. The same thing probably happened in Ireland in the seventh age: so that by transcribing and illustrating, I understand the composition of a new alphabet, perhaps the present Bethluisnion, which still preserves strong marks of a barbarous period. The two (68) characters given in the plate as varieties of the letter N; one as H, two as M, one as A, and one as E, being seven, and not to be seen as capitals or currents, as far as I have examined, in the common tables, but all of them in the Roman notes, prove they are the remains of the old Ogum or magical alphabet; even were this not the case, its name sufficiently verifies this curious fact: it is called *Bethluisnion na Ogma*, or the alphabet of magic or mysterious letters; a title expressing the true form of its original ciphers,

4 R

and

(65) Irish Grammar, p. 14. Harris's Ware, p. 21.

(66) Scotland, V. 2, p. 17.

(67) Irish Grammar, p. 13.

(68) O'Connor's Diff. p. 37.

and the use they were applied to, and such were O'Sullivan's and all other Ogums, being derivatives from the Roman notes. At first they were stenographic, then steganographic, then magical, and lastly alphabetic. Every circumstance relative to our letters confirms the truth of what has been advanced. They were (69) called *Feadha* or Woods, because like the conjuring rods of Tacitus's old Germans and the old tablets of the Franks, these Runes or Ogums were carved on them, and these are the genuine virgular characters, noticed by O'Flaherty.

In the Barbarian alphabets the order was not conformable to the Roman, but arbitrary and capricious: nothing less could be expected from the manner of composing them. "Those, (says (70) Wormius,) who would accommodate the Runic to the Roman order err egregiously." Mr. Asple (71) cannot be exact as to the time when the order of the Runic letters was confounded: it was in its first formation, and continued so to the reign of (72) Woldemar, A. D. 1185, when the Roman order was established. The Irish Bethluisnion is a living monument of a barbarous age. It begins with B, L, N; but N was anciently the fifth letter: A is its fourteenth, and all the consonants are placed before the vowels, so that in want of order as in every other particular, it entirely agrees with the Runic and other ancient northern alphabets. The rudeness and superstition of the Irish, through every age, invincibly attached them to their Bethluisnion na Ogma, as Runes are, at this day, used in the (73) mountains of Sweden.

We may recollect, that our historical romancers asserted the derivation of our letters from the Phœnicians. The learned Mr. Asple (74) speaking of the "*Textus Sancti Cuthberti*," written in the seventh century, remarks, that "it is in capitals, which were used by the Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, Visigoths, Saxons, French, and Germans; and that its alphabet bears strong testimony, that the letters used by our Saxon ancestors are derived from the Phœnician, the Greek, and Etruscan, through the medium of those of the Roman letters."—If I understand this paragraph, it means that the Saxon alphabet is taken from the Romans, as the latter is from the Phœnician, the Greek, and Etruscan, which no one denies, and which

Bernard's

(69) O'Connor, *supra*. O'Flaherty. *Ogyg.* p. 233. The Runic Biarkan was the same.

(70) A seopo & instituto majorum nostrorum longissime exorbitare video. *Sup.* p. 86, 87.

(71) Origin of writing, p. 89.

(72) Illas (Runas) a principio nec omnes eadem qua nunc alphabetaria schemata praeferunt forma extitisse dixit, nec serie collocatas eadem. Vulgarium ordinem numerumque a Woldemare ad formulam alphabeti Romani institutum esse aiebat. *Worm.* *sup.* p. 42.

(73) Mallet, *supra*, p. 378.

(74) *Supra*, p. 97.

Bernard's tables make evident. But, according to Mr. Asple, this text of the Gospels is written in letters used by the Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, Visigoths, Saxons, French, and Germans. The first question here to be asked is, did all these people use the same alphabet? The answer is direct and positive, that they did not. The Romans had their "literæ unciales, cubitales, grandes, & quadratæ." The Franks, besides a mixture of Tironian notes, had their "literæ Francogallicæ & Merovingicæ," and the Saxons had a very old alphabet and a more recent one. The same may be said of the other people. Where then did Ealfrith the monk, who so beautifully (75) wrote this MS for St. Cuthbert, find these capital letters of so many nations? The fact is, he neither found them nor sought for them, but he used the Roman notes, which in reality do approximate to the letters of every people, and were originally old obsolete letters, and were adopted by the nations Mr. Asple mentions, first as a contracted, then a secret, then a magical mode of writing, and lastly, as alphabetic elements, or mixt with them. Our learned and ingenious author, not aware of this progress, has necessarily expressed himself obscurely, and taken a position not tenable. Here is an additional confirmation of the idea pursued in these pages.

It is probable the use of brachygraphic and cryptographic notes was known in Ireland, at the very time St. Cuthbert's text was written, and the numerous capricious alphabets were invented, and this may be inferred from an (76) epistle of Aldhelm to Eahfrid, who was just returned from our isle, after a residence of six years.—It is thus :

Digna fiat fante glingio gurgo fugax fambulō.

The gloss subjoined, which is by no means intelligible, however shews, that it was written in ciphers, each expressing one or more words, as did the Tironian and other notes. It was thrown out by the petulant but ingenious Aldhelm to puzzle Eahfrid, and try the extent of his scholarship and Hibernian education. Perhaps the reader may consider the following instance also in point. Adamnan, an Irishman and Abbat of Hy, in the year 700, composed the life of St. Columba, whose successor he was. In the Preface to this performance he says, "he has (77) cyphered but a few things to avoid tiring the reader." Though the verb *caraxare* is often used for *scribere*, or *exarare*, yet, from the numerous instances that might be collected

(75) Strutt's Chronicle, V. i. p. 346.

(76) Usser, Syllog. p. 41.

(77) *Pauca sint caraxata.* Usser, Syllog. p. 42.

collected, some of which are given (78) below, it is especially applicable to stenographic notes, and the Glossary of Isidore calls the Short hand writer, "Charaxarius." So that Adamnan talking of the brevity of his work, uses this word with singular propriety.

As to the Callan inscription, which first give rise to this enquiry, the mode of cryptography there used, is the simplest that could be devised, that of strokes on each side of a master-line. These could never be the "uncouth virgular characters," spoken of by O'Connor, for uncouth can only be applied to the strange forms of the other Ogums, taken from the Roman notes. This was of all the worst calculated to promote literature, or, preserve the memory of events: For it requires 15 lines or strokes to express the five first letters of the alphabet, or fifty-one, for the eighteen elements of the Irish language. And is this the Ogum which (79) we are told, "the Irish Antiquaries preserved as a piece of the greatest value, and that it was penal for any but the Druids, to study or use it?" Indeed it is honouring such reveries too much, to mention them.

Scripta pudet recitare, & nugis addere pondus.

However, as some men of learning think favourably of this inscription, it is necessary to add a few remarks more on the subject.

The inscription in the Archaeologia is:

"Beneath lies Conal-Colgac, the long-footed."

It is also (80) read thus: "Beneath this sepulchral monument is laid Conan the fierce, the nimble-footed." These different interpretations by the same person look suspicious, but what shall we say, when we are given three other various readings by this writer? This was a fatal step; the Gentleman forgot, that the argument that proves too much, proves nothing: applied to the present case, it must demonstrate to every man of sense, that the different explications are grounded on no certain principles, and made out by different scales of Ogum, and by reading it then from right to left, and vice versa. Such childish manœuvres are really ridiculous, and have justly disgraced our Antiquities.

If

(78) Ubi est fusus in hanc lucem, mirabile dictu totum ejus corpusculum invenitur charaxatum, quasi crucicularum stigmatibus.

Charaxat ambas ungulis scribentibus,

Genas, cruentis et secat faciem notis.

Prudent.

Barth. Advers. l. 13. 18. l. 45. 19. Turneb. Advers. l. 14. c. 24.

(79) Irish Grammar, supra. p. 8.

(80) Trans. Royal Irish Academy, v. 1. p. 9.

If two interpretations give the name of Conal, and three confessedly do not, is there not more than an equal chance that the latter is right? And if so, what becomes of the veracity of the Bardic Tale by which this wonderful Sepulchre was discovered? A single erasure or omission of a stroke was sufficient to alter, or bury the meaning in perpetual oblivion. Was accuracy to be expected from rude and barbarous Irish engravers in the 3d century? Or can it be imagined, that the Callan inscription has stood almost 1500 years in a naked and wild situation, uninjured by the tooth of time, and all the vicissitudes of a variable climate? That the great Atlantic Ocean and its briny atmosphere, have had no influence on this rock, and so far from pulverizing its surface, have rendered it unfit for vegetation? These are wonderful things! Perhaps the venerable Druid who performed the funeral rites to the names of Conal-Colgach, (and who has not heard of Conal-Colgach?) not only pronounced the "sit terra levis," but washed the stone with a magic composition of Mifeltoe, Samolus and Selago, and in a fine prophetic phrenzy, predicted the amazing discoveries of Irish Antiquaries in the 18th century.

Great reason have we then to deplore that easy credulity, which could entertain favourable sentiments of one of the boldest, most artless and groundless figments offered to the learned world, since the days of Annius of Viterbo and Curtius Inghiramus: a figment arising from that too common weakness of mankind, of advancing on every occasion something surprising and marvellous. It was thus (the case is exactly similar) that the (81) fissures on a rock at Deighton, in North America, were taken for Phœnician inscriptions, when even a superficial observer, on viewing them, would instantly pronounce them the effects of frost and of the climate. But an Antiquary would blush at such a vulgar decision: the face of nature and reality of things, stubborn in every other hands, become plastic in his. His ingenuity and literature have not only the magic power of moulding them into any form, but he can fascinate every eye within the sphere of his operations.

The intercourse subsisting between the British isles naturally (82) introduced a knowledge of the Roman elements into Ireland at an early period. Wanley must therefore be much mistaken when he (83) asserted our Irish letters were communicated to us and the Britons by Augustine, the English Apostle, about the conclusion of the 6th century. Lhuyd shews this opinion to be ill founded so far as regards the

4 S

Britons:

(81) *Archæologia*, v. 8. p. 290.(82) *Ware*, chap. 1. Whitaker thinks it one or two centuries before St. Patrick. *Sup.* v. 1. p. 373.(83) *Apud* Lhuyd's letter to the Welsh in Malcolm's tracts, p. 6.

Britons: as to the Irish, says he, "the Roman arms never reached them, so that it is evident, of the three nations, the Britons, the Saxon and Irish, the first had a learned education and civilized manners, and whence should the others have had their letters but from their neighbours? I know the Irish will answer, that Avergin, the son of Mil Espaine, who was the (84) first of the nation of the Scots, who arrived in Ireland in the time of Solomon, wrote the same characters which are still in use among them; but every one knows it is impossible to be assured of that, and all learned men agree, that we have no certain knowledge concerning the inhabitants of these islands, nor of the other barbarians of Europe, older than the writings of the Greeks and Romans. This must be granted by the Saxons and Irish, as well as by the Welsh, that some two of them received their alphabet from the third, because each of them not only retains the same letters, but the same pronunciation of them: I say the same letters, because the Saxons did not write any of the letters K, O and X, no more than we; nor do the Irish make use of them to this day. So that either the Britons taught the Saxons and Irish, or the Irish taught the former. If the Irish taught the Britons, then they must have had Latin letters before the coming of the Romans into Britain, which it is impossible to prove. As the Britons had letters before the time of Juvenal and Tacitus, I see no reason to doubt, but that the Irish received their ancient alphabet, first from the Britons, and the Saxons, three of the four ages after, learned them from the Britons and Irish." Thus far Lhuyd, whose sentiments on every point regarding the ancient literature of these kingdoms merit the greatest attention. The oldest remains of a British alphabet are seen on the coins of Cunobeline, who ruled a part of Britain in the reign of Augustus. Christianity, which was early introduced, extended the use of letters among the provincial Britons: they were necessary for their intercourse with the Romans. But it was to be expected, that the Latin language and letters would have been corrupted in passing through the hands and mouths of rude people. The Spanish poets of Corduba, who composed in Latin, though highly accomplished, had notwithstanding, according to (85) Cicero, something "pingue atque peregrinum," inelegant and foreign to an Italian ear, and which detracted from their excellence

(84) This is from despicable Irish romance, for Europe was then thinly inhabited by wandering tribes of barbarians. Solomon lived above a thousand years before our era.

(85) Poetis Cordubæ natis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum. Cic. pro Archia. Hoc est, says Cellarius, aliquid soloeci vel Græcis vel Latinis carminibus miscerent. Diss. Academ. p. 367. Cicero probably means something more.

cellence. The same was observed of all the (86) municipal schools. The Roman soldiery in Britain were mostly of German Latinized cities, and the auxiliaries, German and French, consequently the purity of the Latin tongue and the shape of its letters were soon changed: barbarism was perceived in the enunciation of the one and in the form of the other. Through this medium the Roman divinatory and other notes, and the notion of their magic powers were communicated to the Britons.

But the corrupt Roman elements, which the Irish adopted, were inadequate to a notation of the sounds of their language. O'Molloy, our oldest grammarian, (87) allows but seventeen letters, excluding h, k, q, w, x, y and z: O'Connor reckons eighteen, taking in h; p he says is not found in the more ancient glossaries. Lhuyd makes them eighteen, with thirteen diphthongs, five triphthongs and five vowels, so that there are forty-one sounds expressed by but eighteen letters. This number of sounds must not appear incredible, for the present Russian (88) has forty-one, the Sanscrit fifty, the Malabarian and Cashmirian many more; ours arose from the corruption of the Celtic by the swarms of barbarians who over-ran the country at different times; for in the island of St. Kilda, remote from human intercourse, the simple sounds of the Celtic were but few, and the natives did (89) not use the letters D, G. and R.

Confusion and uncertainty in writing and pronouncing the Irish, unavoidably resulted from this want of notation. Thus b, e, d, f, g, m, p, r, and s, with h, or a point added, totally changed their sounds, and they became other consonants. The pronunciation of the diphthongs and triphthongs are quite unintelligible from their notations, and can only be learned by (90) the ear; and O'Connor confesses, the compounds gn, oi and io have no equivalent sound in any language he knew. The remarks of a (91) judicious grammarian and lexicographer are to the present purpose, and not undeserving the reader's notice.

“The French language has seventeen vowels, though there is a notation but for five: there are twenty-one consonants, but a notation only for eighteen, and there are four

(86) Aufon. grat. act. p. 256.

(87) Habet literas in rigor septendecim. Gram. p. 5. (88) Asse, p. 20.

(89) Malcolm's tracts, p. 35.

(90) Qualiter diphthongi vel triphthongi apud Hibernos debeat pronunciari res est scire difficilis: hoc opus, hic labor: meo iudicio, vix ullus perfecte discet qualiter efferantur, nisi attente auscultet peritum in hac lingua eas pronunciantem. O'Molloy, sup. p. 47.

(91) Chambaud's elements of the French lang. preface.

four consonants, ch, gn, ill, and y, of which the alphabet gives no manner of knowledge. Both vowels and consonants are represented different ways: some cannot be represented for want of proper simple characters, but by several letters. Now each of the letters which make up these diverse combinations has not the sound or articulation which it has when pronounced by itself; and those letters blended together, represent a sound which has no affinity with those which each of them represents singly. If therefore a teacher makes his pupils name each of the letters which make up these combinations, he will make them pronounce false sounds. As the present French alphabet does not contain all the sounds and articulations of the language, nor all the ways of representing them, a more rational and easy method must be thought of to facilitate a knowledge of them. Spelling words will never give them the sounds, they must be pronounced after a master."

The fact is therefore, as might be expected, that the speech of the Irish became a fluctuating jargon, full of strange dialects; it had no analogy in its sounds; its anomalous (92) verbs are so variously formed as to depend entirely on the practice of writers; there are no (93) rules for its cases; it possesses neither alphabetical sounds, words for ideas, orthography, or syntax. The essay on the colonization of Ireland will satisfactorily account for these particulars. The Welsh is (94) equally disfigured, mutilated, and corrupted.

To confirm what is advanced, Lombard, titular Archbishop of Armagh in 1632, shews (95) how widely the dialects of the four provinces differed, and that Leinster was defective in just phraseology and pronunciation: and O'Connor (96) informs us, that it is little more than an hundred years since the schools wherein the Irish language had been taught in its purity have failed; and yet anomalies and solecisms have multiplied, and the growing ignorance in the true orthoëpy has already thrown many words out of their radical structure. "Did we read a passage, (adds he,) of classical Irish to the common people of Ireland, the greater part would be absolutely unintelligible to them." The interval between the time Lombard and O'Connor writ, was more than a century, and yet the latter talks of Irish being taught in its purity at time the former declared it to be corrupted. Almost a century before Lombard's

(92) Verborum alia variantur valde apud Hibernos, velut heteroclitica & diversimode, ita ut universalis regula pro iis requirit dari, adeoque insistendum sit auctoribus ubique probatis. O'Molloy, p. 125.

(93) Nec extant regulæ, sed usus & auctoritas pro hujusmodi declinationibus. O'Molloy, p. 120.

(94) Lhuyd, At I Kymry. Bernard. epist. ad Hickes. Pinkerton, p. 122.

(95) De regno Hib. p. 7.

(96) Ogyg. vind. p. 20.

bard's age, Stanihurst in Hollinshed writes thus, "the true Irish differeth so much from that they commonlie speak, that scarce one in five hundreth can either rede, write, or understonde it; therefore it is preserved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries." So that as soon as the language came to be examined by scholars and grammarians they found it a jargon not reducible in orthography, orthoëpy, or syntax to any standard. This is the language which the very eccentric author of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* asserts to be the parent of every other on the globe.

O tribus Anticyris

Caput insanabile!

"I shall not determine, (says (97) Leibnitz) whether the Anglo-Saxons brought their letters into England, or whether they learned them from the Britons." That the Saxons and Irish had their original elements from those of the Romans, is the opinion of the best antiquaries; and so similar were they, that formerly they were indifferently called Saxon or Irish. The reason for ascribing the Anglo-Saxon alphabet to the Irish was, their having converted, according to Bede, almost the whole nation, and communicating to them together the (98) light of the gospel and of letters. In the (99) Bodleian library is Mac Reguil's, or Regol's gospels in Irish, of the seventh century, and Fareman's and Oen's copy of St. Jerome's translation of the gospels, with an interlineary Dano-Saxon version of the tenth century. In the same library is Ovid's *Art of Love* in Latin, but in Irish characters. In the front or title-page is Christ painted, and at his feet St. Dunstan, with inscriptions, all executed by St. Dunstan himself. Now it is well known that this saint was (100) an Anglo-Saxon, born in Somersethire and educated at Glastonbury; so that these Irish letters must have been Anglo-Saxon. Doctor Langbaine, in (1) a letter to Archbishop Usher, says; "what characters the ancient Britons used, whether that which the Saxons after, as your Lordship if I remember well is of opinion: or the same with your ancient Irish, which I conceive to be not much different from the

4 T

Saxon,

(97) *An Angli vel Saxones suas literas in Britanniam secum attulerint, an a Britannis didicerint, non dixerim.* Leibnitz. apud Chamberlayne. *Orat. Domin.*

(98) *Nihil hactenus invenire potui, quod ante fidem a Saxonibus susceptam literis istis exaratum sit.* Sheringham. de orig. Angl. p. 293. Bolland. *Acta sanct.* 17 mart. p. 517.

(99) Hickes, catal. Septent. p. 149. *Athe.* p. 99.

(100) Cave. *Hist. Liter.* V. 1. p. 409.

(1) Parr's letters, p. 551.

Saxon, to which the monument of (2) Corcenn, both as to form of some letters and the ligatures of them seem to come nearer than to the Saxon, I dare not take upon me to determine." If then we can rely on those excellent judges, Usher, Langbaine, Hickes, and Asple, there can be no doubt of the almost perfect identity of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish elements about the year 830.

To conclude, I am very sensible how much I stand in need of the learned diplomatic reader's indulgence for the hints advanced in this Essay; if they urge a farther investigation of the subject, I shall think my labour fully compensated.

Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,

Hyblæos latebris nec spoliat favos;

Si fronti caveat, si timeat rubos.

CLAUDIAN.

(2) He was prince of Powis in Wales. The inscription is in the abbey of Langholen in Denbighshire, and is of the year 830. Lhuyd, p. 226—229.



A REVIEW OF IRISH LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

FIFTH CENTURY.

IN the foregoing Essay, the pretensions of the Irish to an original alphabet have been examined and rejected; and it has there been shown what were the probable introduction and date of letters in this Isle. It has been (1) proved, that Irish literature in pagan times is ideal, and that after the most confident assertions of our being a civilized people in those ages, the want of literary and other monuments, with the united voice of ancient writers, proclaims our ignorance and rudeness. As I confine myself solely to the state of learning in the middle and dark ages, I am the better able to pay an undivided attention to this interesting subject, yet without presuming to think I have exhausted or even exhibited it in the extent, or with the erudition that others might have done. The lives and miracles of saints, monastic rules, and all the supposititious and apocryphal trash that croud the pages of Ware's writers and Harris's additions, I leave to the credulity and illustration of others, dwelling only on those parts of solid learning worthy of rational inquiry, and which form the only true grounds of national fame and honour.

The invasion of England by the Anglo-Saxons, in the middle of this century, was an event extremely calamitous to that country, but productive of the happiest consequences in this, by driving hither many (2) pious and learned men, who promoted the study of letters and strengthened infant christianity among us. I can discover no other adequate cause of the quick advances we made in literature, but the emigration of the British clergy in this and the next age. Here they found a secure asylum from the din of war, and those broils so hated by peaceful and studious men. Rome and her Pontiffs are held out by our writers as the source from whence

(1) *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland*, by Dr. Campbell.

(2) *Usser, Primord.* p. 563—564.

whence flowed (3) religion and letters to us, and St. Patrick is made the person who conducted them hither. After what has before been advanced concerning the age and existence of this saint, I shall only now remark, that his whole story is a fiction invented long after the time in which he is supposed to live, and that the works ascribed to him are palpable forgeries, and carry numberless internal marks of being such. They were collected and published in London by Sir James Ware in the year 1656. I shall slightly run them over, as they scarcely merit notice.

His Confession is a rhapsody of his travels, miracles, deliverances, and revelations. Can we but wonder at that strange infatuation which could make Usher and Ware, for a moment, entertain favourable notions of the authenticity of this work, wherein no notice is taken of the education of our apostle under St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, or his relationship to him, of his journies on the continent, and his advancement to the episcopate of Ireland by Pope Celestine? The omission of these and many other important particulars, with the legendary style of the whole, evince^{and} it to be the juvenile exercise of some monk of the eleventh or twelfth century. His Epistle to Coroticus, a Welch prince, is of the same stamp with the Confession. It speaks of the Roman and Gallic christians sending many thousand solidi to redeem captives from the Franks. Whoever writ this was but little acquainted with the state of Italy under the Gothic princes, or of the French under the Merovingians. Ware says the texts of scripture cited in these tracts are translations from the Septuagint and not the Vulgate, and that this determines them to the age of St. Patrick. But this argument carries no weight with it; for the old Italic version, which is that here alluded to, was used by the (4) Irish so late as 815, and probably later; nor can the biblical (5) critics ascertain when, if ever, it went into disuse, for it is allowed to have made a considerable part of the present Vulgate. The next treatise, *De Tribus Habitaculis*, is better written, and evidently discovers a different pen. It descants on the joys of heaven and torments of hell. Boston of Bury gives it to St. Austin, others to St. Bernard. St. Patrick's charter has been proved by (6) Stillingfleet to be a forgery, for it computes by the year of our Lord; a custom not begun till 525, nor practised in England till 816. It mentions indulgences as relaxations of penance, which were unknown before the eleventh century. The tract, *de duodecim abusionibus sæculi*, is said to be composed by St. Cyprian or St. Austin.

In

(3) Bollandus is angry with Colgan for making these older in Ireland than the time of St. Patrick. 17 *Act. Sanct. Mart.* But Bollandus was devoted to Rome.

(4) Usher's religion of the Irish.

(5) Simon, *Histoire Crit.*

(6) *British Churches*, c. 1. p. 14.

In a book of Saxon homilies, in Lambeth Library, is a treatise, *de octo vitiis & duodecim abusioibus sæculi*, which is perhaps the same as ours, and which Hickes thinks (7) was written after the Norman times. Whoever will peruse an (8) account of the spurious pieces fathered on the patriarchs, prophets, the apostles, and even on our blessed Redeemer himself, who it seems condescended to write an epistle to the Council of Constance, will not be surprized at those ascribed to our apostle.

Sedulius is said by Usher, Ware, and Harris, to be the most learned Hibernian of this age. Certainly we must think highly of his theological and critical acquirements, was he the author of the works passing under his name. But this is an error; Bayle (9) has proved there were two Seduliuses; Cælius Sedulius, a celebrated poet, who flourished about 434, and from a poetical epistle to Theodosius I. seems to have been an Italian. The other, our countryman, composed commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, and lived about 818. The principal literati of the dark ages being Irishmen, had the words *Scoti* and *Scotigenæ* joined to their names, and ignorant copyists added them, as in the present instance, to others without reason.

Colgan has given a translation of a poem said to be the work of Feich, Bishop of Sletty, near Carlow, A. D. 434. It is a metrical version of the legend of St. Patrick. It begins thus:

*Natus est Patricius Nemturri,
Ut refertur in historiis;
Fuit annorum sedecim
Quando ductus in captivitate.*

We are (10) told this Feich was a disciple of our apostle, and advanced by him to the episcopal dignity, he could therefore be no stranger to his origin, whereas the second line above intimates that this poem was compiled from old histories. This and an (11) alphabetical hymn are the wretched productions of some cloistered ecclesiastic. I acknowledge the infinite obligations the Irish Antiquary is under to Usher, Ware, and others, and that there is abundant utility in their farraginous compilations; yet I know as well, that they did not believe to be genuine all that

4 U

they

(7) Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 172. It is also ascribed to St. Cyprian. Hickes, p. 144.

(8) Fabric. Cod. Apocryp. & Pseudepig. 4 Tom. a very curious collection of heretical and literary impostures.

(9) Dict. Article, Sedulius. Mabillon. Analect. t. 1. p. 363.

(10) Ware's Writers, p. 6.

(11) S. Patric. Opusc. p. 146.

they set down: Archbishop Usher (12) confesses his antiquities of the British and Irish Churches contain many things frivolous, doubtful and false; even from these he remarks an historian may reap considerable advantages. But when, in his other writings, he alleges these as direct and positive proofs of transactions and doctrines in early times, he betrays a want of recollection, if not of prudence:

Est quoddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.

SIXTH CENTURY.

The Anglo-Saxon power daily increasing, the British clergy every where fled from its (13) exterminating fury: many retiring to this isle (14) opened schools. Letters now greatly flourished in Wales in the (15) person of Dubricius, Illutus, Sampson, Paternus and many more. When we remember the agreement of the Britons and Irish in religious sentiments, and the recent obligations of the latter to the former, there can be no doubt but we received these terrified and expatriated ecclesiastics with open arms. St Jerome mentions the resort of British Christians to the East, and we (16) know that Paternus, David, and Teliaw went thither to receive episcopal ordination, thereby recognizing the fountain of their faith. As these men were celebrated scholars, and well furnished with human learning for their high office, it is reasonable to believe their knowledge was much improved and augmented by their journey, and that they were accompanied back by Greeks and other foreigners of the clerical order, whose zeal or curiosity prompted them to visit these Isles. Whatever learning the Britons acquired was communicated to the Irish. The indiscriminate admission of eminent men of either nation to the government of monasteries and schools was common in this age. Thus (17) St. Brendan, an Irishman, ruled the Abbey of Lhancarvon in Wales. Kentigern, a Scot, was ordained by an Irish Bishop, and founded a see and abbey in Wales. Gildas, a Briton, taught in Armagh. Other instances may be seen in Usher. Following their (18) Eastern archetypes,

(12) Frivola etiam nonnulla, dubia multa, & falsa quoque non pauca. supra, Præfat.

(13) Usher. supra, p. 416—417.

(14) Usher. supra, ad Ann. 498.

(15) Stillingfleet, supra, p. 202—346.

(16) Usher. p. 474—528. Syllog. Epist. p. 131, and these antiquities, p. 55.

(17) Usher. 353—532—955.

(18) Εἰς Βασιλικὴν, ὡς αὐτοὶ παιδευεῖται. Socrat. Hist. Ecc. l. 3. c. 1. Spelman. Conc. v. 1. p. 247. Wharton auctar. ad Usher. c. 4. p. 346.

archetypes, our churches and monasteries were schools for the instruction of youth. Thus the seminaries of Dubricius and Illutus were (19) famous among the Britons, and that of Paulinus, says Leland, flourished like an university. On the contrary the (20) Benedictines and other Roman monks despised learning, laid more stress in their rules on abstinence and manual labour than on letters. In our Abbies (21) prophane and sacred literature was cultivated: in that of Roscarbery, in the county of Cork, St Brendan taught the liberal arts. The (22) Encyclopædia of the Greeks, and the liberal arts of the Romans varied in number, but were at length fixed to these seven, (23) Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy: each of these was formed into an elementary treatise, more or less perfect according to the abilities of the composer. A very curious work, comprehending all the foregoing arts, and written (24) about the year 466, by Martianus Capella, has come down to us. In the present state of knowledge it is not an edifying book, but it is very valuable, as it points out what were the education and study of the clergy and higher ranks in the middle ages. In this century it was used in the French monasteries, as we learn from (25) Gregory of Tours, and a thorough mastery of it was believed to give the (26) last polish to the student. In Grotius's edition of Capella, which I use, the seven liberal arts occupy about 300 small octavo pages, too few a number unless for a text book, and as such it was adopted. From the retreat of the Britons to (27) Bas Bretagne in 453, a constant intercourse was maintained between them and their brethren in these isles, for Illutus, Sampson, Gildas, and the other learned Britons frequently visited their transmarine countrymen: one of whom the latter raised to the see of Dole, and another was made Bishop of the Oxismii, the most northern people of Bretagne. France was also frequented by the Irish, as we find by the authors cited by Usher. So that
when

(19) Stillingfleet, p. 202.

(20) Stillingfleet, p. 205—206.

(21) Usher, p. 910—907. Stillingfleet, *supra*.

(22) Wower. de Polymathia. c. 14. p. 208.

(23) Ordo autem iste septem a philosophis usque ad astra perductus est, &c. Isidor. Orig. p. 914.

(24) Fabric. Biblioth. lat. p. 638. Barth. Advers. l. 8.

(25) Quod si te sacerdos Dei, quicumque es, Martianus noster erudit, id est, si te in grammaticis docuit, legere; in dialecticis altercationum propositiones advertere, &c. Hist. fol. 102. Edit. Paris, 1522. There were few monasteries in England in 640, if Bede isto be credited, nam eo tempore, necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Britannia, monasticæ conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant, sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas mittebant. Bed. l. 3. c. 8.

(26) Si in his omnibus ita fueris exercitatus, ut tibi stylus noster sit rusticus; ne sit quoque deprecor ut avellas quæ acripisti, &c. Greg. Tur. *supra*.

(27) Usher, p. 1110.

when it is said that St. Patrick studied at Tours, to which Dole was suffragan, we can only understand some obscure remembrance of this connection with the Continent. From all which I infer, that Capella was now known and taught in our Irish schools as a classic, and in this I am confirmed when I find him commented on by Johannes Scotus Erigena, and Duncant, an Irish Bishop, the latter delivering his lectures on him in the monastery of St. Remigius in Down. Both of which works are (28) extant. If the reader will credit the evidence now submitted to him, he will perceive how learning was originally derived to the Irish, and with what avidity and success they studied these, foreign writers shall soon declare. Their religion kept them from mental degradation, the sure consequence of superstition. Instead of compiling pious fictions and lying miracles of imaginary saints, they were exercising their genius in acquiring languages, ecclesiastical history and the liberal arts. I have insisted the longer on these points, as they are extremely curious, though hitherto unnoticed. I now return to the very disagreeable task of detecting a forgery.

The Life of St. Bridget by (29) Cogitorfus is supposed to be genuine. We are (30) told he lived before 590. This cannot be true: for he calls the first prelates of Kildare, archbishops, a dignity not known in Britain before 673, and much later here. After Bishop Conlœth, who died in 519, we meet with no other prelate of Kildare for 119 years, though he informs us the succession was uninterrupted: as he was a monk of Kildare, he might have easily filled up the chasm. These are suspicious circumstances; but, what evinces this work of Cogitofus to be supposititious, is his Description of the Monuments of St. Bridget and Conlœth on the right and left of the altar at Kildare. They were not only highly finished with gold and silver ornaments, with gems and precious stones, suspended gold and silver crowns, but the wall of the chancel was painted with portraits. These latter, says Basnage, the editor of Canisius, (31) smell strongly of later ages. The architecture of the church is the work of fancy, and could not exist earlier here than the twelfth century, for the Irish, as I have already shown, had no stone edifice in the sixth. The great number of silly and impious miracles with which this work is stuffed, totally destroys its credit. St. Bridget commits a pious murder to preserve the reputation of a nun by dissipating her pregnancy. The Vestal Claudia vindicates her chastity in a different manner.

Si

(28) Fabric. *supra*, p. 640. Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*. V. 2. p. 75—76.

(29) Canis. *Lect. Antiq.* t. 5. p. 625. Mosheim. V. 1. p. 471.

(30) Ware's *Writers*, p. 14. And *Bishops*, p. 381.

(31) *Posteriora redolent sæcula*. Canis. *supra*.

*Si nostrum nullo violatum est crimine corpus,
Testis Diva veni, & facili me absolve carina.
Tum secura capit funem.*

SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE religious establishments in this and the preceding century, with the security that letters enjoyed in our Isle from the convulsions of surrounding nations, made her the school of learning to the Western world. But a cause, hitherto unobserved, and equally powerful in its operations, tended to fill Ireland with learned men, and that was the discouragement of literature by the Roman Pontiffs. From the time of St. Augustine, says (32) Rous, the Bishops of Rome interdicted schools and teaching in England, on account of the heresies constantly springing up there, and this continued to the time of Alfred. Pope Gregory I. discountenanced prophane the more to advance (33) sacred learning. and with this intent burnt the Palatine library and works of Livy. Gregory followed Arnobius, whose work against gentile superstition clearly inculcated the corruption of christianity by heathen writers. The learned Bruker, in his critical history of philosophy, against Bayle and Barbayrac shews Gregory's conduct to be highly probable, if not certain. These facts are recorded by zealous Romanists. Hence the liberal and ingenious were necessarily driven to this isle to acquire the rudiments of knowledge, as papal injunctions had no force here. And hence the superiority of the British and Irish clergy in all their disputes with their antagonists about baptism, easter, the tonsure and other ceremonies and rites. A superiority which so severely galled the Romish party and retarded their influence and innovations, that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, even against the spirit of his religion and the order of his superiors, was (34) forced to set up schools and promote the study of letters. Having unfolded the causes of our celebrity as a literary school in this age, I shall now mention some of the ornaments of it.

4 X

Columbanus

(32) Hist. reg. Ang. p. 68—72—73. Edit. Hearne.

(33) Quod divinæ paginæ gratior esset locus. Joh. Sarisbur. de Nug. Curial. l. 8. c. 19. Hieron. ad Ephes. l. 2. Isidor. de sum. bono l. 3. Can. 1. distinct. 37.

(34) Innet's Orig. Anglic. p. 76.

Columbanus (35) was educated at Bangor under St. Congel. The reputation of the Irish ecclesiastics in distant countries seduced them from home, and in most cases prepared for them an easy and kind reception. Our missionary went to France, and founded the monastery of Luxeuil and Fontaines in Burgundy. Cave and Dupin speak of him as a man of primitive simplicity and ancient virtue, which led him to censure with sharpness and freedom the highest characters in the church. In his letter to Pope Boniface III. he charges him with heresy, and suspects his church to be in error. In another letter he tells the Pope, that he had written to his predecessor Gregory concerning the difference between the Irish and Roman churches, and entreats him to be permitted to retain his national customs, for that Polycarp and Anicetus did not break communion on this account, and he cites a canon of the first Constantinopolitan Council for this indulgence. But clerical resentment is not soon appeased; our missionary was expelled his abbey: after which he retired to Bobbio in Italy, and erected a monastery there. Dupin, who carefully examined, and with ability epitomized his works, declares they are written with much wisdom and elegance, and with a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical history: that they are judicious, witty and learned.

Cummian's letters to Segienus, Abbot of Hy, has before been noticed. He is styled by Adamnan, Commineus Albus, and was advanced to the abbacy of Hy in 657. He seems to have been (36) descended from the same family with Columba, and in virtue of hereditary right to have succeeded him. That he was a Culdee and apostatized may be collected from his Epistle, which was written many years before he attained the abbatial chair. During this interval he probably recanted, or qualified his sentiments so as to make them palatable to the monks of Hy. His tract would at any time be esteemed argumentative and learned, and the number of books he possessed, or must have perused, are considerable. He cites Jerome, Origen, Cyril, Cyprian, Gregory and Augustine. He adduces (37) Anatolius's cycle of nineteen years; Theophilus's of ninety-five; Cyril's of the same; Dionysius's octaetris; Victorius's of five hundred and thirty-two years, with those of Augustine,

(35) Doctor Smith, in his ancient Scottish Poems, confounds Columba with Columbanus: it was the former who instituted the numerous religious establishments, and hence named Columcille; and it was the latter who gave the monastic rule published by Messingham and Holstein.

(36) Compare O'Brien's Dic. p. 360. Ogyg. vind. p. 133.—134.

(37) Fragments of it are found in Eusebius; but it was more completely published by Bucher. de Doctrin. temp. Strauch. Brev. Chron. B. 2. c. 6.

Augustine, Morinus and Pachomius. The Irish adopted the (38) Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, which was followed by the Eastern Christians, and through St. John's disciples communicated to the Irish, as Colman affirmed in the conference at Whitby. Cummian quotes the canons of the church, which shows he was well acquainted with ecclesiastical discipline. This treatise, short as it is, comprehends a variety of learning, and clearly points out the studies of the Irish and their advances in literature at this period. "It was now, (says Bede,) that many noble English, and others of inferior rank, leaving their native country, withdrew to Ireland, to cultivate letters or lead a life of greater purity. Some became monks, others attended the lectures of celebrated teachers; these the Irish most cheerfully received, and supplied without any recompence with food, books, and instruction." So zealous and disinterested a love of learning is unparalleled in the annals of the world. May we not apply to them these lines of Claudian?

*Hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris,
Nec tenebris damnavit opes; sed largior imbre
Sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas.*

It was in this remote ille, as Bede goes on to relate, that Agilbert, Bishop of the West-Saxons and after of Paris, spent much time in studying the holy scriptures; and that Ædilvinus, after being instructed here, returned home and was promoted to the episcopate of Lindisfern. Of Alfred, King of Northumberland, Bede thus speaks in his life of St. Cuthbert:

*Scottorum qui tum versatus finibus hospes,
Cælestem intento spirabat corde Sophiam.
Nam patriæ fines & dulcia liquerat arva,
Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.*

It was our unrivalled literary fame that excited the jealousy of Aldhelm, and made him write that glibbing sarcastic (39) letter to Eahfrid, who was just returned to England after a residence of six years here, being made Bishop of Lindisfern. "Why should Ireland, (says he,) whither troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be had to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge. Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned like the poles of the world

(38) Nam quia per omnia Apostolos hæc in re imitarentur, & permulti ex illis ex Judaismo ad christianismum transissent, non obscurum est eorum cyclum merum Judaicum & Chaldaicum fuisse. Scalig. de Emend. Temp.

(39) Usser. Syllog. p. 37.

world with innumerable bright stars, it is Britain has her radiant sun, her sovereign Pontiff Theodore, nurtured from the earliest age in the school of philosophy: it is she possesses Adrian his companion, graced with every virtue. This is that Theodore, who, though he should be surrounded by a circle of Hibernian scholars, as a boar in the midst of snarling dogs, yet as soon as he bares his grammatical tooth, he quickly puts to flight the rebel phalanxes."

For this and more invidious bombast he apologizes to his friend, who loved the Irish, by declaring he was but in jest. This, however, was a falsehood, for he was extremely useful to Theodore, and active in reclaiming the Cornish Britons from their ancient faith, for which he was appointed Bishop of Sherborne. This Aldhelm had splendid parts and much learning, the latter he acquired under our countryman (40) Maidulph, who instructed him in the liberal arts; for except the Irish Culdees dispersed over Britain, there were no other masters: he also (41) studied at Lindisfern. He affirms he was the first Anglo-Saxon who composed in Latin: this acknowledgment evinces the low state of letters in England, while they were flourishing in Ireland. Hence he praises no British scholar, but Theodore and Adrian, both foreigners, who after all their acquirements were not more than a match for our Hibernian dogs.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

WILLIBRORD, a Northumbrian by (42) birth, and after Archbishop of Utrecht, was an eminent missionary among the Frisians in the beginning of this century. Hear what his biographer says of his preparatory studies: "When he arrived at the twentieth year of his age, he was inflamed with the desire of a stricter life, and a love of visiting foreign parts. And because he heard that learning flourished greatly in Ireland he intended to go there, moved principally thereto by the fame of its holy men, particularly of the blessed father Egbert and the venerable priest Wigbert,

(40) *Informatus ad studium, liberales artes plenitudini scientiæ adiecit.* Guil. Malmesb. vit. Aldhelmi. Aldhelmus plus quam satis prodens, semet huic Hibernorum felicitati invidisse. Murray. Nov. Com. Gottingen. Tom. 2. p. 120. The English envied our progress in letters. Prætereo Scotos, tum maxime doctos—Hic quicquid literariæ artis elaborabant (quod non adeo exile erat) Aldhelmi committebant arbitrio, ut perfecti ingenii lima eraderetur scabredo Scotica. Guil. Malmesb. Aldhelm's works, were published by Delrio at Mentz, A. D. 1601.

(41) Bed. l. 5. c. 19. Biographia Britan. Article, Aldhelm.

(42) Alcuin, vit. Willibrordi. Mosheim, V. 1. p. 491—492.

Wigbert, who both for the love of a celestial country had forsaken their houses and kindred, and retired to Ireland. The blessed Willibrord, emulating the sanctity of these two holy men, embarked for this island, where he joined himself to their society, like a diligent bee, that he might, by means of their vicinity, suck the mellifluous flowers of piety, and build up in the hive of his own breast, sweet honeycombs of virtue. There for the space of twelve years under those illustrious masters he treasured up knowledge and virtue, that he might be enabled to become the teacher of many nations." These are the words of Alcuin, the most universal and celebrated scholar of the age, as Dupin, Blunt, Cave, and others testify.

Virgil (43) was one of eight Irish Bishops, who, according to the custom of the times, took a journey to the Holy Land. He was promoted by Pope Stephen and King Pepin to the See of Saltzburg, but was detained for two years by Pepin to profit by his uncommon erudition and piety. After this he was honourably received by Otilo, Duke of Bavaria, and accepted the Bishoprick from his hands. For some time he deferred his consecration, all episcopal acts being performed by Dobdan, a Greek, who followed him from Ireland. Usher tells us, he should wonder at the mention of a Greek's leaving Ireland, did he not know that at Trim, in Meath, is a church called the Greek church. But how does the existence of this church remove our surprize or account for its name? The Primate gives no explanation. I have before remarked that the fame of our learning and the excellence of our discipline brought many foreigners hither from distant parts, and Dobdan was one of them. The dreadful Saracenic irruption into the Greek empire in this and the preceding century put to flight letters and their admirers. An anecdote preserved by (44) William of Malmesbury is very much to our purpose. A Greek monk, named Constantine, came to Malmesbury and planted a vine-yard near the abbey. He led a life of strict temperance and virtue. When he came to die and was near expiring, he suddenly raised himself up, and taking from his scrip, which lay near him, an archiepiscopal pall, put it on and instantly breathed his last: every one wondered why he left his country or concealed his dignity; the latter, if known, would have created him much trouble, and the former has been accounted for. He fixed particularly at Malmesbury, because there our Maidulph had founded an eminent seminary for Greek and Roman learning. If the reader will pay any regard to Aengus's Martyrology, he will see there Romans, Saxons, and Egyptians noticed, as residents here, and whose piety procured them a place in our old Litanies. It was
4 Y from

(43) Usher, Syllog. p. 131. Canis. sup. tom. 3.

(44) Apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. p. 37.

from Dobdan and the other lettered Greeks and Orientals that Virgil learned the doctrine (45) of the antipodes and the earth's sphericity. This being the Pythagorean system, a new one sprang up of the earth's being a plane, which was defended by Lucretius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Lactantius, and St. Augustine, and continued to prevail till Copernicus revived the old one. Virgil must have read Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Proclus, and Stobæus, and probably other writers not now extant, to be convinced of the reasonableness and truth of the Pythagorean notion. This, while it shews the philosophical studies of the Irish, demonstrates their attachment to the Greek school and fathers above the Roman. Virgil's superior accomplishments dazzled (46) the eyes and roused the jealousy of Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, who with all the rancour of ignorance persecuted our countryman. That it was for his mathematical opinions, the modern Romanists deny. "Could Boniface," says the (47) Cardinal Du Perron, "an Archbishop and martyr, and who crowned Pepin King of France, know so little of mathematics as to believe the earth a plane and as flat as a trencher?" Ridiculous! as if it required skill in the sciences to be an archbishop and martyr, or to perform the office of coronation!

The following extract from Doctor Langbaine's letter to Primate Usher, throws additional light on this curious subject. (48) "What I have said of an Irish Saxon character, I am bold to call it so, because I find it used in an old Irish chronicle, and some other Latin pieces of good note and antiquity, writ, if not in Ireland, yet by an Irish hand. In which kind I have met with Chalcidius's translation of Plato's Timæus, and I think a dialogue of his own, on the state of the soul after death, both for the matter and style somewhat remarkable, but imperfect." Chalcidius (49) goes deep into Platonic metaphysics, and exhibits no mean mathematical abilities, which he illustrates by diagrams. This pursuit of the Irish is confirmed by Mosheim. (50) "That the Hibernians were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences beyond all other European nations, travelling the most distant lands, with a view to improve and

(45) Diog. Laert. 1. 3. c. 24. 1. 8. c. 26.

(46) La jalousie d'érudition & d'autorité les avoit commis ensemble : cela faisoit une perspective trompeuse pour les yeux de Boniface à l'égard des opinions de Virgile. Bayle, Article, Virgile.

(47) Perroniana, article, Antipodes.

(48) Usher's letters by Parr, p. 552.

(49) Bruker. Hist. Crit. Philosoph. T. 3. p. 472 & seq.

(50) Ecc. Hist. Cent. VIII. Disciplinis, quibus primum erudiri solebant juvenes, traditis ad geometriam & physicam itum fuit. Deinde plurimum temporis in questionibus acutis & spinosis, ex philosophia petitis, & ad mysteria etiam religionis applicatis consumptum. Muray. Nov. Comm. Gottingen. T. 2. p. 117.

and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted, as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the function of Doctors in France, Germany and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of Scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the 8th century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by Baluzius, in the 5th tome of his miscellanea. This learned Abbot in his letter to Guarnanius, expresses himself thus :—*Apud modernos scholasticos (maxime apud Scotos) est syllogismus delusionis, ut dicant, trinitatem sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum.* By this it appears, that the Irish divines made use of a certain syllogism, which Benedict calls delusive, i. e. fallacious and sophistical, to demonstrate that the persons in the Godhead were substances : a captious syllogism this, as we may see from what follows, and also every way proper to throw the ignorant into the greatest perplexity : *quatenus si adfuerit ille auditor, trinitatem esse trium substantiarum deum, trium derogetur cultor deorum : sin autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpatur.* From hence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins, is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined.” Thus far Mosheim. The fact here stated had escaped the diligence of the indefatigable author of the critical history of philosophy, who (51) joins in the common opinion, that scholastic theology began about the 11th century. Mosheim adds, “ that the Irish, who in the 8th century were known by the name of Scots, were the only Divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority ; naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion ; a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations. This subtlety and sagacity enabled them to comprehend with facility the Dialectic art, and their profound knowledge of the Greek language contributed materially to the same end. This made them view with contempt, the pitiful compendiums of theology extracted from the Fathers, and which the unlearned ecclesiastics of other countries accepted as oracles. In the next age, we shall see logical and metaphysical refinement carried to the highest degree, in the person of our countryman, Johannes Scotus Erigena.

That illustrious ornament of the imperial purple, Charles, justly surnamed the Great, warmed with the most ardent zeal to promote literature in his extensive dominions, drew from allparts, but especially from Ireland, by the most alluring offers, men of the greatest reputation to second his views. It was not the glories of the Hy Nial princes, as (52) O'Connor tells us, that made him turn his eyes to Ireland, for he might have had 500 more potent Dynasts than Hy Nial to draw his carriage, but the learning cultivated here; and this O'Flaherty (53) places as the grounds of his friendship. The absurd tale told by Notkerus Balbulus of Clemens and Albin, Bruker shows to be (54) destitute of truth, though he does not deny the existence of those men; the former, as we learn from Alcuin, Mabillon and Launoy, was very instrumental in forwarding letters in France and Italy.

NINTH CENTURY.

THE Muses began to desert their ancient seat, and seek protection in foreign climates from the Ostman invasion. "Why should I mention Ireland, says Eric of Auxerre, almost the whole nation, despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our coasts with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most learned enjoin themselves a voluntary banishment, to be in the service of our most wise Solomon." The Prince here meant was Charles the Bald, who, like his predecessor, flattered the Hibernian Literati to his Court. Among these distinguished emigrants, was Johannes Scotus Erigena. Mr. Warton (55) makes him a native of Aire in Scotland; Gale, his Editor, says he was called Erigena from Ergene, a district in Herefordshire. By Pithæus and (56) Vossius, he is styled Heruligena, instead of Hibernigena, and Bale is positive he was born at St. David's in Wales. To these I oppose Anastasius, Librarian of the Roman see, his rival and contemporary, who expressly (57) calls him Scotigena, and with all the insolence of affected superiority, describes

(52) Dissert. p. 225.

(53) Ogyg. vind. p. 271—272. Usser. Syllog. p. 52.

(54) In cerebro otiosi monachi enatam, ut simplicitate sui temporis abuteretur, quo non facile credebatur quicquam nisi *το θαυμαστον* simul referret. Hist. Crit. Philosop. T. 3. p. 587.

(55) Hist. of English poetry. Diss. 2. In this I think he follows Dempster.

(56) Fabric. Bib. Lat. p. 797.

(57) Vir ille barbarus, qui in finibus mundi positus. Usser. Syll. p. 65.

describes him as a barbarian placed on the extremity of the globe. Burton, in his history of the Greek language, says he was an (58) Irishman, and so do Conringius and Mosheim. The latter thus speaks of him. "The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools in the 9th century, scarcely deserved such honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were however to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts and extensive knowledge, who were perfectly well intitled to the appellation of philosophers. The chief of these was Johannes Scotus Erigena, a native of Ireland, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald. Scotus was endowed with an excellent and truly superior genius, and was considerably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his disciples the philosophy of Aristotle, for which he was singularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language: but as his genius was too bold and aspiring, to confine itself to the authority and decisions of the Stagyrice, he pushed his philosophical researches yet farther, dared to think for himself, and ventured to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason. We have extant of his composition, five books concerning the division of nature, an intricate and subtle production, in which the causes and principles of all things are investigated, with a considerable degree of sagacity, and in which also the precepts of christianity are allegorically explained, yet in such a manner as to show, their ultimate end is the union of the soul with the supreme being. He was the first who blended the scholastic theology with the mystic, and formed them into one system."

Scotus translated from Greek into Latin Dionysius Areopagita's Hierarchy. This had been sent to Louis the Pious, by Michael Balbus, the Greek Emperor, A. D. 824, as an extraordinary present, and he importuned Louis's son, Charles the Bald, to have it rendered into a language more intelligible to him and his subjects. This was one of those supposititious works set forth under ancient names, before noticed this being probably (59) composed by Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais in the beginning of the 5th century. Scotus was very adequate to the task, yet he expresses his apprehensions of being unequal to it. It is, says he, a performance difficult and crabbed, uncommon and obscure, both by reason of its antiquity, and its celestial mysteries. About seven years after this version was made, Anastasius, before named, writ an epistle to the Emperor Charles on this subject, and expresses his surprize how a barbarian at the extremity of the world, and remote from the conversation of the learned,

4 Z

(58) Possenus his addere virum longe doctissimum, Johannem Erigenam Scotum, id est, Hibernigenam, e Scotia ortum; hoc enim nomine celebris olim Hibernia, pag. 53. Conring. Antiq. Acad. Supp. 31.

(59) La Croze, christianisme d'Ethiop. 10. But see Bruker, T. 3. p. 507.

learned, could arrive at such a knowledge of the Greek tongue. But, adds he, it is the blessed spirit alone, which gave him the gift of languages. I alledge this passage to show, that Greek was commonly taught and well understood at this time in Ireland. We have (60) a tract by Scotus "De differentiis & societatibus Græci Latini que verbi," extracted from a larger work of Macrobius, in which he treats of Greek tenses, of defective verbs and the forms of words. Nor did he excel less in theology than in the other sciences, as Dupin and Bruker amply prove. Cave informs us, he long held a place in the Roman Martyrology, among its other saints, but when transubstantiation, and his sentiments concerning it were, in latter ages, canvassed, his presence was found inimical to this doctrine, and he was unfainted by (61) Cardinal Baronius.

Macarius (62) figured like his countryman Scotus in scholastic and mystic divinity. St. Austin, speaking of the quantity of the soul, affirmed that it had no corporeal extension, and that the quality of it was like God. From hence Macarius concluded, that all men were of one substance and had but one soul. Bertram was ordered by Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, to oppose this doctrine.

Dungal, a native of Ireland, says Mosheim, left his country and retired into a French monastery, where he taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation. He wrote an epistle to Charlemagne on a solar eclipse, which is found in Dachery and the Bibliotheca Patrum. Dupin confesses he has numerous quotations from the Greek and Latin fathers, and much erudition. There were also many other excellent scholars in Ireland, particularly Sedulius, the Commentator on St. Paul's Epistles: These were the depositaries of primitive christianity and evangelical truth, which in the rest of Europe were horribly corrupted and almost extinguished by superstition and heathenish practices.

It is observed (63) by William of Malmesbury, that the loss of libraries in England, in the ninth century, drew after it that of learning, and mental darkness diffused itself over all the inhabitants of the Isle. Such a consequence did not follow the Danish invasion: the flourishing state of letters here for many centuries had greatly multiplied books on every art and science then known: numbers of these were carried to the continent, and more were secreted by the clergy in their devious
retréats.

(60) Fabric. *Bid. Lat. p.* 622.

(61) Ejus nomen in martyrologio. Ann. 1583 & 1586, reponebatur Romano, donec illud Baronius curavit expungi. Smith. *episc. Chalced. flor. hist. ecc. p.* 186.

(62) Dupin. *Mabillon Act. St. Bened. sæc. 4. par. 2 p.* 53.

(63) Ecclesiæ in quibus numerosæ a prisca bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensæ sunt, propterea in tota insula studia literarum abolita, quod quisque magis vereretur capitis periculum quam sequeretur librorum exercitium. De reg. Ang. 1. 2. c. 4.

retreats. The poetry and music of the Irish soon caught the attention of the rude Northern Scalds. The most ferocious savages feel the operation of agreeable sounds and the union of sound and motion with sentiment, consequently no nation is without some sort of music and poetry. According to Saxo-Gram. the Danes conferred the regal crown on Hiarn for a tetraſtich of no great merit. Thus letters found advocates in the breasts of these piratical invaders, which insensibly influenced them to embrace the mild doctrines of christianity. We (64) read of Macbeth, Dufslan, and Magilsum, whose names intimate a Danish or Norwegian extraction, as celebrated Irish scholars in this century, whose fame reaching the ears of Alfred, the great restorer of learning in England, he sent for them, as he before did for Grymbald from Flanders, to propagate letters in his kingdom.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries Ireland still preserved her literary reputation, though she could not escape the contagion and infelicity of the times. Osbern, a monk of Canterbury, (65) observes that learning seems to have been natural to the Irish from long habit, and that there were many and illustrious men among them admirably instructed in sacred and prophane literature. We shall be the better able to estimate the value of this eulogium by knowing, that Osbern is praised, by an (66) excellent judge, for the beauty and eloquence of his Latin style, and for his matchless skill in music.

In Usher (67) is a small tract by Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, on the state of the Church. It was composed for the use of the Irish, to give them some knowledge of, and taste for the Roman Hierarchy. An allegorical drawing accompanied it, formed of three arches. The highest was covered with birds, representing the angels in heaven; the middle, or this world, was filled with men, and the lowest, or infernal region, was crowded with animals and reptiles, types of its inhabitants. He likewise describes the Church under the form of a pyramid. The laity is the base, then succeed monks and the lowest clerical orders, their head is the priest. Above him are bishops, archbishops, and primates; the pope is seated on the apex. By this work, we may perceive the Irish had not adopted the discipline of the Church of Rome; and there are many proofs that the latter was not established till the Council of Cashel in the twelfth century. About the year 1076, Sulgenus (68) or Sul-

(64) Usher. Prim. p. 732.

(65) Hibernos, quia quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi atque illustres viri divinis ac sæcularibus literis nobiliter eruditi. Wharton. Ang. Sac. par. 2. p. 91—92.

(66) Guil. Malm. de reg. Ang. c. 8.

(67) Syllog. p. 78.

Sulgheim, Bishop of St. David's, moved by the love of learning, and following the footsteps of his ancestors, fought Ireland, renowned for wisdom.

*Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos, Sophiâ, mirabilie, claros.*

After passing many studious years here, and collecting much literary treasure, he returned home.

*Ast ibi per denos trinos jam placidus annos
Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam.*

Thus we see the vicissitudes of human affairs had not, for many ages, obscured our literature, or drawn over this favoured isle the dark veil of ignorance or illiteracy. But what neither domestic convulsions, the cruel ravages of barbarians or all-devouring time could effect, was quickly accomplished by the establishment of a corrupt religion. We no sooner embraced that of Rome than we lost our genius and superiority. Rien (69) de plus funeste pour les progrès de l'esprit humain, que la religion mal-entendue & poussée jusqu' à la superstition, au fanatisme & à la tyrannie.

My limits now warn me of a conclusion. In this brief sketch, (and it is no more) of Irish literature, I have pursued an uncommon mode of illustrating it; not by giving a long catalogue of writers, but by investigating the traces of sound learning and extensive erudition in the different ages among our Literati. Aware of how little credit is due to vague assertions and pompous representations when unsupported by indisputable facts, I have endeavoured to substitute the latter in the place of the former: convinced that the curious and learned reader will feel himself more indebted for the discovery of one unknown valuable truth, than for many pages of well-written declaration.

(68) Godwyn de Præful. p. 604. Uffer. Syllog. Præf.

(69) Bielfeld, l'érudit. comp. t. 3. p. 334.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ILLUSTRATED.

THE (1) Topography of Ireland by our Author is perhaps as curious a literary monument as any where to be found; displaying the natural history and philosophy of the age in which it was written. Giraldus Cambrensis, or Girald Barry was a Welsh ecclesiastic, who (2) twice visited this Isle: first, with his brother Philip Barry and his uncle Fitz-Stephen, and secondly with King John, A. D. 1185. He was a man of genius, ambition and vanity; these urged him to the pursuit of literature, and to such superiority in its various departments as would leave him without a rival. Despairing of attaining the enviable rank in England, he withdrew to the University of Paris, there to give the last polish to his studies. His talents were so conspicuous, that they placed him at the head of that seat of learning, where he supported the highest character for eloquence and science. On his return to England, fame had prepared for him a favourable reception at the Court of Henry II; he was selected as (3) Privy Counsellor and Secretary to King John, who was entering on a journey to Ireland. In this appointment Henry discovered his usual political wisdom (and no English Prince ever had more) by the mission of our Author, and the instructions given him; which were, to inquire into the (4) situation of the country, its nature, the origin of the people, their manners, how often, by whom and the ways in which they were subdued and conquered, and what new and preternatural subjects were to be found. This task he executed in his Topography. He added to this another work, which he entitled the Conquest of Ireland by the first adventurers, and important chapters on the government of the nation, and how it was to be retained in subjection. This he designed for the use of (5) John, then Earl

5 A

of

(1) Frankfurt, 1603, at the end of Camden's *Anglica. Norman, &c.*

(2) *Cambrens. evers.* p. 31.

(3) *Me cum dilecto filio vestro, Johanne, in Hiberniam a latere vestro transmittere, Gir. Cam.* p. 698.

(4) *Quis terræ situs, quæ natura, quæ gentis origo, &c.* p. 698.

(5) *Procuravi, tuæque celsitudini (Pictaviensium comes Inclite, Normannorum Dux) digestam historiam destinavi.*

of Poictou, Duke of Normandy, and future King of England. Considering the novelty and difficulty of the commission with which he was charged, he accomplished its objects with uncommon ability. With no illaudable ambition he confesses, that his prime motive in this undertaking was to leave an (6) everlasting memorial of himself; this preceded his duty and gratitude.

Ireland had been but (7) cursorily mentioned by others, as Solinus, Orosius, Isidore and Bede, but by none of them thoroughly examined. He knew the curiosity of the English was raised very high by strange relations of the Welsh adventurers; by the recent expedition of King Henry, and by the flattering prospects held out of immense possessions. The arrangement of his work, if not perfectly consistent with the philosophical system of modern times, is yet neither mean or injudicious. He divides it into three distinctions: (8) the first treats of the natural history, the second of the wonders of nature and miracles of saints, and the last is a sketch of the civil history of the country. In the two first parts he positively denies having received the smallest (9) light or aid from Irish works, except what was acquired by his own industry and researches. In the last part, which discourses of the origin of the Irish and the primæval inhabitation of the Isle, he drew something from ancient chronicles, but it was lax and diffusive, superfluous and frivolous: the (10) labour here was similar to that of searching for gems among the sands of the sea-shore.

Such being the origin and plan of his performance, it may not be improper to remark, that he has been (11) accused by Irish antiquaries with gross falsehoods and fictions, and represented as totally undeserving credit. I desire to appear neither his apologist or panegyrist, but candour certainly demands of us not rashly to condemn a man, who solemnly addresses a work to a wise sovereign, and who for three days read it before the University of Oxford. Such an one must be regardless of every moral sense and attention to character, premeditatedly to be guilty of forgery and lies: this would hardly apply to an ignorant, bigotted and cloystered monk, much less to an ecclesiastic

(6) *Operæ præmium fuit et curæ, egregium aliquod mundo memorabile relinquere. Altera vero, nec minus quam numero secunda, nobilium principum (Henry and John) tam retributio, remuneratio, quam exhortatis.* Pag. 692. "He was elected Arch Bishop of St. David's, but at Rome he was outbid by him who had more money, and missed the Cushion, He departed this life when he was about four score years old, and rested at St. David's." Hanmer. p. 168.

(7) *Angulus iste nec omnino intactus, nullius tamen hæcenus stylo absolute comprehensus.* Pag. 693.

(8) *Est itaque trimembris operis partitio.* pag. 693.

(9) His expressions are strong. *In duabus primis nullam prorsus ex scriptis Hibernicis evidentiam, nullam penitus inventi extrinseci juvenis adminiculum.* pag. 693.

(10) *Non absque labore plurimo, tanquam marinas inter arenas gemmas eligens.* pag. 293. See Cox, V. 1. apparatus.

(11) *Biographia Brit.* article, Barry.

ecclesiastic of distinguished liberality and eminence, the favourite and confidant of an enlightened Court. A passage in his (12) *Retractions* is triumphantly brought as tacitly acknowledging his literary delinquency, but the sense of that passage is perverted. He there observes, that he did set forth many wonderful things to be seen in Ireland; that he learned them after much enquiry from those of the highest rank, and that on other subjects he followed common fame. Is there any thing self-condemning in this? If the Irish drew an unfaithful portrait of themselves and of their history, is Giraldus to blame? He (13) allows that he introduces some wonderful tales, as a wolf speaking to a priest; a man with the extremities of an ox, &c. are these more extraordinary, says he, than many things recorded in Scripture, the fathers and pagan writers, to whom he accurately refers? But who are his accusers? Richard (14) Stanihurst, John Lynch and Abbé Mac Geoghegan, and other Roman catholic writers, who detested the English name and nation, and who esteemed it the cruelest dispensation of providence to be subject to them. And yet these very men, thus squeamish with the vagaries of *Cambrensis*, make no difficulty of believing all the outrageous and blasphemous miracles related by Colgan and Messingham. If there were no other arguments to vindicate Giraldus, the besotted superstition of the 12th century, with the low state of every branch of human knowledge is abundantly sufficient for the purpose.

Cambrensis tells (15) us, that he came to Ireland in 1182, with his relations and other Welsh adventurers; and that being of a literary turn, he set about making collections. He continued in the island for (16) two years, and on his return to England communicated his observations to King Henry, who esteemed them so highly, that in 1185, he sent our author with his son, John, to the isle. *Cambrensis* carried back with him, and completed what he had before sketched out, and dedicated his topography to the King. His zoology consists of

Pisces.

(12) Nicholson's Irish hist. Lib. p. 3.

(13) *Parte mendacii nitens, summam universam decolorare.* pag. 755.

(14) Stanihurst. de reb. Hib. sub fin. Camb. evers. passim, Mac Geoghegan hist. d' Irlande, discours preliminar.

(15) Venit eodem navigio & alius Stephanidæ nepotes et tam insulæ situm et naturam, quam primævam gentis originem diligenter explorans. Pag. 796.

(16) Per biennium tunc in insula et ante moram faciens, tanquam prætium laboris et præmium, secum reportavit. Pag. 806.

Pisces.

Salmones,	Murenæ,	Cati,
Truttæ,	Lochia,	Britii,
Anguillæ,	Tymalli vel Umbræ,	Gradiones,
Alofæ,	Glaßani,	Gobiones, &c.

Aves.

Accipitres,	Querquedulæ,	Bernaces,
Falcones,	Milvi,	Haliæti,
Nifi,	Ululæ,	Martinetæ,
Meruli,	Gallinæ sylvestres,	Cygni,
Obeli,	Acetæ vel Kardioli,	Ciconiæ,
Aquilæ,	Coturnices,	Croerii,
Grues,	Ratulæ,	Aucæ vel Gantes,
Pavones sylvestres,	Alaudæ,	Byfiæ vel Griseæ, &c.

Feræ.

Cervi,	Matricæ,	Talpæ,
Apri,	Vulpes,	Mures,
Lepores,	Taxi,	Glires,
Cuniculli,	Mustelæ,	&c.

Vermes.

Ranæ,	Sanguisugæ,
Aranæ,	Lacertæ, &c.

Ornithology is the largest of Cambrensis's classes. We had falcons, hawks, and others of that species. An act of 20th Edward IV. recites, that goshawks, tiercells and falcons were formerly in great plenty, but had become scarce from the number carried away by merchants: it therefore directs, that 13s. 4d. be paid for every goshawk, and 6s. 8d. for every tiercell, and 10s. for every falcon exported. As he does not mention the *Ardea* or Heron, which differs but little from the Crane, I think he confounds the one with the other. Cranes were (17) seen here in the great frost of 1739. The *Pavo sylvestres* of our author is to be met with only in the Highlands of Scotland. There were abundance of Swans in the northern parts: Storks were rare, and also Grouse, this probably is a mistake, as to the last. There were many white crows. This has been sneered at by the ignorant as one of Cambrensis's

(17) Smith's hist. of Cork. V. p. 337. Archaeolog. V. 2. p. 171.

brensis's fables: but white crows are not uncommon in the (18) Orkneys, Zetland and elsewhere. He says we had no partridge, pheasants, nightingales or magpies. The last was driven here about the end of King John's reign: others say (19) much later. He relates the idle tale of the barnicle growing from fir-wood, and that Bishops and religious men used them as being fish and not fowl. The French eat the macreuse, or sea-duck for the same reason. It is a remark of the honest Quaker, (20) Doctor Rutty, that they who can believe bread to be flesh, may well be excused for believing flesh to be fish. Moryson saw sixty pheasants served at one feast.

Our rivers and shores, according to Cambrensis, supplied us with salmon, trout, eel, pike, perch, barbel, umber, &c. and our coasts swarmed with fish, nor were we ignorant of the art of preserving them with salt. The Spaniards, in 1567, took great quantities of fish from the Irish, and on our coasts, as others did much earlier; for an act (21) was made in 1465 to prevent foreigners from fishing on our shores. However it was (22) late before we began to make train oil.

Cambrensis gives us no reason to believe, that what we call moose deer existed here in his time; the cervine species, (23) noticed by him, were small, and evidently the dama, or fallow deer. I once imagined these moose deer, whose (24) remains we behold with wonder, were common, and that the Firbolgs, who delighted in hunting; and who besides training deer (25) to hunt had dogs proper for every species of game, had early destroyed them. This opinion, unsupported by tradition or historic proof, I now relinquish, because the teeth of (26) elephants have also been found in this island, an animal we are sure who was not a native. That excellent naturalist, Pallas, (27) mentions our moose horns, and that elephants teeth, the Rhinoceros, Hippotamus and other animals of warm climates are met with in Siberia, and, *usque ad ipsa Oceani glacialis littora*. He modestly says, he will not indulge conjectures, but thinks these animals not only lived but propagated in these frozen

5 B

countries

(18) Brand's Orkneys, p. 77. Scalig. de Subtilit. Ex. 59. p. 202.

(19) Smith. sup. p. 325.

(20) Rutty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin. V. 1. p. 308. See a remark somewhat familiar in Cambrensis, p. 709, where he speaks of the tail of the Castor.

(21) Bolton's Stat. p. 38—39.

(22) Captum est non ita pridem genus quoddam olei in magna quantitate confici. Lombard. de reg. Hib. p. 87.

(23) Quanto que minores sunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentius efferuntur, capitis et cornuum dignitate. Gir. Camb. p. 709.

(24) Louthiana, part p. 2. Boate. p. 137. Camden. Ed. Gough.

(25) Lindenberg. 1375. Du Cange, in Canis. The Grains Hebernicus is valued highly in the Welsh laws, p. 252. Mr. Pennant thinks our Irish greyhound, or wolf dogs were brought hither by the Danes Brit. Zool. 1. p. 54.

(26) Boate and Molyneux's nat. hist. p. 129.

(27) Comment. Acad. Petropol V. 13. p. 468.

countries. However the (28) President of our Royal Irish Academy, whose mineralogical, chemical and philosophical knowledge is admired in every part of Europe, and whose talents and accomplishments reflect the highest honour on his native country, has, by solid reasoning from scripture and geology, (29) demonstrated that this appearance of the southern animals was in consequence of the Deluge.

Cambrensis declares he never (30) saw such abundance of boars and wild swine. The Northerners esteemed this meat the highest luxury, and called it *Sœhrimni*.

(31) *Monoheroes*

Cervestiam cum Dīs potant,

Vescuntur Sæhrimni lardo.

The Irish in the sixteenth century were (32) insatiably fond of this food. The writer last cited informs us, that a guest of O'Neil asked one of his guards, whether veal was not more delicate than pork? That, answered the other, is as if you asked me was you more honourable than O'Neil. As they did not (33) much boil or roast their meat, it was full of crude juices, and produced the (34) leprosy, a disease very common, and for which leper-houses were every where to be found. They were taught that the bad effects of this and other gross aliments were (35) corrected by *Aqua vitæ*. For some time it was used only as a medicine, and its operation in preserving health, dissipating humours, strengthening the heart, curing cholic, dropsy, palsy, quartan fever, stone, and prolonging life was firmly believed on the faith of physicians, and made it eagerly and universally sought for. At what time this liquor reached Ireland is not ascertained. It was about the middle of the twelfth century, the distillation of ardent spirits was (36) introduced. It was called *Aqua vitæ*, *eau de vie*, in Irish *Uisge-beatha*, *Uisquebah*, and now Whiskey. Moryson says, the Irish preferred their *usquebah* to the English *aqua vitæ*; because by mingling raisins, fennel seeds, and other things they mitigated its heat, made it more pleasant, less inflaming, and more refreshing to a weak stomach. The Irish themselves distilled spirits from malt in 1590, and imitated foreign liqueurs, by adding aromatic seeds and

(28) Richard Kirwan, Esq. LL.D. F.R.S.

(29) *Transact. of the Royal Irish Acad.* V. 6. p. 233, & seq.

(30) *Aprorum quidem & sylvestrium porcorum nusquam terrarum tantam copiam vidimus.* Pag. 709.

(31) *Edda Sæmund.* p. 25. *Mallet.* V. 2. p. 110. *Barthol.* p. 560.

(32) *Illud genus cibi insaturabili aviditate rapiuntur.* *Stanih.* p. 38.

(33) *Non admodum coctis, nec plus satis assis delectantur.* *Stanih.* p. 38.

(34) *Boate,* p. 101. *Barrington on the Stat.* p. 169. *Ulloa's voyag.* 1. p. 47.

(35) *Utuntur pro panchresto medicamine, ignito quodam vino, nullo alio liquore permixto, quod communiter aqua vitæ dicitur, cujus ardore cibus facilius ad concoquendum redditur.* *Stanih. sup.*

(36) *Le Grand, vie priv. des Franc.* T. 3. p. 64.

and spices, as was practised in France, so early, according to Le Grand, as 1313. The Irish Bulcaan, Ruttý tells us, was made from black oats. Buile, madness, and Ceann, the head, intimate the effects of this fiery spirit. The nectar of the Irish was compounded of honey, wine, ginger, pepper, and cinnamon. This was called Piment. The early French poets speak of it with rapture, as being most delicious. They regarded the union of the juice of the grape with the perfume of foreign aromatics, then so dear and highly prized, as the very perfection of human ingenuity.

Water cresses, scurvy-grass, and sorrel were used. "In the County of Leitrim, (says Ruttý,) and other parts of Connaught, the latter is eaten plentifully with milk, and also with fish and cow's blood, salt, and butter; thus, (adds he,) from mere tradition and experience, correcting the putrid tendency of such food as effectually as if they had studied the doctrine of acids and alkalies, septicæ and antiseptics."

The Irish dined in (37) winter before day, and in summer about the seventh hour. Stanihurst must allude to the more civilized, when he says they reclined on beds; for Sir John Harrington, writing in 1599, about fifteen years after, has these words, "other pleasant and idle tales were needless and impertinent; or to describe O'Neil's fern forms, and fern table, spread under the stately canopy of heaven." When such was the furniture of the Chieftain, we can easily believe that of his inferiors was not better. Their candles were peeled rushes enveloped in grease or butter, as in other (38) countries they were placed in lamps of oil.

Ireland (39) produced but few kinds of apples. It is probable this fruit was first brought in by the Northern colonies; for the Irish abhal differs very little from the Teutonic appel, apffel, the Anglo-Saxon oeppele, the Franco-Theotisc ephel, and the Danish eble. From the silence of Bede and Cambrensis I infer we had, in remote ages, neither cider nor ale. The Irish Leann is a general name for all sorts of drink. The Bragawd of the Welsh laws, and Athenæus's Brytum are the Teutonic Bruggia and Broute, and these probably (40) from the Siberian Braga, a malt liquor. There is a tradition of the Danes, in Ireland, brewing ale from heath. The Picts, in Hector Boethius, are said to have done the same. As they introduced the culture and use of corn, it is likely we are indebted to them for ale; the Pictish manner of making which seems (41) to survive in Ilay, one of the Hebrides.

Flesh,

(37) Stanihurst, p. 38.

(38) Nullo fomento olei scirpive accipiens. Greg. Tur. de glor.

(39) Pomiferarum arborum quam perpauca reperiuntur. Giral. Camb. p. 739.

(40) Strahlenberg's Siber. p. 339. (41) Pennant's Scot. V. 2. p. 229.

Flesh, fish, and milk (42) constituted the principal part of the food of the ancient Irish. From the word (43) meader or meather importing acid drink, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Irish from their milk formed a spirituous potation not unlike the Tartarian koumis.

Mead was a favourite liquor with the people of the (44) North, and must have been with us, as honey was formerly one of our exports. From a pamphlet, printed in London 1649, we learn that a ship was freighted at Waterford and captured on her passage. She was laden with seventy tons of kelp, thirteen packs of skins, eight barrels of tallow, six packs of wool, five sacks of linnen yarn, and nine hogheads of honey. But Cambrensis says, (45) that we had plenty of Poitou wine which we took in exchange for peltry, which Lombard, in the seventeenth century, declares, was our (46) chief wealth.

Bede speaks of our vines; Cambrensis opposes (47) him. Stanihurst (48) explains Bede by supposing we had vines in gardens, like other exotics, but not sufficient for commerce, like France or Spain. Lombard asserts, that equal skill and industry would produce here as good wine as the French or German. There is an Irish canon in Dachery, where (49) if fowl destroy a crop, a vineyard or garden, enclosed with a hedge five feet high, the owner shall make recompence. As the vine was brought into Britain and Gaul by the Romans, our Belgic colonists could be no strangers to it, and this canon is a proof that it was attended to here, rather for particular amusement and gratification than as an article of trade. Two excellent antiquaries, the Hon. Danes Barrington, and the Rev. Mr. Pegge, have (50) disputed the import of the word *Vinea*; the one making it the vine, the other the *ribes vulgaris*, or currant fruit.

Cambrensis praises the (51) extraordinary fertility of the soil of Ireland. Our wheat, he observes, was so small and contracted as scarcely to be cleaned by the Van:

(42) *Carnibus tantum & piscibus & lacte se vesci dicebant.* Gir. Camb. 744.

(43) *Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 12. p. 536.*

(44) Bartholin. p. 537—543. The manner of making it is described by Ol. Magnus, c. 22—23—24. Lindenbrog. p. 177. Leg. Wall. p. 254.

(45) *Cui & animalium coria, & pecudum ferarumque tergora Hibernia non ingrata remittit.* Gir. Cam. p. 700.

(46) *In universum in animalium pellibus magna pars est fita divitarum hujus regionis.* pag. 99.

(47) *Vinis nam & earum cultoribus semper caruit & caret hæc insula.* pag. 700.

(48) *Non erat ea mens Bedæ, ut scriberet, vineta esse in Hibernia, sicuti in Gallia aut Hispania, sed vinea quasdam in hortis reperiri.* Sup. p. 229.

(49) *Messum. aut vineam aut hortulum.* Spicileg. T. 9. p. 46.

(50) *Observ. on the Stat. and Archaeologia, V. 1 and 3.*

(51) *Gleba præpingui, &c. p. 700.*

Van : there was much straw, but little corn. Where the land is wet, it (52) degenerates into Roille or Darnel. Cruitneach is the name of wheat in (53) Irish, and the Cruithnii were a Scandinavian tribe of Picts. From these wheat-eaters, it is likely, the Irish received a knowledge of the culture and use of this vegetable. Thus Justin informs us, the Phocæan colony at Marseilles taught the Gauls agriculture, as Ceres and Triptolemus did the Greeks long before. Our manner of plowing Cambrensis does not describe ; it certainly was by the tail, and is as yet practised in remote parts. Mr. Barrington believes it was resorted to for want of proper tackling ; but the Irish had at all time what they now use, thongs or straps of raw hides, which serve them for traces. Probably the custom was introduced by the Picts, for it prevails in the Northern parts of Scotland. Government here exerted itself to prevent it. An act of Council (54) was made in 1606, to prevent the barbarous mode of drawing ploughs and carriages by the tail : the penalty for the first year's offence was forfeiture of one garran ; for the second, two, and for the third, the whole team. In 1612, ten shillings were levied for every plough so drawn in Ulster ; there were 1740 forfeitures, amounting to £.870

What machine the Van was among the Romans and Normans is not easy (55) to determine. The Loisgrean of the (56) Irish shows they did not thresh but burn their corn. This was the same as the Highland (57) Graddan. A woman, sitting down, took a handful of corn in her left hand by the stalks, and set the ears on fire ; in her right she held a stick, with which she beat off the grains as soon as the husks were burnt ; so that corn might be burnt, winnowed, ground, and baked in an hour after it was reaped. The 10 and 11 Charles I. direct, that no person shall burn corn or grain in the straw, upon pain of imprisonment in the common jail for ten days, without bail or mainprize. Cambrensis mentions the mills of St. Lucherin and St. Phechin ; the latter was miraculously made in the side of a rock, and the former would grind nothing on (58) Sundays, nor that was stolen. These seem to have been water-mills, erected by the monks, and to which the vicinity resorted. Querns were generally used, and seem to have been sufficient for the agriculture of Ireland to a late period. Stanishurst speaking of the province of Ulster in 1584,

5 C

informs

(52) Smith's Waterford. Threlkeld's synop. voce. Tritic.

(53) O'Brien in voce. War. opusc. S. Patric. p. 114. Pinkerton's Vir. S. Scot. p. 65. and Scotl. V. 2. p. 97.

(54) Desider. Cur. Hib. V. 1.

(55) Dickson's husbandry of the ancients. V. 2. p. 400.

(56) O'Brien, in voce.

(57) Martin's Western Islands, p. 204. Johnson's tour, p. 125.

(58) See similar miracles in Hist. de la vie priv. des Français, par Le Grand. T. 1. p. 38.

informs us the country was (59) quite wild and uncultivated: there was but little tillage; there were many herdsmen, but few ploughmen. The Irish Orna, the same as the Latin hordeum, and our shegol the same as fecale, prove the Irish had not originally barley nor rye. Rice was sown here (60) in 1585. I supposed, at first, this was a mistake for rye; but on looking into Gervaise Markham's farewell to husbandry, I saw rice was raised in England about a century ago, but not commonly. At the very time we find it in Ireland, the (61) French sowed much of it, but through prejudice and improper management it did not succeed. As it is an aquatic plant, it might have grown very well in this moist country.

The Odyn or Oven is not an Irish invention, it is the Teutonic Ofen, the Danish Own, the Belgic Oven, and the Anglo-Saxon Ofne. We baked our bread under (62) embers. The Belgic colonists brought us also the gradell or griddle. The rule of Columbanus mentions herbs, legumes, and meal mixt with water. The Irish ecclesiastics, who had a constant intercourse with France, could not be ignorant of the capitulars of Charlemagne, full of directions for the care of herbs, fruits, and flowers. Legumes were peas, beans, and podded fruits, and culinary and medicinal herbs the monks had constantly in their gardens. About 1632, artichokes, collyflowers, pompions, and hops seem to have (63) been first introduced, and grew very well.

As Ireland abounded with animals of almost every genus and species, it may seem strange that the natives should be charged with devouring human flesh. The fact is delivered by (64) Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. Pelloutier, who (65) examined the question concerning the existence of Anthropagi, cannot deny the evidence of antiquity of the Scythians being such: but he finds whenever the practice is mentioned, it was on some solemn occasion, as previous to a battle, or after a bloody victory, for otherwise had it been common, the extirpation of the human race must inevitably have ensued. The most direct testimony is that of St. Jerome, who declares he saw the Scots, or Attacotti (for MSS have both) when (66) a youth eating human flesh. Pelloutier believes the Father was imposed on, being then a child: but this learned man forgot that the age of adolescence was either from the fourteenth

(59) Agrestis est ista provincia, & ab hominum cultura ferè deserta, &c. p. 26.

(60) Desid. Cur. Hib. V. 1. p. 59.

(61) Le Grand, supra.

(62) Cum parvo pane paximati. Reg. Columbani apud Mellingham, p. 403.

(63) Lombard, sup. p. 88.

(64) Diod. Sic. l. 5, Strab. l. 4.

(65) Hist. des Celtes. T. 1. p. 246. Hawkesworth's voyag. V. 2. p. 251.

(66) Cum ipse adolescentulus, &c. Adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 53.

teenth to the twenty-fifth year, (67) or from the fifteenth to the thirtieth, when such a spectacle could neither be misapprehended or forgotten. But as if distrusting the force of this objection, Pelloutier remarks, that the Scots or Irish became cannibals through rage, for being transported from their own country. This is quite futile. There is no proof that the Celtic ritual was stained with blood, but many that the Scythic was; the latter the Druids had adopted, when known to the Greeks and Romans. The northerns were the immediate descendants of the Scythians. Human (68) sacrifices; tasting each others blood, as the seal of leagues and compacts were vestiges of their more horrible feasts. The Irish, the offspring of the Scythic swans, were not less barbarous, even so late as 1596. "At the execution of a notable traitor, says (69) Spenser, at Limerick, called Murrough O'Brien, I saw an old woman, who was his foster mother, take up his head whilst he was quartered, and sucking all the blood that ran thereout, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast."

An (70) Irish canon of the 8th or 9th century does not forbid eating horse-flesh, though it observes, it was not customary. The (71) Scythians, Vandals and particularly the Danes of Northumberland indulged in such repasts: it would have been extraordinary, if the Irish part of these people, did not the same. The great northern feast, called Iol, which lasted three days, derived its name from the (72) eating of mare's flesh at such seasons. The foregoing particulars are not brought forward to calumniate the ancient Irish, for every people, at some period, had the same customs and manners, but to demonstrate the incredibility of the false, exaggerated and hyperbolical representations of some Irish antiquaries and historians, who hold up their countrymen as miracles of learning and civilization, when they were in reality sunk in gross ignorance and savage barbarism. The progress of refinement, in every country, bears pace with the improvement of its laws, the advancement of its industry, and its increase in wealth. The Irish were in a barbarous state at the end of the 16th century, according to Spenser, Moryson and many other writers. Their

sole

(67) Rhodogin. l. 19. c. 21. Shonborn. polit. p. 30.

(68) Worm. mon. Dan. p. 29. Sheringham. de org. Angl. p. 354. Sax. Gram. l. 1. Stephan. in Sax. Gram. p. 52. Archaeolog. V. 8. p. 315.

(69) View, p. 44.

(70) Equam non prohibent, tamen consuetudo non est comedere. Dacher. Spicil. tom. 1. p. 505. Moryson p. 161. Pinkerton. Vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 74. Johnson's Councils, Ann. 785.

(71) Strab. l. 7. Rhodog. 1289. Steph. in Sax. Gram. p. 52. Wilkins. Concil. 1. p. 147-151.

(72) 16-öl. f. öl ab equinæ carnis esu. Edd. Sæmund. p. 599. See Smith's Kerry, p. 275.

sole employment was keeping cattle, and pasturing on mountains and wild waste places. This was called to creete, Creaght or Keyriaght, or Boolying, from Bol, a Cow. These Boolies were extemporary huts of clay and twigs, much the same as the Highland Sheelins or Indian wigwams. In these they associated with their cattle. Spenser thus speaks of them which shews the state of the country. "By the custom of boolying there grow many great enormities unto the commonwealth. If there be any outlaws or loose people (as they are never without some) which live upon stealths and spoils, they are evermore succoured and find relief only in these boolies, being upon the waste places; whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or come down to the towns to seek relief, where, by one means or other, they would soon be caught. Besides such stealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to these boolies, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that live in these boolies grow thereby more barbarous, and live more licentious than they could in towns, using what manners they list, and practising what mischiefs and vallianies they will, either against the government there by their combinations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they think themselves half exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted of freedom, do, like a steer, that hath been long out of the yoke, grudge and repine ever after to come under the rule again."

After this picture of Irish manners, can we avoid smiling with contempt on the pompous (73) account of the banquetting hall at Tara, given by the author of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*? Its various divisions; numerous guests; the quantities of meat and butter daily consumed; its twenty-seven kitchens, and its nine water-cisterns for washing feet and hands? After the first emotions of wonder have subsided, we inquire after the literary memorial that records these extraordinary things, and wish to be satisfied of its authenticity; but how much are we disappointed and chagrined on being told, "that is but the fragment of a fragment" in the *Seabright* collection, without date and without author; only it is conjectured, that this was the style of living at the Irish Court from the year 150 of the incarnation to the middle of the 5th century. The Editor of this romantic and childish fragment would have obliged the public, and discovered one instance, at least, of antiquarian

antiquarian taste and judgement, had he endeavoured to elucidate the subject by other helps than Arabic, Persian, Hebrew and Greek lexicons and vocabularies. Occupied for ever in the pursuit of phantoms mocking his sight and eluding his grasp, he seems to possess an innate centrifugal force, which always keeps him from approximating the object of his inquiry. He considered this anonymous fragment of more authority than Froissart, an (74) eye-witness, who describes the wretched appearance of four Irish kings, who attended Richard II. and who had every thing in common with their servants. Nor is it an ill founded opinion of an excellent (75) Antiquary, that the Irish, in 1377, were as uncivilized as the savages of North America.

Posidonius of Apamæa, who (76) writ before our æra, has left us a (77) relation of, what he call calls, a Celtic entertainment. On a floor spread with hay they set tables, on which they pour out libations to the Gods. They had but little bread, but plenty of meat boiled, broiled or roasted; this, in the most savage manner they tore with their teeth: and what they could not thus subdue they cut with (78) a knife. Both river and sea-fish were used, with salt, vinegar and cummin; part of the latter they mixt with their drink. Their potation was Italian or Massilian wine, served in silver or earthen cups.

Here we see an elegance and refinement incompatible with Celtic manners, and yet this account has been unguardedly adopted by Macpherson, Henry and others. It appears, that Posidonius refers to a people inhabiting the S. E. part of Narbonne Gaul, (79) probably the Allobroges, from the mention of Bituitus, who was their king. These had been reduced by the Romans, and their country made a province; so that they were early acquainted with, and practised the arts and luxuries of their conquerors. The Allobroges are acknowledged to be a Tuetonic tribe, so that Posidonius describes not a Celtic, but a German feast. Thus from want of attention and discrimination the antiquities of countries are confounded.

Cambrensis (80) represents Ireland as unequal, alternately mountain and vale; the soil soft and marshy, covered with wood, and truly a desert. This he confirms by an ample enumeration of the great number of eagles, hawks and other birds of

5 D

prey;

(74) Book i. p. 204.

(75) Barrington, *Archæologia* V. 3. p. 75.

(76) Voss, de Hist. Græc. p. 123. Meursii Rhod. l. 2. c. 12.

(77) Athenæi deipnos. p. 151. Edit. Casaub.

(78) *Μαχαίρα μικρά παρατεμνοντες*. Machæra here does not mean a knife, for the ancients had properly none such, but a small military weapon, occasionally used at table. The Machæra Celtica was famous for its form and temper. Pfeiffer. *Antiq. Græc.* p. 309. Polluc. *Onom.* l. i. c. 10. n. 13.

(79) Appian. in Celt.

(80) *Hibernia quidem terra inæqualis est, mollis & aquosa, sylvestris est paludosa, et vere terra deserta.* p. 700.

prey; of the different kinds of wild fowl; of the abundance of animals producing valuable peltry, all indications of a thinly peopled country. Sir William Petty, a man of uncommon abilities, who surveyed the kingdom, minutely examined every part, and was perfectly acquainted with its history, (81) declares, that “at this day no monument or real argument evinces that the Irish, when first invaded, had any stone-housing at all, any money, any foreign trade, or any learning but the legend of saints, psalters, missals, rituals, &c. or geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, enginery, painting, carving, or any kind of manufacture, or the least use of navigation or the art military.” A people thus circumstanced could not be numerous, and therefore he estimates the inhabitants of the isle to have been but three hundred thousand at the English invasion, which by the ordinary course of generation would, in 500 years, increase to (82) twelve hundred thousand, allowing for epidemics, famines, wars, &c. and this he says was the population of Ireland A. D. 1641.

It is very truly and philosophically observed by Cambrensis, (83) that the progress of man is from woods to fields, and from fields to towns, but that the Irish had scarcely emerged from the pastoral life; they despised the labours of agriculture, they declined civil wealth and social connexion, passing their lives in woods and pastures in a brutish, manner and in company of their cattle. The pastoral life is not (84) favourable to the multiplication of mankind. Cambrensis writ the foregoing about 1185; that the Irish were but little changed in 462 years after, the following (85) record will demonstrate.

“Orders by the General Assembly of confederate Catholics,
at Kilkenny, the 12th of November, 1647.

“WHEREAS several persons of the province of Ulster, and other parts of this
“kingdom, with their cattle and families, go in great multitudes through
“several parts of the several provinces of this kingdom, being, as they allege,
“necessitated for the safety of their lives and fortunes to leave their former dwell-
“lings and habitations, and where by their *daily ranging*, they have very much
“prejudiced several counties, in destroying the grass, corn and other goods of
“the

(81) Polit. Arithmetic, p. 318.

(82) Petty, sup. p. 317.

(83) Cum enim a fylvis ad agros, ab agris ad villas, civiumque convictus, humani Generis ordo processerit: gens hæc agriculturæ labores aspernas, a primo pastoralis vitæ vivendi modo non recedens, &c. p. 739.

(84) Malthus on the principles of population, initio.

(85) Harris's Collect. penes Societ. Dublin.

“ the inhabitants there, which hath occasioned, that several counties and places,
 “ are quite deserted and wasted ; and the said Keyriaghts avoid the contribu-
 “ tion which falls due upon them. It is therefore for the future redress of such
 “ mischiefs thought fit, that the Lord General of Ulster, calling to his assistance
 “ such other persons of the said province as shall be fit, shall inquire and find out,
 “ and return to the supreme council now to be established, the head Keyriaghts
 “ of the said province of Ulster, within the several provinces of Leinster,
 “ Munster and Connaught, and what number of cattle each of them hath.
 “ Upon return whereof, and examination by the Council of the lands wasted
 “ in the several counties, which are set for county charges only, or which are
 “ wasted and yield no county charges, to assign unto the said Keyriaghts, or
 “ unto several of them together, so much of the waste lands in the several
 “ provinces for their habitations, and their paying county charges for the same
 “ as others of the said counties will do, where they are to reside, till they
 “ may return to their former habitations, and not to annoy their neighbours,
 “ or any of the quarters of the confederate catholics at their peril.

“ Printed at Kilkenny, 1647.”

The Scythians, according to (86) Herodotus and Justin, had neither houses or fixed habitations ; they wandered through the country with their flocks and herds. Their wives, their children and a few domestic utensils they carried in carts or waggons, covered with skins. They were strangers to agriculture. These manners were realized in our Creaghts, as the foregoing curious document assures us, about a century and a half ago.

That the Irish were, from the earliest ages, a pastoral nation, few in number and but little advanced in civility, some proofs have been alleged ; more shall now be submitted to the reader.

Cambrensis (87) mentions an ancient division of Ireland into five provinces, Munster, Connaught, Leinster, Ulster, and Meath, each contained thirty-two Cantreds, except Meath which had but sixteen. Two MSS are noticed, relating to this subject ; one was written about the beginning of the reign of Edward I. 1272, and deposited in the Abbey of Multifernan, the other, which agrees with it, except in one instance, was in the Abbey of Duik, which was (88) founded in 1202. The Multifernan

MS

(86) Herod. l. 4. Justin. l. 2. c. 2.

(87) Quælibet illarum quinque partium triginta duos cantredos continuerit, &c. p. 737.

(88) Archdall's Monasticon.

MS appears in Cusack's (89) collections, A. D. 1511, and in the Commissioners' book of Indentures for settling Connaught, A. D. 1584. According to the Multi-fernan MS, which seems to have been adopted by Henry II. for fiscal purposes, each Cantred contained thirty town-lands, every town-land could pasture three hundred cows, and every town-land had eight Carrucates. This then was the division of the Island,

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Cantreds.</i>	<i>Town-lands.</i>	<i>Carrucates.</i>
Munster,	70	2100	16800
Leinster,	31	930	7440
Connaught,	30	900	7200
Ulster,	35	1050	8400
Meath,	18	540	4320
	184	5520	44160

Or five millions, two hundred, ninety-nine thousand, two hundred acres, at one hundred and twenty acres to each carrucate, and feeding one million, six hundred and fifty-six thousand cows, being three hundred for each town-land; this was allowing four acres and a half for the maintenance of each cow. Under the name cows must be comprehended black cattle of every kind and age.

In 1177, Roderic, the monarch, agreed to (90) pay annually one hide, saleable for the merchant, of all the cattle killed in his province with exception as to the king's demesnes, and those of his barons. Lord Lyttleton (91) observes this tribute was accepted in lieu of those fruits of feudal tenure which were paid by the vassals of the crown in England, but which could not so easily be levied in Ireland, until the English government was better established. The number of cows in Connaught, according to the above scheme, was 270,000, allowing one tenth to be killed annually, the number was 27,000, one tenth of which was 2700.

The value of a hide may be thus ascertained. Finglas, in 1534, recommends that the (92) statutes of the Spanish wines be put in execution, that is, that "no hides be given for any manner of wares, except it be for wheat, salt, iron, or small wines, upon pain of forfeitur of the same, or the value. And all men sending any
hides

(89) Harris's Ware, p. 225.

(90) Bened. Abb. t. 2. p. 123. Brompton. col. 1106. Hoveden. ad Ann. 1173.

(91) Hist. of Hen. 2. V. 3. p. 86. Matt. Paris. p. 482.

(92) Breviate apud Harris's Hibern. p. 99.

hides out of this lond shall find fureties to the customers, that the retorn of the hides shall come in such wares as is aforesaid. And that no man buy any hide above the value of sixteen pence, upon pain of forfeitur of the same hide, or the value of the same." Thus far Baron Finglas in his Breviate.

Supposing the value of a hide saleable for the merchant to be one shilling and four pence, when Finglas writ in 1534, and that in 1177 when Roderic agreed for the tribute of his country to be but half, or eight pence, the value of 2700 would then be £900 per Annum. Or saying, that the prince of Connaught paid in fifty-seven years, that is from 1177 to 1234, five thousand marks, that would be eighty-seven marks annually, or £870 per year, a small difference in tribute considered either way.

There are many other topics in Cambrensis deserving illustration: this specimen is given to excite others to a more minute and accurate inquiry into the state of Ireland at the arrival of the English than has hitherto appeared: it was an interesting period, and never has been sufficiently attended to.



AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF
IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

IRISHTOWN.

KILKENNY is situated in the province of Leinster, fifty-seven miles S.W. of Dublin; and whether we consider its ancient or present state will be found not undeserving the notice of the historian or antiquary. It consists of two distinct towns, Kilkenny and Irishtown: each is a separate corporation; the first governed by a Mayor, the other by a Portrieve. Irishtown claims precedence of most of the towns in the kingdom. In the second century, it is mentioned by Ptolemy among (1) the mediterranean cities. In the common copies of this geographer, it is called Iournis, but in the Palatine it is properly Iernis. As far as the obscurity of ancient topography will allow, we may almost with certainty pronounce the Ibernica of (2) Richard of Cirencester to be Iernis or our Irishtown. But the present name, as used by the natives, is an additional and decisive proof of what is advanced, they call Irishtown, Bally-gael-loch, or the town of the (3) Gael on the Lake; where the river Nore overflows the low grounds, it is at this day by every inhabitant called the lake.

The first settlement of the Gael was along (4) the margin of the Nore, the higher land extending from the site of the Cathedral to the Castle, was covered with wood, and from this circumstance had a Celtic name, Coil or (5) Kyle-ken-üi, or the wooded head, or hill near the river; and by the natives Cilcanuigh, or Kilkenny.

The

(1) Πεδίαις δε εἰσι μεσογύραι. Ptol Edit. Johnstone, p. 127.

(2) Conterrxini Caucis & Menapiis, supra Brigantes, &c. Ric. Corin, Ed. Johnstone, p. 116.

(3) For the Gael, see Whitaker's genuine history of the Britons, p. 113.

(4) Plerumque sylvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates. Cæf. l. 6. Hence the name of so many towns and villages ending in field, wood, bourne, and water. Cluver. Germ. antiq. c. 13.

(5) In Pennant's tour in Wales is a Kilken of the same import with ours, pag. 411.

The (6) charter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to the Augustinian abbey in Kilkenny, exhibits internal evidence of the antiquity of Irishtown, as a long settled community, whereas the new town appears to be but recently founded. Irishtown always enjoyed very ancient prescriptive rights: its holding markets and sending members to parliaments were among its other privileges. A (7) close roll of the 51 Edward III A.D. 1376, forbids the sovereign, provost, and commonalty of Kilkenny to obstruct the sale of victuals in the market of Irishtown, or within the Bishop's cross, under pretence of custom for murage. And lest the ample grants made to Kilkenny might be interpreted so as to include Irishtown, the corporate body of the latter secured their ancient rights by letters-patent of the 15 Edward IV. A.D. 1474. These renew to them the privilege of holding a market; and provide that a Portrieve be chosen every twenty-first of September, or St. Matthew's day, and be sworn into office on the eleventh of October following, being St. Canice's day.

The Portrieve's prison was at Troy's gate. Whenever the Mayor of Kilkenny came within Water gate he dropt down the point of the City sword, to shew he claimed no jurisdiction within the borough. Bishop Cantwell (8) obtained from Henry VII. a confirmation of the former grants to Irishtown. The style of Portrieve was after changed; for on the twelfth of October 1618, the following entry appears in the corporation-books: "Thomas Tobin de Legerath, alias Leyrath, electus & juratus præpositus." But the old title was again revived, and continues at present. At the same time porters were appointed for Green's gate, Troy's gate, and Dean's gate to collect the tolls, and also appraisers for meat. The Portrieve was to seize provisions brought to market, and exposed to sale on Sundays. A feast was solemnly held in the borough on St. John the Baptist's day. The adventurers and soldiers of 1649, deprived the corporation of a large estate, which they never recovered.

The following extracts, perhaps, merit notice.

"Corporation of Irishtown, fifteenth December, 1557.

"By an order of the Court made by the Portrieve, Burgesses, and Commons of Irishtown, the seventh of January 1537, it was ordered, that the following prices should be paid within the said corporation, for making the underneath particulars. A quilted doublet with a new-fashioned Bellire to be cut, to be made for one shilling sterling. The pair of (9) gally-enishers to be made for eight pence. The pair of new

(6) Append. I.

(7) Append. II.

(8) Ware's Bishops, p. 415.

(9) Collect. de reb. Hib. v. 1.

new fashioned close hose, six pence. The woman's Irish coat, double-seamed, being not wrought with silk, seven pence. Every ounce of silk to be wrought upon a woman's coat for nine pence. The offender to forfeit two shillings.

Anno 1564. This year happened the great flood, when divers men and women were drowned, and St. John's bridge and castle fell down.

Anno 1565. A bye law in the corporation of Irishtown. That no inhabitant dwelling within the Mitre-land, being a free man or woman, wear no apparel but after the English fashion: nor no woman wear caps upon pain of forfeiture; and that every burgeses shall go in his cloak, excepting W. Dullany, Teig Lowry, R. Wale.

“ At a Doer hundred held the 8th of January, 1579.

“ It is enacted by the assent of the Portrieve, Burgeses and Commons. That whereas great inconveniences have happened, and waste and scarcity of victuals, to the great impoverishment of many of this corporation; who, though their ability could not afford the like charge, yet pride and comparison, who should make the greatest cheer at the churching of women after childbirth, hath been the utter undoing of many, as we daily see. For to avoid the like gross enormity and harm, be it enacted, that no man or woman shall come hereafter to any christening of children, or churching of women brought a bed, but the gossips for the time being, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, upon pain of forty shillings Irish, to be levied and taken of the owner of the house, so making the feast toties quoties; to be divided one half to the Portrieve and spy. And it shall be lawful for any that spieth such men and women, coming from the feast, to take away their hats rolls and mantles, and the same to forfeit: and to take away the mid-wife's roll and mantle, that goeth to warn the people. And the parish priest shall have none in his company but his clerk.

“ Sergeants appointed to execute this Statute.

Thomas Poore, Rowry Dooly.”

Stanihurst, writing in 1577, says; “ the Irishtown claimeth a corporation apart from the high town, whereby great factions grew daily between the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irishtown is the ancients, and was called the old Kilkenny, being under the Bishop his beck, as they are or ought to be at this present.”

The Butts are a part of Irishtown, where the inhabitants exercised themselves at the long bow, to which they were obliged by several Irish Statutes. That of the 5 Edward IV. A. D. 1464, recites, “ that every Englishman and Irishman that dwell
with

with Englishman, and speak English, that be betwixt sixteen and sixty in age, shall have an English bow of his own length, and one fistmele at the least, betwixt the necks, with twelve shafts of the length of three quarters of the standard: the bows of ewe, wyche-hasel, awburne or other reasonable tree, according to their power: the shafts in the same manner, on pain of two-pence per month." Again, "In every English town in this land, the Constable shall ordain on pair of butts for shooting; and that every man between sixteen and sixty shall muster at the butts, and shoot up and down three times every feast day, under pain of an half-penny per day." The poetry of the times is full of these ideas.

(10) *The butts are set, the shootings made
And there will be great royalaltie,
And I am sworn into my bille,
Thither to bring my Lord Percy.*

The Butts were set up near where the Butts cross now stands. The pedestal and shaft of this cross only now remain. Not far from the Cross was the Bull-ring, where our ancestors diverted themselves with another favourite amusement.

By the red book of Kilkenny we are informed, that in that City, as well as in Irishtown there was a *Lord of Bull-Ring*, and there are statutes for lessening the expences of his banquet, and an order for John Fitz-Lewis to pay thirteen pounds for being discharged from this office. This Lord was after called the Mayor of Bull-ring. The direction of this sport was, in most towns, committed to the care of some reputable bachelor, who was able to contribute to the expences attendant on it, the Guild supplied the rest. A certain sum was allowed for his banquet, and he had his Sheriffs; his election was annual by the citizens, and during his office he was guardian the batchelors, and on their marriage was entertained by them, so that he passed his time in festivity and good cheer. As commerce and manufactures increased, this amusement was discontinued; time became too valuable to be wasted on such pastimes, and after the Revolution they ceased every where.

Harris (11) and Usher acquiesce in the popular opinion, which deduces the name Kilkenny from St. Canice or Kenny, an imaginary personage, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated. The following is the (12) Legend relating to this Saint:

5 F

it

(10) Percy's reliques.

(11) Ware's Antiq. p. 41. Usher. primord. p. 257.

(12) Stanihurst apud Hollinshead. p. 27.

it speaks more powerfully than any argument the (13) weakness and absurdity of deriving from such materials any historic fact. "This towne is named Kilkennie, from an holie and learned Abbat, called Kanicus, born in the Countie of Kilkennie, or as it is in some books recorded, in Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yeres, fostered through the providence of God with the milk of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Luracus, thereto by God's especial appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to such devotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be, as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other, whereof he gave sufficient conjecture in his minoritie. For being turned to the keepinge of sheepe, and his fellow sheapherds whollie yeildinge themselves, like luskish vagabonds, to slough and sloughishnesse, yet still would he finde himself occupied in framing, with osiars and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashining the furnitures thereto appertyninge. Being stept further in yeres, he made his repair into England, when cloistering himself in an Abbaie, whereof one named Doctus (Docus) was abbat, he was wholie wedded to his booke and to devotion. Wherein he continued so painfull and diligent, as being on a certaine time penning a serious matter, and not having drawne the fourthe vocale, the abbaie bell tinged to assemble the Covent to some spiritual exercise, to which he hastened, as he left the letter semi-circle wise unfinished, untill he returned back to his booke. Soon after being promoted to ecclesiastical orders, he travelled by the consent of his monks to Rome, and in Italie he gave such manifeste prooffe of his piety, as to this daie, in some parts thereof he is highlie renowned."

I have (14) before reprobated these wretched stupid figments of dark ages, and supported what I advanced by solid authorities. How does a late (15) writer evade their force? Not by shewing their weakness or irrelevancy, or by confronting them with others of a contrary tendency, but by saying, "a charge of this nature, conveying a contemptuous idea of the Irish clergy in the earlier ages of the Irish church, should surely come supported with the proper proofs: certain I am, that those produced, are most unhappily selected, they stand in contradiction to history and chronology." It not this to insult our understanding, to talk of proper proofs, and give us bare assertion?

According

(13) Cave remarks of such works: *Certe nugis nugacissimis fictis, ineptissimisque narrationibus refertissimum, quæ non sine immenso Christianæ religionis scandalo legi, multo minus defendi possunt.* Hist. lit. sæc. 13. p. 654. See Melchior, *Can. de loc. theolog.* l. 11. c. 16. Marian. de advent. f. Jacob. c. 1.

(14) These antiquities sup. p. 172.

(15) O'Connor apud Collect. V. 2. p. 234.

According to the Legend, Kilkenny received its name from the removal of the shrine of St. Canice to that city, A. D. 1200, from Aghaboe. Antecedent to this Kilkenny must have had some appellation: what it was, we are not told. From the primæval inhabitation of the Isle, it was always called Kilkenny, and that this was the case before the removal of the shrine, here are the proofs.

A. D. 1085 and 1114. Cillcannigh or Kilkenny was (16) burnt. A. D. 1172. Donald O'Brien, King of Thomond, proclaimed a hosting at Kilkenny; he was joined by Conor Mac Raghry and the forces of West Connaught. The Galls or Normans hearing of this, retreated to Waterford, leaving the Castle of Kilkenny. After their departure, the town was demolished, and the country wasted. By the Galls here, we are to understand the Danes and other Northerners settled in Waterford and the maritime towns. These obtained, either by force or permission, establishments in the interior country, for the purpose of trade. Kilkenny seems to have been very early one of their stations, and where they erected a castle and other works for their security.

A. D. 1192, the English were settled in Kilkenny, and the foundation of the (17) castle then laid. From this document, as well as from Maurice Regan's account of the English invasion, we find the new adventurers secured their conquests by castles. Among others built at this time, was that of Kilkenny, but by whom is not recorded, probably by Strongstow, and on the site of the Danish fortrefs. On the arrival of Henry II. A. D. 1172, the Irish princes were intimidated, they submitted and swore allegiance; but on his return to England, they resumed courage and rebelled. Hence in (18) other annals, under the year 1173, Donald O'Brien retracted his obedience to Henry, broke down the Castle of Kilkenny, and destroyed the English settlements.

The great ornament of Irishtown is the Cathedral. About the year 1233, Hugh Mapilton, whose See was then at Aghaboe in Upper Offory, began the foundation of a cathedral church in Irishtown. Such is the account in the annals at the end of the English edition of Ware. However this writer in treating of the Bishops of Offory mentions, but as a report, of which, it is supposed he could procure no evidence, that Felix O'Dullany, or Delany, laid the foundation of this church in 1180. It is very extraordinary, if the church was at all begun by Dullany, that no progress should be made in it for seventy-eight years after. On the

(16) Colgan Trias. p. 633.

(17) Annal at the end of Ware. English edition.

(18) Apud King's Coll. p. 387. penes Societ. Dublin.

the other hand, we cannot consistently with truth and history place the rudiments of the church so late as Mapilton, because there are indisputable proofs of there being bishops of this see during the above interval.

The fact then is probably this: Dullany erected an oratory near the Round tower, as the foundation of an episcopal church: Hugh Rufus more vigorously pursued the same idea, being an English monk, and elected probably through the interest of the Earl of Pembroke, and Mapilton and St. Leger might have perfected these beginnings. St. Leger died towards the end of Edward I's reign, when the (19) character of ecclesiastical architecture was the immoderate length of the Eastern and Western windows, taking up the breadth of the nave, and rising as high as the vaulting, and these ornamented with coloured glass. The windows of our cathedral are in this style, but at present shortened; however the eye quickly discovers and traces the barbarous change. A large pile like this, and where every exertion was clogged with innumerable difficulties amid the turbulence of conquest and insurrection, could not soon be completed. We have no memorials of its progress, and are therefore left to form an opinion from circumstances.

Bishop Ledred, in 1318, fitted up the windows, and particularly the eastern one in so elegant a manner, and adorned with such elegant workmanship, as left it without a rival in the kingdom. This will appear by no means exaggerated, when we are (20) informed, that Rinucini, who came from the natal soil of the fine arts, was so much struck with its beauty, that he offered the large sum of £.700 for it, and esteemed it to be no mean ornament for Rome itself, whither he designed to send it. But neither the high rank of the (21) prince of Firmo, nor the plenitude of power with which he was invested, nor the distresses of the times, could prevail on the titular prelate, David Roth, or the chapter to comply with the nuncio's wishes. The eastern window contained the history of Christ from his birth to his ascension. The other windows were enriched with several emblems. In 1650, this exquisite piece of art was demolished, with other curious monuments of former times.

(19) Bentham's *Antiq. of Ely*.

(20) Ware's *bishops of Ossory*.

(21) Johannes Baptista Rinucini, was archbishop and prince of Firmo in Italy. The history of his Irish legation, replete with interesting particulars, is at present in MS in the library of the marquis Rinucini, at Florence, from which Burke has extracted much respecting the transactions of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. *Supplem. Hib. Domin. pass.* Sir Thomas Coke, earl of Leicester, brought a transcript of this valuable manuscript from Florence, which was in his elegant library at Holkham in Norfolk. See an inquiry into the share which king Charles I. had in the transactions of the earl of Glamorgan. By Thomas Birch, D.D. Preface, p. 4. London 1756. 8vo.

times. What fragments remained were carefully collected by bishop Pococke, and placed in two ovals over the western door.

The (22) fabrick is constructed in the Gothic taste, and in the form of a cross. The length from East to West, in the clear, is 226 feet, and the breadth of the cross from North to South is 123, being perhaps the largest church in the kingdom, except St. Patrick's and Christ's church, Dublin, and in the beauty of its nave it excels both. It has two lateral and a centre aisle, which yield an admirable prospect. The roof of the nave is supported by five pillars and a pilaster of black marble on each side, upon which are formed five neat arches. Each lateral aisle is enlightened by four windows below, and the centre aisle by five above; they are in the shape of quaterfoils. The steeple is low but broad, taking up the space of thirty-seven feet; it is supported by four maffy columns of black marble, and its floor rests on a great number of springers, arising from the columns; they spread over the vaulting, and are each divided into a small moulding like beads. The pillars in this church were about sixty or seventy years since whitened by an absurd and ignorant œconomist. There are four entrances: one at the West end, two in the nave opposite each other, and one at the end of the North transept. The seats of the choir and gallery are of oak, varnished, the whole plain but remarkably neat. The compass-ceiling is adorned with fret-work, and has many modillions, and in the centre a groupe of foliage, festoons, and cherubims; nor is it destitute of an elegant set of organs. At the end of the South transept and fronting the North door, is a very neat consistory court, erected by bishop Pococke; to the East of which is the chapter house, it is neat and lightfome; over the chimney is the following elegant and modest inscription:

HANC
BASILICAM
VETUSTATE
LABASCENTEM
RESTITUERUNT
ORNARUNT
OSSORIENSES
ANNO
MDCCCLXIII

5 G

In

In the North transept is St. Mary's chapel: here the parochial vicar of St. Canice formerly officiated. Near this chapel was another apartment, wherein were heaped many stone monuments: these were refixed in the nave and the lateral aisles by the care of bishop Pococke, who to his other excellent qualifications added that of a learned *antiquary*. On the outside, round the church, runs a regular battlement, and at the West end are two small spires.

The towers and turrets, (23) says Mr. Bentham, built by the Normans in the first century after their arrival, were covered with platforms, with battlements, or plain parapet walls. One of the earliest spires, that of old St. Paul's, was finished in the year 1222, with timber and covered with lead.

The tower of St. Canice is not finished: it has no spire, though sufficiently strong to bear one; and it continues in much the same state it was left in at its first erection.

We shall now mention such bishops as were benefactors to the cathedral.

Bishop Ledred, let his conduct be what it may in other matters, zealously promoted the interest of his church. His predecessors lived remote from the cathedral, which at the same time that it was improper, was the cause of many excesses among the numerous clergy attached to it: he therefore resolved to build an episcopal house. King Edward III. granted him (24) the site of three churches, St. Nicholas, St. James, and St. Bridget, near the cathedral, on paying twenty shillings for this purpose; he also used the stones and materials in them. To appease these tutelary saints, and to atone for his sacrilege, he founded an altar in his palace and dedicated it to them. He also granted to the dean and chapter of St. Canice the church of Drumdelgy, alias Thornback.

Bishop Snell bestowed on his church some rich presents, as gloves, pontifical sandals, a filken caphin, interwoven with gold spots, and a mitre adorned with precious stones. Such donations were then highly meritorious, and the (25) virtues of them esteemed very great.

Bishop Barry, in 1428, built a large castle and hall at his manor of Bishop's lough. He endowed the vicars of the common hall near St. Canice with four marks of silver, chief rent, out of the lands of Marshall's in the parish of St. Maul.

Bishop Baron, in 1527, rebuilt and repaired the bishop's manor house, at Newcourt, and gave the vicars choral all the tythes and oblations of the Black or Dominican

(23) *Supra*, page 40.

(24) Ware, *supra*.

(25) Durand. Ration. Divin. Offic. Lib. 3.

minican abbey, then lately dissolved, a pastoral staff of silver, and a marble table for the altar.

Bishop Hacket built the arch of the belfry of squared marble.

Bishop Williams, a prelate of distinguished piety and sufferings, expended £1400 in repairing the cathedral. The bells being carried away in the rebellion, he put up one that cost him 144*l*. He laid out on the chancel 300*l*. and on the belfry 40*l*.

In 1675, bishop Parry gave a ring of bells, six in number, weighing seventy hundred, two quarters and five pounds; they cost 246*l*. 13*s*. 10*d*.; besides he gave 10*l*. to buy plate.

Bishop Otway railed in the communion table, and covered it with a rich cloth. On the twenty-fourth of July, 1684, he presented to the dean and chapter 363 ounces of plate gilt, for which he paid 116*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. It formerly belonged to Christ church, Dublin.

Doctor Pooley, dean of Ossory, and after bishop of Raphoe, gave 120*l*. towards raising the steeple, and to repair the towers. He also bestowed a large silver gilt basin, weighing sixty-one ounces.

But this cathedral owes its preservation to bishop Pococke. When he came to the see of Ossory the church was in the most ruinous condition, being totally neglected by his predecessors. Its galleries were decaying: its roof tumbling down: its monuments broken and scattered about; and a few years must have beheld this venerable fabric with scarcely one stone upon another. With that love of religion and decency, which strongly marked his character, he zealously set about its reparation: he warmly solicited subscriptions: purchased every necessary material at the best rate: in person superintended the workmen, and that often from four o'clock in the morning: beautified and adorned it throughout, and left a memorial of his piety and regard for his episcopal church, which the city of Kilkenny and the diocese of Ossory still gratefully remember. The names of the subscribers are on a marble tablet in the North transept; a copy of it immediately follows the account of the monuments.

The episcopal residence which adjoins the cathedral being originally very small, was much improved by bishop John Parry, at the expence of 400*l*.

The bishops Vesey and Hartstonge further improved the palace; but bishop Este made it a much more commodious habitation, by the addition of four apartments and a noble stair-case, expending on it in buildings and other improvements 1956*l*.
though

though his successor was charged only with the sum of 1400*l*. In the study, over the chimney-piece, are the arms of primate Boulter, his patron.

Bishop Dodgson very laudably began the practice of clothing and instructing the choiristers, at the bishop's expence.

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

On the South side of the high altar.

D. O. M.

Sacrum.

Illustrissimus ac nobilissimus dominus Ricardus Butler,

Viscomes de Mountgarret, baro de Kells, &c.

Ex antiquissimis primariae in Hibernia

nobilitatis familiis oriundus; utpote

Petri Butler, Ormoniae & Ossoriae comitis, ac

Margaretæ Fitz Gerald filiae comitis de Kil-

daria, pronepos.

Vir religione in Deum, pietate in pa-

triam, fidelitate in regem, pace belloque con-

spicuus, de rege, regno & ecclesiæ dei, pro qui-

bus fortiter periculosis et maxime turbatis

temporibus stetit, optime meritis: felicitis

ac sæcundæ prolis parens: sibi, majoribus

ac posteris hoc monumentum pie posuit,

memoriam sui nunquam morituram reliquit.

(26) Obiit ille . . . Anno 16 . . .

Defunctæ ac nobilissimæ vicecomitum de

Mountgarret familiæ bene precare, viator!

On the right of the door going into the chancel.

Sacred to the memory of Richard Pococke, LL.D.

Who, from the archdeaconry of Dublin,

Was promoted to this See MDCCCLVI,

And translated to that of Meath MDCCCLXV,

Where

(26) He died in 1651. Lodge, v. 2, pag. 261.

Where he died Sept. 15th in the same year.

He discharged every duty of the pastoral and episcopal office

With prudence, vigilance, and fidelity;

Adorning his station

With unshaken integrity of heart and of conduct;

Attentive to the interest of religion,

He caused several parochial churches to be rebuilt,

Within his diocess.

He promoted and liberally contributed to the repair

And embellishment of this cathedral church,

Then unhappily falling into decay.

A zealous encourager of every useful public work,

Especially the linen manufacture,

He bequeathed a very considerable legacy,

To the governors of the incorporated society,

For promoting the united interests of the industry and

charity,

Within this borough of St. Canice. (17)

On the left of the door going into the chancel.

Sub hoc marmore

Clauditur Annæ Cox quod mortale fuit, Jacobi O'Brien, filii comitis nuperi de Inchequin, filia: quæ Michaeli Cox, episcopo Ossoriensi, anno 1745, matrimonio juncta, eodem anno, ætatis suæ 23, fatali puerperio abrepta est, prius enixa filium. Quantæ jacturæ! quantillum Solamen! Illa nempe tam corporis quam animi dotibus a natura ditata dignaque iisdem disciplina liberaliter instituta, non minus sanctè quam eleganter vitam exegit.

Ingens desiderium parentibus, cognatis, amicis; infandū conjugii mærorem, singulisque singularum virtutum exemplar opimum, reliquit. Contemplare, lector, humanæ felicitatis caducam sortem, et adversus inopinos et miserrimos casus (nullabi præclarius monendus) animum bene munitum et erectum para.

5 H

This

(17) Bishop Pococke is buried at Ardbraccan in the county of Meath.

This elegant monument is of white marble, from which rises a shaft, on which is the arms of the deceased. Piety, a whole length, holds a book in one hand, and reclines her head on the other, which leans on an urn. The whole is well conceived and executed by Scheemaker.

Hic jacet

Adam Cottrel, Jacob^s. Cottrel, Richard^s. Lawles et Walters. Lawles cū ej^s. uxore Letitia Courcy, quōdā burgēs. ville Kilkenie ac domi de Talbot's inche. Qⁱ Walters. obiit 2 die mē^s. decbr^s. a^o. dⁱ 1550, quorū āiā^s ppiciet. De^s. āē.

Hic jacet Richard^s Lawles, fili^s et hæres dicti Walteri, qⁱ obiit 6 die mes^s Octob. a^o dni 1506.

Hic jacet Jacobus Lawles, frater et hæres Richardi Lawles, filii et hæredis Walteri Lawles, qui obiit ultimo die Julii A. D. 1562. cuj^s āiē ppiciet. Deus. et Adam Lawles. qui obiit 20 die Oct. 1600, et Lætitia Shee uxor ejus, quæ obiit 5 die Oct. 1576.

Credo q^d redē^r mes vivit, et ī noviss^o
die de tra surrectur^s. sū, et ī carne meo
videbo Deū, salvatorem meum, quē visur^s
sum ego ipse, et non alius, et oculi mei
specturi sūt.

Hic jacet

Patricius Kerin, quōdā ville Kilkenie burgē^s, qui obiit 5 die mē^s Feb. 1581. Et Joanna Nowlan uxor ej^s quæ obiit 5 die mensis Dec^s. 1575.

Hic jacet

Petrus Graunt—canonicus, Oxoniæ alumnus et vicari^s de Balletarfine, qⁱ obiit die 23^o mensis Februarii a^o dⁱ 1509. Cuj^s āiā^s piciet Deus. Amen.

Hic jacet

Jacob^s Sentleger de Ballefennon, qⁱ obiit primo die Feb. 1597, et Egidia Toben ej^s uxor, qⁱ obiit 2^o die, mensis Novembris 1570. Et Patricius Sentleger, fili^s secūdus eorum, qui obiit 21 die mensis Feb. 1607, et Margaret Shee ej^s uxor quæ obiit. . . die mensis.

I. H. S.

Hic jacet Thomas Power, qui obiit anno dñi 1519, et Margeria Pynson uxor ejus, et Johannes Power, filius et heres dicti Thomæ, cū sua uxore Joanna Sawadge, q̄ obierunt A. D. 1550. Ricardus Power, ej. Johāis filius et heres, quondam burgenfis ville Hibernice Kilkenie, qui Ricardus obiit 27 die mensis Maii, A. D. 1583. Et Isabella Roth, uxor illius, quæ obiit . . . die . . . mensis . . . anno domini 15

Here lyeth

The body of cap. Robert Barton, late of the honourable col. Henry Harrison's regiment, who departed this life the 5th day of November, 1723, in the 63 year of his age.

Hic sepultus est

Standisius Hartstonge, Armiger, filius natu tertius Standisii Hartstonge, baronetti, et Scaccarii regis baronis. In agro Norfolciensi oriundus, qui in hac civitate recordatoris, et in palatinatu Tippareriensi custodis rotulorum muneribus diu et præclarè functus, obiit primo calendarum Junii, anno MDCCIV.

Charissimo fratri posuit Johannes episcopus Offoriensis, fælicem et ipse resurrectionem sub hoc olim marmore expectaturus.

Here lyeth

The body of Mr. Richard Duigin, who departed this life April 4th, 1708.

Hic jacet

Thomas Otway, Offoriensis episcopus, qui obiit sexto die Martii 1622-3, ætatis suæ 77. He lies near the west door.

Here lyeth

The body Charles Sandford of Sandfordscourt, esquire, who departed this life the 4th of Dec. 1701.

Hic jacet

Johannes Maroh, quōdam civitatis Kilkenniae burgēsis, q̄ obiit 23 die Decēbris 1601. Et Margaretea Riāne uxor ejus, quæ obiit 9 die Janⁱⁱ 1609.

Qui

Qui clari fuerant filii, spesque alma parentum
 Boucheri Carolus, Fredericusque Philippus.
 Ossa immatura simul flebilis nunc continet urna,
 Morte puer juvenis, virque senexque cadit.

Quorum alter obiit 17 die Septembris, 1574.

Alter viii die Martii, a^o 1587.

Hic jacet Edmūdus Purfell

Capitaneus turbariaru. comitis Ormonie, qⁱ obiit 4 die Novēbris, a^{no} Doni, 1509.
 Et Ellena Gras uxor ejus a^o dñi 1500.

Hic jacet

Magr. Johes Coughlande, quōdā cancellarius Ofs^s ecclīe; qⁱ obiit 19^o die mēsis
 Martii, a^o dñi 1508. Pro cujus anima cuilibet dicenti Pater et Ave, ceduntur a
 venerando patre, David, episcopo Ofloriensi, 40 dies indulg.

Quisquis eris qui transferis, sta, perlege, plora;

Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me, precor ora.

. . . 1566, et Letitia Walche uxor ej^s qⁱ obiit . . . die . . . mēsis . . . a^o. di. 1560.

. act

Rosæ Ruu, animæ propicietur Ds.

Here lyeth

The body of the Rev. Henry Des Myniers, A. M. prebendary of Killamory, &c.
 who departed this life the 28th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1759,
 aged 68 years.

Here lyeth

The body of Richard Longe, who departed this life the 18th of April 1690.

Edmond Brenan, Robert Rinighan, Edward Rinighan, 1615.

Hic jacet

Doms Willms Carleil qōdā archidiacon^s. Mid^s. et rector de Yochil, ac ecclesiar.
 Dubl. Cafs^s. Ofs. Ferns. Clons. et Corkag^s. canonicus cujus aīe ppicietur
 Deus. Amen.

✠ Hic

... here lies

51

D. O. M.

Revdus Jacobus Shee, Gulielmi senatoris in hac Kilkennienſi civitate, bene, prudenter et feliciter defuncti, ter prætoris officio, filius. Divini cultus et animarum zelo, reliquiſque quæ verum Dei ſacerdotem decent, virtutibus conſpicuus. Præbendarius de Taſcoffin, vicarius de Claragh, eccleſiæ cathedralis Sti Canici providus procurator et vicariorum communis aulae induſtrius proviſor: inter alia pietatis opera, monumentum hoc ſibi, ſuoque germano fratri R. D. Joanni Shee, præbendario de Mayne, parochiæ Sti Joannis evangelistæ Kilkenniæ vicario, fieri fecit.

Obiit D. Jacobus die 29 menſis Aprilis anno Dni 1648. Obiit etiam D. Joannes die . . . menſis . . . anno Dni . . .

Æternam illis requiem, eccleſiæ Dei pacem,

Et tranquillitatem precare, viator!

Una parens fauſta fratres quos protulit alvo,

Una ſacerdotes continet urna duos.

Hic jacet

Jacob^s Schortals dñs de Balylarkan et de Balykif q; hâc tûbâ fieri fecit a^o. dñm. 1507. et Katharina Whyte uxor ej^s p. q^o. u. et parètum aib^s cuilibet dicēti orāōē dñic^m. et ſalē āgē cedūt. 80 dies idulg.

Hic jacet

Honeſtus ac diſcretus vir dominus Nicholaus Motyng quondam cancellarius iſtius eccleſiæ et rector de Kilderienſi, qui obiit 13 die menſis february 1563. Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus, Amen Jeſus.

Hic jacet

Gulielm^s. Donoghau quōdā burgēs ville de Iriſhtowne juxta Kilkeniā. qⁱ obiit 13 die novēbris a^o. dñi. 1597. Et Catharina Moni ej^s. uxor, qⁱ obiit . . .

Hic jacet

Illuſtris. & nobilis. Dā. EHana Butler, nobiliſſimi Dī Petri Butler, Ormonia comitis filia, et uxor quādā pia clariſſimi Domini Donaldi O'Brien, Tumundia comitis, qⁱ obiit 2 die Julii, 1597.

D. O. M.

Patricius Murphy, civis, ſenator, & quondam prætor Kilkenienſis: vir prudens, prebus, pius: pauperum et pupillorum merito parens; mortalitatis dum viveret memor. Sibi, chariſſimæ uxori ſuæ, Anaſtatiæ Phelan, matronæ lectiſſimæ & optimæ: numeroſæ necnon eruditæ proliſ matri: filio ac hæredi ſuo Ricardo Murphy,

om.

omnibus multum charo, vicecomitis munere Kilkeniæ, summa cum laude functo, ætatis flore prærepto : ejus uxori Elisæ Rothe, liberis ac posteris monumentum hoc posuit. Obiit Patricius 3 die mensis Martii 1648. Anastatiæ 6 die Februarii, 1646. Ricardus 8 die Junii, 1640. Elisa die mensis

Exaltans humiles Deus, hic extolle sepultos,

Qui fuerant humiles semper amore tui.

Qui requiem, vitam, solamen, dona, salutem

Pauperibus dederant : his miserere, Deus, Amen !

Epitaphium.

Junxit amor vivos, uno mors jungit amantes

Marmore, non moritur qui benè vixit amor.

Christi verus, amor, post mortem vivit et addit,

Æternæ vitæ gaudia connubii.

Requiescant in pace

Joannes Murphy ; filius prædicti Ricardi, 16 Nov. A. D. 1690. Maria Tobin uxor Joannis 17 Jan. 1690-1. Barnabas Murphy filius Joannis, 28 Junii 1741. Maria Shee, ejus uxor obiit 3 Nov. 1737.

—
D. O. M.

Ad pietatis & mortalitatis memoriam clarissimus & nobilissimus dominus D. Edmundus Blanchville, eques auratus, D. de Blanchvillstowne, Kilmodemucke, &c. ac nobilissima D. Elizabetha Butlera, uxor pientissima, perilustri domino Giraldo Blanchville filio charissimo primogenito, viro optimo, immatura morte prærepto, sibi, liberis posterisque suis monumentum hoc erexerunt, mense Augusti, 1647. Giraldus obiit 21 Feb. 1646. Edmundus Elizabetha

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

Epitaphium.

Qui patri in terris succedere debuit hæres,

In tumulo huic hæres cogitur esse pater.

Est oriens primus, moriens postremus et idem est,

Ortu posterior, interituque prior.

Mors hæc mira facit, mutat quadrata rotundis,

Mors fera quæ ! quantum ! sic rapit ante patrem,

Et gnatum virtute senem, juvenemque diebus

Gnatum Blanchvelix spem columemque domus.

Sed quoniam fera mors, vitam sine labe caducam

Abstulit, æternum dat diadema Deus.

Edmūd^s Butler qⁱ. . . . die mēs Julii, A^o. Dnī. . . . ej^s uxor q̄ obiit 10 . . .

Will^s Vale quōdā . . . ecclesiæ, qui obiit 21 die mē^s . . . 1571.

Hic jacet

Jacob^s Purcell, filius Philippi de Foukerath, qⁱ obiit 11 die mēsis oct^s. a^o. dⁱ. 1552.

Et Joanna Shortals uxor ej^s. que obiit . . . die . . . mē^s. a^o. dⁱ. 15. . . Quor.
āiāb^s. ppicietur Deus. Amē. Jesu.

Letatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.

Credo q^d. redēptor meus vivit, et ī novissīmo die de terra surrectur^s fū, et ī carne mea videbo deū, salvatorē meū, quē visurus fū ego ipse et nō ali^s, et oculi mei specturi sūt. Suscepit deū Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordiæ suæ.

Hic jacet

Corpus Dianæ Woodlese, quæ obiit 13 die Jan. A^o. Di. 1604.

D. O. M.

Et

Memoriæ Davidis episcopi Ossorienfis, qui
hanc ecclesiam cathedralem Sto Canico
sacram “pristino decori restituit, hæresim
exinde vapulans.” Anno Dni 1642.

Ortus cuncta suos repetunt, matremque requirunt,

Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.

This monument is near the consistorial court, and was defaced through the ill-judged zeal of bishop Parry, for some words in the inscription reflecting on protestantism : the words are between inverted commas, and supplied from tradition.

The monument is of black marble ; a ledger, consisting of a cavetto and ovolo with their lifts, serve for the base of the whole ; upon which is a frieze adorned with foliage. At each end is a plain field, designed for coats of arms, but they are left blank. Over each end of the frieze springs an abutment, upon which stood originally two columns of the Corinthian order, but now taken away, and the entablature is at present supported by two plain pilasters, which stood behind the columns. Between these pilasters are two imposts, on which an arch rests in form of a gate, or flat niche, and that which represents the gate is the table, upon which is the inscription.

Over

Over the corner of the left impost is cut the effigies of St. Kieran, with a mitre on his head, a crozier in his hand and his name underneath. He is the principal patron of the diocese of Offory, and its first bishop, according to the legends. The pilasters support an entablature, composed of an architrave, frieze, and cornice: the frieze is adorned with roses. Over the entablature is another table, on which is cut the representation of our Saviour on the cross, and on each side a woman weeping. From each side of this table springs a scroll, which rests upon the extremities of the entablature, and over the table is a large ovolo, which serves for a cornice to it: on each side of the ovolo is a block or cube, adorned with flowers; between which is another table archwise, and upon this is fixed the paternal coat of arms of the Roths, being a stag trippant gules, leaning against a tree vert. Over this coat hangs a canopy with strings pendant, terminating with fringed knots. Upon the top of the arch stands a small pedestal, which crowns the whole monument, upon the die of which is—I. H. S. The arms and images shew the remains of gilding and painting, and the whole was executed with uncommon abilities by an Italian ecclesiastic, as tradition reports.

—
In piam

Memoriam Johannis Bushop quondam registri hujus diæceseos, avi sui, et Edvardi Bushop, præbendarii de Killamery, patris sui, in hæc ecclesia cathedrali sibi suisq; posteris hoc posuit Walterus Bushop, 12 Junii, 1677.

—
Hic jacet

Nob^{us}. d^s. Edmund^s Butler, vicecomes de Mountgarret, qⁱ obiit 20 die Dec^{br} 1571.

—
Æ. S.

Reverendus Stephanus Vaughan, hujus ecclesiæ thesaurarius, in agro Avonenfi natus, Oxoniæ educatus, vitam hanc transitoriam Kilkeniæ finivit, 22^o Aprilis 1711, ac gloriosam expectans resurrectionem, subtus jacet tumultatus.

Alicia Vaughan als Lloyd, uxor ejus charissima posuit.

—
Here lyeth

The body of Mrs. Frances Foulkes, alias White, daughter to Gryffith White of Hênllan in Pembrokeshire, esquire; who being twice married, first to major Francis Bolton, afterwards to Bartholemew Foulkes, esq; died the 15th day of November 1685, in the year of her age 52.

5 K

Here

Here lyeth

The body of Mrs. Mary Stoughton, wife to Mr. Anthony Stoughton of the city of Dublin, gentleman, and daughter to the right worshipful Henry Maynwaringe, of the city of Kilkenny, esquire, and one of the masters of his majesty's high court of Chancery in Ireland; who died in childbed of her third child, named Henry, the 3d day of January, 1634, and are both here intombed together.

Epitaph.

A vertuous mother and her new-born son,
Parted here meet, and end where they begun.
She from her bearing bed, he from the womb,
Exchang'd their living graves for this dead tomb.
This pile and epitaph seem vainly spent,
Goodness rears her a surer monument.
No curious hand can cut, no lab'ring head
Bring more to praise her than the life she led.
Bemoan that readest, and live as well as she,
So shalt thou want nor tomb nor elegy.

Mole sub hac tegitur, lector, dignissima conjux,
Dans proli vitam, perdidit ipsa suum.
Quam si forma, favor populi, stirps, res, fatis ampla,
Si pudor, ingenium, si juvenile decus,
Si quid in humanis quanquam fervaret in ævum,
Mortis ab incurfu, fopes et illa foret.
Parte tamen meliore fui famaue superstes,
Qua licet æterno nomine viva viget.

Venerabili viro

Gulielmo Johnson, decano ecclesiæ Sti Canici, avo materno suo et patri suo Thomæ Wale, ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurario, necnon sibi suisque posteris, monumentum hoc posuit Robertus Wale, thesaurarius. Oct. 14, A. D. 1624.

Quæ pigra cadavera pridem
Tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
Volucres rapiuntur in auras,
Animas comitata priores.

Hinc maxima cura sepulchris
 Impenditur, hinc resolutos
 Honor ultimus accepit artus,
 Et funeris ambitus ornat.
 Sint ut sua præmia laudi;
 Jonsoni gloria splendet
 Omnem vulgata per orbem;
 Candore nitentia claro.
 Prætendere linthea, mos est
 Aspersa myrrha Sabæo,
 Corpus medicamine servat.
 Quidnam tibi saxa cavata?
 Quid pulchra volunt monumenta?
 Res, quæ, nisi creditur illis
 Non mortua sed data somno.
 Jam sex lustra subinde
 Prudens, gravis, integer ævo
 Divina volumina pandit.

Gulielmus Johnson, decanus ecclesiæ cathedralis Sti Canici Kilkeniæ, qui Wigornii natus, Cantabrigiæ educatus, obiit Kilkeniæ . . . die idus Octobris 1681.

Hic pietate pares clausa conduntur in urna,
 Christicolæ, Christi munere, forte pares:
 Sorte pari sic morte mori concessit Jesus,
 Astrigeroque polo vivere forte pari.

Hic jacent

Anton^s Boue et Maria Gale.

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Kyvane, Roberti filius, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ, vir discretus, qui sibi, charissimæ uxori suæ Elizabethæ Bray, liberis ac posteris hoc monumentum fieri fecit. 1647. Obit Gulielmus Obit etiam uxor ejus Elizabetha . . . die mensis anno

. . . nie burgēs. qⁱ. obiit . . . die mēs^s. . . et Elina . . . uxor ej^s. qⁱ. obiit 30 die mēsis marci 1579.

. . . . ouli quod. mercator burgenfis ville Hibernicane Kilkenie qⁱ. obiit 8 die . . .

In obitum

Probæ ac modestæ admodum mulieris Margaretæ Wale, uxoris Johannis Namoy y Kelly, generosi Conachtenfis, obiit 2^o Maii, a^o. dⁱ. 1623.

Ipfius mariti funebre hexafticon.

Grata Deo, delecta toro, dilecta marito,

Moribus et vita hic culta, fepulta jacet.

Illius ingenium ingenuum, pietasque fidesque

Dona fuere fuis dos fatis ampla viro.

Quamquam jure fuis fua corpora terra refofcet,

Tantâ vix digna eft hofpitem terra tamen.

✠ Hic jacet

Johes Talbot, cujus aiæ p^picet D^s.

Hic jacet

Georgi^s Savadge fili^s Georgii Savadge, q^d ville Kilkenie burges^s qui obiit a^o. dⁱ. 1500. Hic jacet Margareta Savadge.

Eloquio clarus, virtute fideque Jacobus,

Cœlum mente habitans, hoc habet offa folum.

Jacobus Clarus.

Protonotarius et rector ecclefie D. Johannis, diœceffis Offorienfis Vir bonus et benignus, verecundus vifu, moribus modestus, eloquio decorus, a puero in virtutibus exercitus, Deo devotus, hominibus amabilis, et omnibus bonorum operum exemplis præclarus. Obiit anno 1643, 14 Nov. fub auroram cum maximo piorum hominum luctu.

Hic jacent

Johannes Gras, miles ac baro de Courtiftown, et Onorina Brenach ux^r ej^s a^o. dⁱ. 1568, die mēf^s.

Hic jacet

Reverend^s pater Nicholaus Walshe, quondam Of^s ep^s, qui obiit die mēf^s Dec. 17, A^o. Dⁱ. 1585. He is interred on the fouth fide of the greet aile.

Turris

Turris fortis mihi Deus.

Spiritus amborum cœli versatur in aula,

Infra nunc quorum corpora terra capit :

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Kelly, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ burgenfis, qui obiit 27 mensis Maii, anno dom. 1644. Et uxor ejus chara Margareta Phelan, quæ obiit 2 die Oct. anno dom. 1635.

Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem
vos amici, quia manus Domini tetigit
me. Job. 19.

✠ Hic jacet

Petrus Bolger, qui obiit 8 die septēbris 1601, et uxor ejus Joanna Wallthe, quæ obiit 29 die Januarii 1608.

Hic jacet

Ricardus Clovan quondam burgenfis ville Kilkenie, qui obiit 10. die Jan. 1609, et Elena Rothe, ejus uxor que obiit

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Hollechan de civitate Kilkenie burgenfis qui obiit 1 die Januarii 1609. Et Morona Macher ejus uxor que obiit

Hic jacet

Dñs Johes de Karlell quondam cancellarius . . . Dublin ac ecclesiarum Fern canonicus.

Hic jacet

Richardus Deane, nuper episcopus Offoriensis, qui obiit 20 die mensis Feb. anno domino 1612. He lies near the bishop's throne.

Huic monumento

Subtus adjacet quod venerabilium hujus ecclesiæ decani ac capituli beneficio reliquiis sui suorumque inhumandis conditorium habet Nicholaus Cormicke Kilkennienfis, A. D. 1723.

Beatam illis resurrectionem, lector, apprecare.

Hic jacet

Thomas Karrone, qⁱ obiit 26 die mesⁱ Julii 1510, cujus^s. aia^a propicietur Deus.
Amen.

Hic jacet

Dionysius Kely, cū uxore ej^s Morina, a^o. dī. 1511.

Hic jacet

Thomas Savage, quod^m burgenfis Nichola Schec . . . uxor ejus qⁱ
obiit . . . die mensis a^o. dī. 15 . . .

Ricardus Cantwell.

. Canici Kilkeniæ qui obiit 26 die mēs^s Sep. a^o. dī. 1512 cuj^s. aīē
propicietur Deus.

Hic requiescit

Elizabetha Barlow, Jonæ Wheeler Ossorienfis episcopi filia, Radulphi Barlow,
archidiaconi Midenfis conjux, quæ ex puerperio obiit 3 Decembris.

Hic jacet

Dons Johannes Cantwell, quā prētor istius ecclie, qⁱ. obiit 18 die mēs^s.
novēbris a^o. dī. 1531. Cuj^s. aīē ppicietur De^s. amen.

Hic jacet

Dns Johes Nele, thesaurari^s. ecclie. qⁱ. obiit . . . Milo eps Ofs. oībus dicetib.
oroē dica et saluta aglica p aīē pdicti prētoris tocies q^o cīs 'cessit 49 dies
īdulgetie.

Hic jacet Donats Brin et Margareta Scerlock.

Pray

For John Brenan, carpenter, who dyeth the 8th day of 8ber 1646, and his
wife Anne ny Glanlow, dead the

Omnib^s orāvē dī cī cū salutaōe Aglica p aiabs revedi patris David Dei gra epi
Ofs^s ac mri Thome Mychel utriusq; juris baccalarii off . . . aris . . . et Cafs^s.
ecclesiar.

ecclesiar. Canicd. q̄i. h̄i. jacet ac Thome Hakked b̄rgēs ville Kilkenie,, dicetib̄s
tociē q̄o ciēs 400 dies idulgētīæ 'cedūt̄r.

Hic jacēt Nicholaus Hakked b̄rgēs. ville Kilkenie fili. et heres pfati Thome
Hakked q̄i. obiit . . die mēs. . . anno 1500. . . .

Et Margareta Archer uxor ejusdē Nicholai q̄i obiit 29 die aprilis a°. Di. 1528.
q̄o rū āib̄s ppropiciet̄r. De. amē.

The foregoing inscriptions are taken from a MS. drawn up for the use of Bishop Pococke, by John O'Phelan in 1763; it is now in the episcopal palace, being deposited there by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, rector of Attanagh and Agharney, for the use of the bishops of Ossory in succession.

We must not omit the monument of Thomas, earl of Ormond and Ossory, formerly in the cathedral, but destroyed by the usurpers, of which Mr. Walpole gives the following note from Vertue's MS.

"In June 1614, I bargained with Sir Walter Butler for to make a tomb for the earl of Ormond, and to set it up in Ireland; for the which I had well paid me 100*l.* in hand, and 300*l.* more when the work was set up at Kilkenny." Extract from the pocket-book of Nicholas Stone, statuary.

A monument lately erected—

Here lie interred, the remains of the Rev. Doctor Robert Mossom, Of the university of Trinity college, Dublin. Formerly senior fellow, and divinity professor. Afterwards for the space of 46 years, of this cathedral, resident dean. A pattern of true piety to all mankind. He died a faithful servant of Christ, on the 8th day of Feb. O. S. 1747, aged 80.

Here also lie the remains of his son Thomas Mossom, esq. Of the city of Kilkenny, alderman. He died universally acknowledged a steady friend and good man: on the 15th day of Aug. 1777, aged 56 years. This monument is erected by his executrix according to his directions.

Bishop Horsfall is buried in the church, with a monumental stone laid flat on the floor. Bishop Williams is interred on the south side of the chancel. Bishop Mapilton near St. Mary's chapel. Bishop St. Leger near Mapilton. Bishop Ledred on the north side of the high altar. Bishop Hacket before the altar. Bishop O'Hedian in a chapel at the west end of the cathedral. Bishop Gafney in a chapel on the north side of the choir.

On

On a marble tablet in the north transept.

Benefactors

For adorning the cathedral of St. Canice, 1756.

	Guineas		Guineas
Dr. Pococke, bishop of Offory	100	R. Lloyd	5
Dean and Chapter of St. Canice	252	H. Candler, A. M.	10
John Lewis, dean	30	C. Jackson, A. M.	10
Dr. Dawson, chantor	15	R. Connel, L. L. B.	3
R. Cocking, chancellor	10	D. Cuffe, A. M.	5
J. Stannard, treasurer	10	Dr. Fell	5
R. Stewart, preb.	10	T. Pack, A. M.	5
W. Connel, preb.	10	P. Sone, A. M.	5
Dr. Sandford, preb.	15	J. Vesey, A. M.	5
Wm. Cockburn, preb.	20	T. Candler, A. B.	10
R. Watts, preb.	10	Patrick Wemys, esq.	10
J. Alcock, preb.	10	J. Agar, esq; Gowran	10
Earl of Offory	20	Hercules Langrishe, esq.	5
Earl of Wandesford	12	T. A. esq;	14
Lord Viscount Mount-garret	20	G. Bishopp, esq.	5
Lord Viscount Charle-mount	14	Ro. Vicars, esq;	2
Lord Viscount Ashbrook	20	C. Doyle, esq;	5
Friendly Brothers, Kilkenny	10	Redmond Morres, esq;	5
Sir William Evans Morres, Bart.	10	Tho. Tennison, esq;	5
Eland Mossom, esq.	10	Mrs. Archbold	5
Thomas Waite, esq;	10	Mrs. Pococke, fen.	10
Clergy of the Diocese.		Mrs. Pococke, jun.	5
M. Vesey, A. M.	10	Edw. Brereton, esq;	5
Ralph Hawtry, A. M.	10	Dr. Macaulay, vicar general	5
J. Price, A. M.	10	R. Dawson, esq;	10
Mervyn Archdall, A. M.	20	Dr. Hewetson	10
Arthur Webb, A. M.	10	E. Mossom	10
J. Millea, A. M.	5	Anthony Blunt, esq;	10
John Warring, A. M.	10	N. Marten, A. M.	20
W. Watts, A. M.	9	T. Burton, A. M.	20
W. Austin, L. L. B.	5	Hugh Waring, esq;	5
T. Collier, A. M.	5		

The

IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

409

The names of the bishops of Offory, with the dates of their succession.

	A. D.		A. D.
1 Donald O'Fogarty succeeded	1152	29 Oliver Cantwell	1488
2 Felix O'Dullany	1178	30 Milo Baron	1527
3 Hugh Rufus	1202	31 John Bale	1552
4 Peter Manefin	1218	32 John Thonery	1553
5 William of Killeny	1229	33 Christopher Gafney	1565
6 Walter de Brackell	1232	34 Nicholas Walth	1577
7 Geffry of Turvill	1244	35 John Horsfall	1586
8 Hugh de Mapilton	1251	36 Richard Deane	1609
9 Hugh 3d.	1257	37 Jonas Wheeler	1613
10 Geffry St. Ledger	1260	38 Griffith Williams	1641
11 Roger of Wexford	1287	39 John Parry	1672
12 Michael of Exeter	1289	40 Benjamin Parry	1677
13 William Fitz John	1302	41 Michael Ward	1678
14 Richard Ledred	1318	42 Thomas Otway	1679
15 John of Tatenale	1360	43 John Hartstonge	1693
16 Alexander Balscot	1371	44 Sir Thomas Vesey, Bart,	1714
17 Richard Northalis	1386	45 Edward Tennison	1731
18 Thomas Peverell	1397	46 Charles Este	1735
19 John Griffin	1398	47 Anthony Dopping	1741
20 John Waltham	1399	48 Michael Cox	1742
21 Roger of Appleby	1400	49 Edward Maurice	1754
22 John Volcan	1404	50 Richard Pococke	1756
23 Thomas Snell	1405	51 Charles Dogfon	1765
24 Patrick Ragged	1417	52 William Newcome	1775
25 Dennis O'Dea	1421	53 John Hotham	1779
26 Thomas Barry	1428	54 William Beresford	1782
27 David Hacket	1460	55 Thomas Lewis O'Beirne	1795
28 John O'Hedian	1479	56 Hugh Hamilton	1796

For the honour of the see of Offory we must observe, that two of its bishops were lords Justices; four lords chancellors; three lord treasurers; three translated to archbishoprics; one an ambassador; and one chancellor of the exchequer.

The chapter of St. Canice is composed of twelve members: the dean, chantor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and the prebendaries of Blackrath, Aghour, Mayne,

Killamery, Tascoffin, Kilmanagh and Cloneamary; one moiety of Tascoffin belongs to the chantor, and the other to the archdeacon, by a definitive sentence of archbishop Margetson, the 19th day of Nov. 1662.

The (28) dean for the time being, was anciently lord of the manor of the glebe, which contained all the inhabitants round the cathedral; and before 1640, had a feneschial who held courts leet and courts baron. The deanery is at the S. E. side of the cathedral. Dean Hill, about 1671, expended 160*l.* upon it; but it becoming quite ruinous, dean Lewis rebuilt it and made it a neat and commodious habitation, with a handsome garden adjoining. In the house is a half length of the beautiful unfortunate Mary, with this inscription: "Maria Scotorum regina ætatis suæ, 18. Johannes Medina, eques, pinxit."

A head of cardinal Wolfely.

The chantor had a manse house and garden, ruined in the wars, on the south side of the cathedral, mearing on the east with the dean's garden and house.

The chancellor had formerly an house in Irish-town, built on his orchard. The orchard mears on the W. with the street leading to Troy's gate; on the E. with the Nore; on the N. with the lands of the vicar's choral, and on the S. with the lands of Tascoffin and the river Bregagh, running by the city walls. A stone tan-house by the Nore side belonged to the chancellor, and James Toovey, malster, possessed part of the orchard, ruined in the wars.

The treasurer's manse house mears on the W. with the river Nore, on the S. with the vicars choral's house, and the chancellor's tan-house on the E. with the street leading from the Butts to Troy's gate, on the N. with the house that was alderman Connel's.

The archdeacon's manse house is S. of St. Canice, together with a small garden S. of the house, ruinous. The archdeacon visits the diocese from the 30th Sept. to the 3d Feb.

The house of the prebendary of Killamery is now converted into an alms-house, on the W. of the cathedral, adjoining to the ancient school-house of the diocese; the garden to it still belongs to the prebendary.

The manse house of the prebendary of Tascoffin meared on the E. with the chancellor's orchard, on the W. with King-street, on the N. with the chancellor's orchard, and on the S. with the vicar's house.

The

The dean and fix of the chapter make a quorum. Thus far from bishop Otway's visitation book. To this valuable document we are also indebted for the following account of the

VICARS CHORAL.

They are a very ancient corporation, by the style of the vicars choral and perpetuals of the common hall, near the cathedral. They were liberally endowed by bishop St. Leger, who gave them his manse and lodging, the rectory of Kilcash, and a revenue de manubrinnio or manubrennio, which seems to have been a portion of ground corn, and one mark annually, payable by the abbot of Douske, out of the lands of Scomberloway or Stromkerlavin. The manse and lodging here mentioned were the common hall and dependant buildings, and the palace and place of residence of the bishops of Ossory before the palaces of Aghour and Dorogh were erected. Bishop Hacket bestowed on them the church of Ballybur, and bishop Cantwell that of St. Mael, and bishop Thonery appointed four choiristers.

In 1540, John Allen (29) lord chancellor, George Browne archbishop of Dublin, and William Brabazon treasurer of Ireland, were nominated by Henry VIII. commissioners for ecclesiastical causes throughout the kingdom. Some differences having arisen between dean Cleere and the vicars, the commissioners visited the house, when its ancient constitution and rules were reviewed, and some new regulations established. From a perusal of the record we may observe, that the institution was originally monastic, or favoured very much of it. Their different cells or apartments; their common hall; their reading after meals; their silence at other times; their not suffering any man or maid servant in the college; their attending each other, with no mention of matrimony or families, are strong proofs of monkish discipline; nor did Henry's commissioners make alterations in these particulars; they are retained in the ancient statutes of our university and other collegiate bodies, as best calculated for seminaries of learning.

Before the rebellion of 1641, the corporation of vicars consisted of the dean's, chantor's, chancellor's, and treasurer's vicars, and the archdeacon's and prebendaries of Aghour, Mayne and Blackrath's stipendiaries, and four choiristers; two of the latter were stipendiaries of the dean and chapter, and two were maintained by the house.

On

On a vacancy of a stall in the common hall, the dignitaries and prebendaries made their presentation to the dean of a person for the place. He was examined by the dean as to his life and morals, by the chantor as to his skill in singing, and by the chancellor as to his learning; and being approved of, he was instituted by the dean or sub-dean as vicar choral. None were the vicars of the hall before they were priests, though they actually lived in the hall and were maintained by the house. On a vacancy, the senior choirister was presented by the patron of the stall, and was thereupon made and called, stipendiary of such a stall, until fit to be ordained priest, and then he was installed vicar: but during his being stipendiary, he had as large a stipend as any of the vicars; so that the difference between a vicar and a stipendiary was this; the vicar was a priest and was beneficed in the diocese at large, but the stipendiary was a layman, and had a support from the house.

By the ancient foundation, the dean, bishop and archbishop, for just causes, might remove a vicar. The vicars were to attend the choir, and serve the offices of the house alternately. The œconomist was to be chosen by the vicars, and to state his accounts to them weekly, and to the dean twice a year. The church of Kilkesy was annexed to the treasurership of the house. Whatever this parish might have formerly produced, we (30) are told bishop Tennison left 40*l.* per annum to one Michael Stephenfon, a deacon, during his life, to catechise the children of papists in that parish, it being a wild and mountainous part of the diocese of Ossory.

In 1630, the vicars and stipendiaries had the following sums divided among them, as their annual stipends;

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Dean's vicar - - -	3	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Chantor's vicar - - -	3	6	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chancellor's vicar - -	3	4	0
Treasurer's vicar - -	3	3	0
Archdeacon's stipendiary	3	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Prebendary's of Blackrath	2	18	0
_____ of Aghour	3	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
_____ of Mayne -	3	0	3

£. 24 17 4 $\frac{1}{4}$

Besides

Besides the foregoing, they had 65*l.* 2*s.* expended by their purveyor for their table; and they kept for their own use, the tythe corn of the parish of St. Canice, which amounted to 297 barrels. From this state of their revenue, with their other endowments, we may judge how well able they were to keep hospitality; but the ensuing troubles deprived them of their income, and left but a scanty support for three vicars. In 1677, the duke of Ormond took from them the town and lands of Park, as part of his forty-nine arrears; and which in 1679, were worth 40*l.* per annum. His grace also withheld the chiefries of many houses in and about Kilkenny, their property; and in the town of Callan, they had houses worth 6*l.* 7*s.* a year. Bishop Parry passed patents for the lands of Racanigan and St. Maul's, part of their estate, and worth annually 8*l.* reserving to them only fifteen shillings.

THE LIBRARY

Is situated at the N. W. end of the church-yard. The following account of it, and of bishop Williams's alms house is extracted from a memorial of the dean and chapter of St. Canice, presented to Dr. King, archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Hartstonge, bishop of Ossory, 31st May 1712, and is in MS. in the palace.

"We, the dean and chapter, being appointed by your lordships' order and the consent of the Rev. Mr. W. to inspect the case of the widows' alms-house, founded by bishop Williams, as also the case of the library founded by bishop Williams, and to receive and examine the surviving executors' accounts, and to report what was necessary to be done to preserve these charities and benefactions, from being intirely sunk and defeated, do represent the following state of facts.

"Bishop Williams, by his will, left the lands of Fermoy, then set to colonel Wheeler for 40*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of eight poor widows in an alms-house that he had built in his life time. He made Mr. W. and archdeacon Drysdale his executors, who sold said land to Jonah Wheeler of Grenan, Esq; for 400*l.* which is now worth 100*l.* per ann. though they had, in our opinion, no power so to do. The said 400*l.* is so far from being secured, that there is great hazard of its being lost. Mr. W. endeavours to clear himself by saying, that Mr. Drysdale sold the land without his knowledge, and that bishop Williams promised colonel Oliver Wheeler, father of Jonah, on the payment of 400*l.* to make over the fee simple of the estate to him. To this we answer, that Mr. W. cannot be ignorant of the transaction, unjustly ascribed as the sole act of Mr. Drysdale, as Mr. W. has 200*l.* of the money in his hands; and if the bishop considered himself as under obligation

obligation to col. Wheeler, he never would have made an absolute devise to the poor widows.

“ Bishop Otway, by his will, made Dr. Ryder, bishop of Killaloe, and said Mr. W. his executors, and left all his effects, except 947*l.* in legacies, to be disposed of in charitable uses, and particularly makes this bequest and devise:—“ Item, I give my books and 200*l.* in money, and more if needful, for the beginning a library for the cathedral church of St. Canice, for the use of the clergy about it; desiring the dean and chapter of St. Canice to grant for that use, the upper story of the old school-house, joining the alms-house throughout, for the flooring of which with substantial timber and boards; roofing and slating it; for desks and shelves and chains for every particular book; for windows, window shuts, doors, and chimney to be built in it, I appoint 100*l.* owing me by bill by Agmond. Cuffe of Castleinch, Esq; as likewise 97*l.* 10*s.* of Spanish and other foreign gold, be it more or less, now in the hands of George Thornton, as by his notes now in my custody appeareth. And if the two said sums shall not be sufficient to the afore said purposes, that the executor shall take so much of the cash in his hands, as shall finish it. This I would have done as soon as possible after my decease. Item, I will that the sum of 100*l.* be laid out to purchase 10*l.* a year in houses or lands: 5*l.* thereof shall be for the library-keeper, whom I would have to be one of the vicars of St. Canice, (but always chosen by the present bishop,) and the other 5*l.* to be laid out in coals for weekly fires to be made in the library to preserve the books.”

“ We find that the executors built the library as it now stands, with an upper and lower story, whereas they were obliged to build only an upper story, but having a discretionary power in disposing of the bishop's effects to public benefactions, and pious uses, they found it convenient so to do; in order that the lower story should be a convenient habitation for the library-keeper, and a chamber for the preaching dignitaries and prebendaries to lodge in, in the week of their attendance in the cathedral: nor can Mr. W. apply the rest of the bishop's effects, as he gives out he will, to his private use, as he is but under executor, and can reap no benefit but by his legacy of 50*l.*

“ We observe further, that Mr. W. hath not yet chained the books, nor made the purchase of 10*l.* nor hath he paid the library-keeper, who was at great expences, as appears by the following award:—

“ Whereas there did arise several controversies and differences between the Rev. Gyles Clarke and the Rev. Mr. W. on which there is a suit now depending in the chancery

chancery of her majesty's court of exchequer commenced by said Clarke against said W. as surviving executor of the late bishop of Ossory. And whereas by mutual consent of both parties, all the matters and claims in dispute are referred to the final arbitrement of Richard Connel of the city of Kilkenny, Esq; on behalf of Clarke, and to Richard Uniacke, of the same, Esq; on behalf of W. and that John Waring should be umpire. Said Connel and Uniacke not agreeing, now I, John Waring, as umpire, do order said W. by the first of February next, to pay said Clarke the sum of 45*l.* for nine years' salary, due from the 26th of July 1694. I do further order the said W. to pay the said Clarke the sum of 30*l.* for six years' coals. I do order the said W. to pay the said Clarke the sum of 10*l.* annually, the first payment to be made the 26th of July, 1703; and I do order 100*l.* to be placed in the hands of John, lord bishop of Ossory, in trust, to purchase 10*l.* per annum."

"Mr. W. denied complying, because the umpirage was not made according to the niceties of law. The dean and chapter set forth, that at the triennial visitation, 17th July, 1706, he promised the archbishop to account on oath, which however he did not."

What further was done, the writer, at present, knows not. The room is handsome, and the books are in presses and on shelves, and under it is a comfortable dwelling for the librarian.

Bishop Maurice, by his will, dated the 6th of January, 1756, makes the following bequests:—

"I leave my printed books to the library founded by bishop Otway, at Kilkenny; all that are now at Dunmore, as well as those that are now at Kilkenny, together with ten double cases of one form, made of Dantzick oak, now in my library at Dunmore. Provided a fair catalogue be made of the books, and security given by the librarian to exhibit them once a year, or oftener if occasion, to two persons appointed by the bishop, in his own presence if convenient. Provided likewise, that an oath be taken by the librarian, not to embezzle, deface, or lend any book out of the library, but to give due attendance to such clergymen and gentlemen as may be disposed to read there, from six o'clock in the morning to the tolling of the bell for morning prayers at the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

"And for his attendance and care of those books, I bequeath to the librarian and his successors, appointed by the bishop, 20*l.* a year to be paid out of my estate at Miltown in the county of Kilkenny. And if it shall happen that this legacy shall be found not to answer the purpose intended, I empower the bishop of Ossory for the

the time being, with the consent of the dean and chapter of St. Canicé, to sell the books, and apply their price together with the said salary of the librarian towards raising or adorning the imperfect steeple of their cathedral. And whereas a knowledge and practice of books is requisite to range them so as they may be readily found, I desire my good friend, doctor Lawfen, senior fellow and first librarian of Trinity college near Dublin, to lend his hand, to transport, lodge and place them to advantage: for which trouble I bequeath to him the silver candlestick, now in my study, and 20*l.* to buy him a mourning ring." They were accordingly placed in the library: but their utility is very little, if any, as there is no catalogue at present.

The following reflections on the origin of public and diocesan libraries may, perhaps, amuse the reader, after the foregoing tedious details: they are connected with the subject now under consideration; and have therefore some claim to the reader's indulgence.

The refinement of manners: the progress of literature, and the most interesting circumstances in the rise and fall of empires are intimately united with an inquiry into the antiquity and use of public libraries. Scarcely had a nation emerged from barbarism and joined in civil society, but letters became necessary. The rudiments of positive laws were to be collected; alliances with neighbouring powers to be ascertained, and the experience, the improvements and transactions of every year to be recorded. In collections of national archives are to be traced the earliest vestiges of public libraries.

The sculptured rock and rude song served the erratic inhabitants of the forest to keep alive the remembrance of their achievements; to urge them to heroic deeds and animate them in the conflict: to define the limits of their property, and the extent of their conquests. But, in more cultivated periods, tradition was found a precarious arbiter of human affairs: authentic documents were to be recurred to: public treaties were to be produced, and war or peace awaited their evidence.

If learning had not been of divine origin, it was consecrated by the hands that first polished and improved it. The sacerdotal order (31) among the Jews, the Chaldeans and Egyptians devoted their time to its cultivation, it was the employment of their lives. Precluded by public munificence from every attention to secular concerns, it was then their indispensable duty: their labours abundantly recompensed their fellow-citizens, and did honour to themselves. The Babylonians erected the noblest

(31) Joseph. contra Apion. Malach. chap. 2. 7. Deut. 31. 26. 1 Macc. ii. 13.

noblest monument the world ever saw, in a (32) body of celestial observations for 700 years. With such matured geniusses, and with such astonishing perseverance, to what perfection must they not have brought every other science; and what admirable treasures of eastern wisdom must not their libraries have contained? These are the ages called fabulous and heroic:—heroic they certainly were, if the noblest productions of the human understanding merit that epithet: and they are no farther fabulous, than being involved in the dark veil of antiquity, and (33) rendered contemptible by the abortive superfetations of numerous Greek sciologists. It was at the period of their greatest glory and empire that those exertions of genius and of industry are recorded.

“When (34) the arts and sciences, says an elegant writer, come to perfection in any state, from that moment they naturally, or rather necessarily decline.” At this moment of perfection, public libraries were established in Egypt, in Greece and Rome. The observation is, perhaps, new; the fact is indisputable and the detail curious.

Read the account of the sepulchre of Osmandyas, king of Egypt, which for design, magnificence and execution, required, in the opinion of an excellent (35) judge, the combined efforts of human ingenuity: and yet its principle ornament was the sacred library contiguous to it. We may estimate the progress of the Egyptians in literature as well as in mechanics and the fine arts, from the inscription on this library, which was (36)

—Ψυχῆς Ἱατρῶν—

—Medicorium animæ—

From (37) thence Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and Herodotus derived those rich streams which fertilized and highly improved Grecian philosophy and Grecian history.

50

Pisistratus,

(32) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56.

(33) See the learned Bryant's analysis of ancient mythology. pass.

(34) Hume's Essays, vol. 1. p. 51.

(35) It was an astonishing building, as described by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. and required more extensive abilities to complete than the pyramids. Si paulo penitus considero, says Kircher, ausim sancte affirmare, hosce summi ingenii homines, uti nihil eos humanarum scientiarum latuit, ita earum ope humanis quoque operibus majora præstitisse, cum vel in una fabrica efformanda omnes artes et scientias physicam et mathematicam conspirasse videam. In Turr. Babel. lib. 2. sec. 3. cap. 3.

(36) Diodor. Sic. supra. St. Basil alludes to this, when he says:—Τὸν προσφορὸν εὐφρανέτωι ἀρρωτημάτων φαρμακόν. And Philemon:—Ψυχῆς Ἱατρον κατελείπειν τὰ γράμματα.

(37) Lactant. de sapient. ver. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Pisistratus, notwithstanding the dark shade thrown over his character by turbulent demagogues and prejudiced writers, was an amiable and accomplished (38) prince. His love of learning was conspicuous, in collecting Homer's poems and erecting the first library in (39) Greece. Solon, his kinsman, had perfected the Athenian legislation : the city of Athens was extensive and beautiful, and the strength of the state so considerable, as enabled it, in a few years after, to cope with the united force of the Persian empire.

The taste for collecting books was not confined to Athens alone ; it was extended over Greece, as we learn from (40) Athenæus ; who mentions the libraries of Polycrates the Samian ; Nicocrates the Cyprian ; Euclides the Athenian ; Euripides the poet, and Aristotle the philosopher. (41) Like the bee that rests upon and examines every flower, but extracts those sweets alone that are proper for honey, so is the man in search of erudition amid a number of books : this comparison of Isocrates very fully conveys an idea of the multiplicity of books in Athens at this time, and is the finest eulogium on their admirers.

Attalus and Ptolemy Philadelphus founded their libraries at Pergamus and Alexandria in the most flourishing situation of their affairs. It was not until after the conquest of Macedon by Æmilius Paulus, and the Pontic expedition of Lucullus, that those conquerors, worthy the virtuous days of the republick, established collections of books at Rome. As yet there was no publick library in that capital : Augustus completed one in imitation of the Egyptian. Ovid tells us, that below was a portico, in which was the temple of Juno : and above it the books were deposited, and contiguous to it was the theatre of Marcellus.

We now see, if any thing can mark decisively the flourishing eras of antient empires, it is the erection of public libraries. In the infancy of learning, books were few. In Greece, the subjects of poetry, oratory and the abstracted sciences were monopolized by Homer, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Euclid and Aristotle (42) Despairing to equal them, subsequent writers contented themselves with reducing that into an art, which before had been the offspring of genius and of nature. New compositions

(38) So I call him instead of tyrant, his usual addition, Gatakeri Cinn. pag. 8.

(39) Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 17.

(40) Deipnotoph. lib. 1.

(41) Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλισσαν ὁρῶμεν, &c. a most beautiful simile, comparing the assiduity and selection of a man of learning, to the same qualities in the bee Orat. ad. Demon. sub. finem.

(42) Among other fine observations of Velleius Parteculus this is to our purpose : " Et ut primo ad consequendos, quos priores ducimus, accendimur : ita, ubi aut præteriri, aut æquari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit ; et quod assequi non potest, sequi definit, et, vel occupatam relinquens materiam, querit novam." Lib. 1

positions appeared, which depended on penetration, on industry, much reading, mature reflection and practical observations: each a fruitful source for multiplying books and furnishing libraries. By this time the taste of the nation was fixed; its manners polished; its civilization perfect, and its power at the height. At this period Vitruvius (43) directs public libraries to be built, as contributing to national splendour and magnificence: but they served other important purposes: they arrested learning in its flight, and stemmed the incroaching torrents of ignorance and barbarism.

From the faint glimmerings of history we find they had this effect in Chaldea and Egypt: for those nations, even when Grecian literature was at its summit, preserved the reputation of their former wisdom. The same is observable of Greece, which notwithstanding its being despoiled of its libraries by the Romans, could not be totally deprived of books; they were too numerous to suffer the people to fall into gross ignorance. A general diffusion of learning gave them a superiority over their conquerors and made them in their most depressed state their equals in science. (44) Ireland exhibited the same striking fact.

The Roman genius did not produce books with the rapidity of the Grecian; nor do we read of libraries in their colonies and settlements; they were mostly (45) confined to the capital: so that when the inundations of barbarians overturned the empire, and Rome was taken and her liberties destroyed, learning, almost instantly, became extinct.

It was before observed, that the most sacred places were the repositories of books. Thus Moses, when the book of the law was perfected, ordered it to be placed by the side of the ark of the covenant: and Judas Maccabeus, imitating the example of Nehemiah, built a library in the temple, and collected there the books of the prophets and the epistles of the Kings. The Christians followed such patterns. In the third century, Alexander bishop of Jerusalem founded a library in that city: it was for the use of the clergy: out of this library says (46) Eusebius, we ourselves have gathered matter for the subject now in hand; that is, for his ecclesiastical history. And St. Augustin bequeathed his collection of books to his church of Hippo.

Such

(43) Lib. 6. cap. 3. (44) See these antiquities before, p. 362.

(45) By the constitutions of Valentinian and Theodosius it is very plain, that Rome was the chief university of the empire. Cod. Theodos. lib. 14. tit. 19. l. 1. A. D. 370.

(46) Hist. Ecc. lib. 6. cap. 20. Pamphilus founded a library in the church of Cæsarea in Palestine; collected all the ecclesiastical writers, and transcribed with his own hand the works of Origen: it was there Jerom found his exegesis on the twelve prophets. De Scriptor. cap. 75. This was in 294. Cavi's hist. literar, pag. 76. See more in Bingham's antiquities of the Christian church. Book 8. chap. 7.

Such then is the origin of Dioceſan libraries: an institution, which, if properly conducted, would preſerve to the clergy that pre-eminence in literature, by which, in all ages they have claimed reſpect, and frequently admiration. Ignorance in the ſacred order is a ſure prognostic of the decay of religion and the corruption of morality. “ My (47) people are deſtroyed for lack of knowledge: becauſe thou haſt rejected knowledge, I will alſo reject thee, that thou ſhalt be no prieſt to me. The (48) prieſt’s lips ſhould keep knowledge, and the people ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth.”

Want of books is a fore evil, not only to ſtudioſus men, but it damps the warmth of the beſt diſpoſed and moſt eager after information. A ſlender ſupport and remote ſettlement too frequently induce a languor, fatal to a profeſſion, which requires every aid. Thoſe pious and good men who have formed Dioceſan libraries did all in their (49) power to obviate thoſe complaints. Yet the following catalogue evinces how little has been done in this way, and, from the principle before laid down, demonſtrates how far removed we are from perfection in the arts and ſciences.

In 1692 Biſhop Otway founded a library at St. Canice, Kilkenny.

1698 Archbiſhop Maſhat St. Sepulchre’s, Dublin.

1720 Biſhop Browne at Cork.

1726 Archbiſhop King at Derry.

1737 Biſhop Foſter at Raphoe.

And primate Robinſon formed a noble foundation at Armagh.

If there are more, they have not come to the writer’s knowledge. The anecdotes of the Offorian library will warn us to avoid a capital error in ſuch eſtabliſhments, that of making them poſthumous works. When they are not begun and finiſhed in the founder’s life time, their deſign is fruſtrated, and this diſappointment is attended with fraud, perjury and injuſtice. Archbiſhop Maſh and primate Robinſon effectually prevented ſuch conſequences, by regulating whiſt living every matter relative to their noble foundations, and confirming it by parliamentary ſanction.

The

(47) Hoſea, iv. 6.

(48) Malachi, ii. 7. The Levitical prieſthood was bound to inſtruct the people in the law. Deut. xxxiii. 10. Levit. x. 11, and the cities of the Levites were colleges diſperſed among the tribes. Stillingfleet’s Eccles. caſes. pag. 77. edit. 8vo.

(49) Godwin ſpeaking of archbiſhop Matthew, who erected a public library at Briſtol, ſays:—“ Opus, hercle, egregium, quodque plures utinam imitarentur, cum, præ librorum inopia, plurima tenuioris fortis miniſtri tanquam ſalcibus deſtiti-
ruti, a ſegete Dominica demetenda ſæpenumero detineantur,” De Præſul. Angl. pag. 90. edit. 2da.

The appointment of a person to the office of librarian is often not well considered. In the ancient Roman church he was called (50) chancellor, and his (51) station was most important and respectable. On the erection of cathedrals he was the first or second dignitary of the chapter: examined the candidates for orders: took care of the library, the service books, and did all the literary business of his body. The statutes of the churches of Litchfield and London, in the (52) monasticon, are full to these points. We may ascend to much earlier times, and mention men of the highest accomplishments, who were librarians: (53) as Demetrius Phalereus, Callimachus, Apollonius and Varro. An ignorant librarian is a contradiction in terms: he should be a person of abilities, who could direct the younger clergy in their studies, and assist possibly the more mature: he would be beloved as a parent and revered as a master: the timidity of infant genius would receive countenance and aid from him, and the most polished productions would be improved by his perusal.

It would exceed the limits of this little excursion to be more minute: the creating a fund by a small annual subscription for purchasing books: the lending books under certain regulations, and the exciting emulation among the clergy, were objects which engaged the attention of the bishop and clergy of Ossory, when this was written, but from want of vigour and perseverance produced no good effects.

We shall now proceed with a list of the deans of St. Canice, and the dates of their succession.

DEANS.

	A. D.		A. D.
1 Henry Pembroke - - -	1245	9 William Johnson - - -	1559
2 Roger de Wexford - - -	1269	10 David Cleere - - -	1582
3 Adam Trillock - - -	1347	11 Richard Deane - - -	1603
4 Thomas Archer - - -	1469	12 John Tod - - -	1610
5 John Strange - - -	1472	13 Absalom Gethinge - - -	1616
6 Edmund Comerford - - -	1502	14 Jenkin Mayos - - -	1620
7 James Cleere - - -	1504	15 Barnabas Boulger - - -	-
8 Thomas Lancafter (54) - -	1550	16 Edward Warren - - -	1630
	5 P		17 Thomas

(50) Du Cange, in voce.

(51) Ur vix vel bonum judicetur, quod Romani cancellarii prius non fuerit examinatum iudicio, moderatum consilio studio roboratum et confirmatum ajurorio. St. Bernardi epist. 313.

(52) Tom. 3. pag. 24. 339.

(53) Hottinger, Biblioth. quodripart. pag. 79.

(54) He held this deanery with the see of Kildare.

17 Thomas Ledshame	-	1661	23 Robert Moffom, D. D.	-	1702
18 Daniel Neylan, D. D.	-	1666	24 Robert Watts, D. D.	-	1747
19 Joseph Teate	-	1667	25 John Lewis, A. M.	-	-
20 Thomas Hill	-	1670	26 Thomas Pack, A. M.	-	1784
21 Benjamin Parry	-	1673	27 Joseph Bourke, A. M.	-	1796
22 John Pooley	-	1675			

ROUND TOWER.

There is a beautiful one and of great height standing at the south side of the cathedral. These curious structures have before been considered.

SCHOOL HOUSE.

“ In the weste of the church-yard of the late, (55) says Stanihurst, has been founded a grammar-schoole by the right honorable Peirce or Peter Butler, erle of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the countesse of Ormond, the lady Margaret Fitz Gerald, sister to Gerald Fitz Gerald, the erle of Kildare that last was.

Out of which schoole have sprouted such proper impes, through the painfull diligence and laboursome industrie of that famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White, sometime fellow of Oriel college in Oxford, and schoolemaster in Kilkennie as generallie the whole weale publicke of Ireland, and especiallie the fouthern parts of that island, are greatly thereby furthered.

This gentleman's method of training up youth was rare and singular; framing the education according to the scholar's veine: if he found him free, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates from his booke; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood he was the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards. Finallie, by interlasing studie with recreation, sorrow with mirth, pain with pleasure, sowerneffe with sweetneffe, roughneffe with mildneffe, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth, I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England, I am assured, none better. And because it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crue, I take it to stande with my dutie, fith

(55) Apud Hollingshed, supra. In another work he says: Extat in hoc oppido schola extructa opibus clarissimi viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondie et Ossorie comitis, et uxoris ejus quæ Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Fæmina fuit spectatissima; non modo summa generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildaræ filia, sed rerum etiam prudentia supra muliebrem captum, prædita. Hic ludum aperuit nostra ætare, Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam summa constant merita. Ex illius etiam schola, tanquam ex equo Trojano, homines literatissimi reipublicæ in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Sherhos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Stronges, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuissim; qui primis temporibus ætatis in ejus disciplinam se tradiderant. Stanihurst. de reb. in Hib. gestis, pag. 25.

sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turns, yet to manifest my good will in remembering his pains. And certes, I will acknowledge myself so much bound, and beholden to him and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous schoole."

In 1670, Dr. Edward Jones, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, was master of this school; as was Dr. Henry Ryder in 1680, who was promoted to the see of Killaloe.

The 18th of March, 1684, the duke of Ormond granted a new charter to the college in Kilkenny, of a certain house in John's street, with the adjacent park, for a school-house: and the rectories and tythes of Donoghmore, Kells, Wollengrange, Jerpoint and Kilmocar, in the county of Kilkenny; and the parishes of Bruor and Templemore, and Relishmurry in the county of Tipperary. These were given in trust to Richard Coote, Esq. and Sir Henry Wemyes, knt. to pay the master 140*l.* per annum. The following are the statutes from the original record in the college.

"Statutes, orders and constitutions made, appointed and ordained by the right noble James duke, marquis and earl of Ormond, earl of Ossory and Brecknock, baron of Arklow and Lanthony, lord of the lordship and liberties of Tipperary, chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, chief butler of Ireland, lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, lord lieutenant of the counties of Somerset, the cities of Bath, Bristol and Wells, one of the lords of his majesty's kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, steward of his majesty's household, and Westminster, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, founder of the grammar school at Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland, for the due government, managing and improvement of the said school; March the 18th, in the year of our Lord, 1684.

Imprimis, it is constituted and ordained, that there shall be for ever a master resident; who shall be at least a master of arts here in Ireland, or of one the universities in England: also of good life and reputation, well skilled in humanity and grammar learning; loyal and orthodox; who shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and conform to the doctrine and discipline of the church of Ireland, as it is by law, now established; and that Edward Hinton, doctor in divinity, be hereby confirmed in the place and office of master of the said school.

II. That the master shall be nominated and chosen by the duke of Ormond, his grace, patron and governor, and the heirs male of his body that shall successively be dukes of Ormond, patrons and governors of the said school, within the space
of

of three months next after every vacancy: who by writing under the hand and seal of the respective governor, being recommended to the visitors, and by them examined and approved, as able and sufficient both for religion, learning and manners; upon certificate of such examination and approbation of the visitors to the governor shown, the said person so approved, shall by a deed under the hand and seal of the governor be settled and confirmed as master of the school. But if the governor shall neglect to nominate according to the time prefixed, or shall chuse such as are not qualified suitably to these statutes, that then it shall be lawful for the visitors, after notice first given to the governor, and no redress within three months after such notice, to elect and present pro illa vice, any other person, whom in their consciences, they shall judge to be well qualified for the place. And also that upon failure of issue male of the body of the said James duke of Ormond, the provost, fellows and scholars of Trinity college Dublin, and their successors shall from thenceforth for ever afterwards be patrons and governors of the said school.

III. That the master shall constantly inhabit and reside at the house belonging to the said school, and in person attend the duties of his place: which are to instruct the scholars in religion, virtue and learning: in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages; as also in oratory and poetry; according to the best method which he and the visitors shall judge most effectual to promote knowledge and learning: and that being in health he shall never be absent for above thirty school days in one whole year, which shall begin on the 25th of March; nor above a fortnight at any one time, unless upon emergencies the visitors shall give him leave, being first satisfied, that his place shall be well and sufficiently discharged in his absence.

IV. That there shall always be an usher belonging to the said school, to be nominated, chosen and removed by the master: who shall have his diet, lodging and maintenance in the school-house, at his allowance. A single man well-skilled in grammar learning, of good credit for parts and manners, a batchelor of arts at the least in one of the universities of England or Ireland: and he shall constantly attend and assist in the duties of the school, in such manner and method, as the master shall appoint.

V. That neither master nor usher shall take upon them any other charge, office or employment, which the visitors shall judge inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due managing and improvement of the said school: but shall constantly attend and discharge their respective duties, and never be both of them out of the school at school times.

VI. That

VI. That the scholars to be admitted into the said school shall be plainly and decently habited, and such as shall have first read their accidence, and are fit to enter upon grammar learning; and shall submit to the order, method and correction of the said school.

VII. That the children of all such as are attending in the service of the duke of Ormond, shall at all times be admitted to the privileges and benefits of said school gratis.

VIII. That if any well-disposed persons shall out of charity pay for the tabling of such ingenious and orderly lads, as shall by the visitors be recommended to the master, as objects of charity, he shall admit, and as they continue modest and diligent, teach them gratis.

IX. That if his grace the duke, or any other pious benefactors shall hereafter make any grants or allowances for the maintenance of any number of scholars, they shall be taught and entered afterwards in Trinity college, Dublin, if they prove fit. The master shall then be expressly obliged to teach those under the name of Ormond scholars, according to his best skill and industry, gratis.

X. That it shall be lawful for the master to demand and receive of all other scholars according to the rates and usages of the most remarkable schools in Dublin, for boarding and schooling; those children excepted, whose parents are, or at the time of their birth were inhabitants of the city of Kilkenny, or in the liberties thereof; who shall pay but half price.

XI. That if the master knows any of the scholars to be under any infectious or offensive disease or distemper: or that any infectious disease be in the house where they table, he shall, for security of the rest, discharge such from school till the danger be over.

XII. That every stubborn and refractory lad, who shall refuse to submit to the orders and correction of the said school, shall by the master be forthwith dismissed from the said school, not to be re-admitted without due submission to exemplary punishment: and upon his second offence of the same kind, to be discharged and expelled for ever. And in this number are reckoned such as shall offer to shut out the master or usher: but the master shall give them leave to break up eight days before Christmas, and three days before Easter and Whitsuntide.

XIII. That the master shall make diligent inquiry after such as shall break, cut, deface or any way abuse the desks, forms, walls and windows of the school; or

any parts of the house, or trees in the meadows, and shall always inflict open and exemplary punishment on all such offenders.

XIV. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, the scholars shall be and continue in school from six of the clock in the morning till eleven, and all the rest of the year from seven, or as soon as the gates of the city are open: and in the afternoon from one to five: the afternoons of Thursdays and Saturdays excepted, which shall be always allowed for recreation: and that the master shall grant no play days, except to such as shall pay down ten shillings into the master's hands, to be by him immediately disposed of to the most indigent and deserving lads of his school.

XV. That the master shall take special care of the scholars of his own family, to instruct them by his good example at all times, as well as by occasional directions: and shall have the prayers of the church of England and Ireland read to them both morning and evening in some convenient place of the house: and in the school, the prayers seen and approved by the lord bishop of Offory, shall constantly and duly be used in the same manner and form, as they are at the date of these presents.

XVI. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, all the scholars shall be in the school upon Sundays, by eight in the morning, to be instructed in the Church Catechism; and afterwards shall attend the master and usher to the church, in a comely and decent manner. And from the middle of September to March, they shall stay at school until half an hour past eleven upon Saturdays, that they may be taught the same Catechism.

XVII. That Edward Hinton, master of the said school, and the master for the time being, shall inhabit, possess, and enjoy to his own proper use and emolument, the school-house, with the court, out-houses, and gardens thereunto belonging; as also the meadow adjoining, commonly called the pigeon-house meadow: provided the scholars be allowed at leisure times to take their recreation therein; and that the trees in said meadow be carefully preserved and improved.

XVIII. That the master shall provide a large register, wherein the names, qualities, and ages of all such children as shall, from time to time, be admitted into the said school, shall be registered and entered: as also the time of their departure; what class they were in, and to what place or employment they go. Likewise a catalogue of all such goods, standards, and utensils, as do or shall belong to the said school-house, out-houses, garden, and meadow.

XIX. That

XIX. That the master shall receive for his salary the sum of 140*l.* per annum, of good and lawful money of and in England, by even and equal portions; one moiety of it at the 25th of March, and the other September the 29th, or within a fortnight of each of these feasts; to be paid constantly in the school-house, without any defalcation, out of tythes settled by the said duke for payment thereof: except his grace or his heirs shall settle some particular lands for the payment of the said salary, and which shall be of a full value to discharge it yearly. And upon the master's death, or removal, his salary pro rata shall become due to him to be paid till that very day.

XX. That the master shall keep and maintain the school-house, school, and out-offices in constant good and sufficient repair: nor shall it be lawful to make any alterations therein without the approbation of the visitors.

XXI. That Thomas, lord bishop of Ossory, Narcissus, lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, and Robert Huntingdon, D. D. provost of Trinity College, Dublin, while they live in this kingdom; and the bishops of Ossory, Leighlin and Ferns, and the provost of the College for the time being, be nominated and appointed visitors of the said school: and that they, or the majority of them (for it is the greater number of them still that are meant by the visitors) shall yearly at, or upon the last Thursday in June or oftener if they shall see occasion, publicly visit said school, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning: where and when they shall first cause the statutes to be read, audibly and distinctly by one of the scholars; and afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the scholars, and inquire after any breach of the statutes, and after the behaviour of the master; the sufficiency and manners of the usher; the authors that are read; the methods, usages, and customs of the school; and if they shall judge any alterations or amendments requisite in any of these, they shall express it to the master under their hands and seals: who by virtue of these statutes is required to comply with their advice, for the better improvement of the said school. And when there shall be foundation scholars, they shall by the visitors be chosen, according to their merits for the university.

XXII. That on the said visitation day after dinner, which the master is to provide soberly and decently, and towards it shall have freely given him a fat buck yearly out of his grace's next park: the visitors then present, shall take a view of the school-house and out-houses, the garden, meadow, and trees therein; and if they find occasion, shall specify in writing all those repairs and amendments, with
the

the manner how, and the time when they judge them expedient to be made. If the master shall be negligent herein, the visitors shall signify the same to the governor of the said school, who forthwith shall order those things to be done by able workmen, and that they be paid out of the salary next due to the master.

XXIII. That if it shall appear to the visitors, that the usher is insufficient or scandalous, and so is signified to the master under their hands and seals, if the master shall refuse to remove the said usher, and chuse another statutably qualified: or if the master shall neglect such alterations and amendments as the visitors shall have judged fit to be made, either in the manners of himself or his usher, the authors to be read, or the method, customs, or management of the said school: or if the master should forbear to discharge himself or his usher from such offices or employments, as the visitors have judged inconsistent or prejudicial to the due management of the said school: or shall alter their house without their consent; the visitors shall, under their hands and seals, admonish the master a second time of his said neglects: and if for the space of three months after such second admonition the master shall be convicted, either by notoriety of the fact, or the testimony of two of the most credible witnesses of such obstinate neglect, upon information thereof by the visitors, under their hands and seals given to the patron or governor, he shall expel and remove the said master from all duties and benefits of the said school, school-house, &c. and shall nominate and chuse another in his stead, according to the qualifications aforesaid.

XXIV. That if any doubt or objection shall happen concerning the true purport, intent, and meaning of these statutes, or any thing in them contained, such interpretation as the visitors shall agree in, and signify under their hands and seals, shall be binding and decisive to all parties concerned.

Lastly, in testimony that all and singular the above statutes, orders, and constitutions were ratified, established, and confirmed to commence and be in force from the 25th day of March in the year of our Lord, 1685, the said James, duke of Ormond the founder of the said school, has this present 18th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1684, hereto set his hand and seal at his majesty's castle of Dublin."

But this foundation soon went to decay for the reasons contained in the following account of the college of Kilkenny, extracted from Mr. Harris's (56) life of king William.

" King

“ King James, after his arrival in Dublin, prosecuted his scheme (the establishment of popery) to a fuller effect. An instance of which may be given in his proceedings in relation to the public school of Kilkenny, founded and endowed by the piety of the first duke of Ormond ; who settled there a protestant school-master, Dr. Edward Hinton, a learned and conscientious Englishman, who officiated in it with great industry and success : which I mention with gratitude, because to him I am indebted for my early education.

“ As the apprehensions of Tyrconnel’s severe government had driven numbers of protestants out of the kingdom, so Dr. Hinton, among the rest, fled for safety to his native country. King James laid hold of the opportunity to pervert that school from its primitive institution. The grandson and heir of the founder had early joined king William, and was attainted in the parliament held this year in Dublin, and consequently the estate among others, out of which the revenues of this school issued, was declared forfeited. The school-master was gone, and though not mentioned in the act of attainder, yet one scratch of the attorney-general’s (Nangle) pen supplied that defect, and in the charter declared him attainted.

“ King James therefore by a charter dated the 21st of February, 1689, upon the ruins of this school erected and endowed a royal college ; consisting of a rector, eight professors, and two scholars in the name of more ; to be called the royal college of St. Canice, Kilkenny, of the foundation of king James.

“ It appears by the charter, that William Daton, D. D. and others in conjunction with him, had for several years, taught school in Kilkenny, with great diligence ; for it was the policy of Tyrconnel to erect schools of Jesuits, as was done through England, in opposition to the protestant legal school-masters, whom by affronts and ill-usage, and under the countenance of a cruel administration, they soon drove away. And this was the cause of Dr. Hinton’s abdication, which king James now laid hold on to erect his royal college ; and it was done as the said charter alleges, at the petition of the said Daton and his fellow labourers, of the catholic bishop of Ossory, and all the clergy of that diocese, as well as of the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the said city. After Dr. Hinton was driven away, Tyrconnel converted the school-house into an hospital ; and so it continued until the new foundation.”

• This account given by Mr. Harris is very well illustrated by Mr. Laffan’s valuable papers. One of them contains ; “ Articles conclus du consentement unanime des regents des ecoles de Kilkenny, sous le protection de l’illustrissime et reverendissime l’evêque d’Ossory ;” and signed

“Edvardus Tonner, philosophiæ professor.

Jacobus Cleary, rhetorices professor.

Guilielmus Felan, lit. human. professor.

Fran. Barnwall, tertii ordinis professor.

Johannes Meagher, quartæ classis professor.”

The catholic bishop of Offory, at this time, was doctor James Phelan, who gave the following rules to this college.

“Rules to be observed by the professors of my lord bishop of Offory’s college, in Kilkenny: given by his lordship.

The teachers of colleges are to know, that piety is the chief thing they ought to teach; and all other things that are taught are nothing but means to attain that end; and therefore piety is to be taught by word and example on all occasions in general, and particularly in the following exercises.

I. The teachers are to get up half an hour, at least, before the boarders; and spend at least half an hour in mental prayer together in the room where the boarders come to vocal prayer; and to remain there until the boarders come, that they may see so good an example to imitate. This being very easy and beneficial no one ought to forego it, or be cold or negligent to appear with the rest, if he were not very sick. And to be notably remiss in this exercise is a fault whereof the ordinary is to be informed. When the boarders come, those that have not the breviary to say, ought to say the prayers with the scholars; and give them good example, by often going to confession and communion. The mental prayer may be omitted the play-days, and made an hour later on holydays and Sundays.

II. The teachers are to shew all exactness and regularity in their exercises; going exactly to their several schools at the same moment; and also precisely together from school: to be gentle and courteous to the scholars; especially when they propose any difficulties: but they are to keep always their distance; never shewing any weakness, lightness, passion, scurrility, or any incivility that the scholars may take notice of. To affect gravity before them, more than if the teachers were apart; for there they may give themselves full latitude; but never to make them their comrades by familiarity that denotes equality and makes fellows, as laughing, chatting, playing together, and such other familiarities wherein the scholars may discover any weakness in the masters, or diminish their esteem for them: no man being fitter to teach and persuade than he who is well possessed of his auditors’ esteem.

III. Those

III. Those that preside at the scholars' studies, are to be careful and exact therein, lest the scholars should lose their time. If any of the masters be obliged to absent himself when his turn is to be present, he must pray some other teacher to supply his place : for no teacher ought to pretend to be exempt, upon the account of having much to study, from what is common to all the teachers : whereas there is none but may take that pretext ; and if the scholars be neglected but one hour a day, it will give them an occasion of idleness, and taking of liberty.

IV. As for the teachers' conversation, it ought to be very fraternal and lovely ; consulting and advising one another : and though we think fit, that for the equality of the pains and endeavours of the teachers, the profit also ought to be equally participated ; yet we think it most expedient that the younger teachers should be very submissive to the elder ones, especially to the Prefect, who represents our person there in the curate's absence ; for it were very imprudent, that every teacher should be master of every thing, and no order or subordination observed contrary to the repeated custom in all colleges in the world, where there are several degrees of dignity, or at least, one that rules all the rest. Neither ought the Prefect to be over imperious to the teachers, but advise fraternally with them, and strive to please them, as far as reason and the common good suffer it. To be impartial in any competition or difference that may arise among the teachers themselves, or amongst them and the scholars : and to accommodate without noise all those little debates, with prudence and justice ; striving always publicly to turn the blame on the scholars ; but blaming with authority, and advising privately any of the teachers that may do amiss.

Neither ought any teacher to take it ill, or pretend, or give out that he will not suffer such reprimands upon account of all the teachers being equal for matter of gain : for that is another matter. Nay, it is not to be expected but there may be some teachers, who in process of time, though not now, that may deserve not only to be kept in submission, but also to be turned out for licentious humours, cabals, or extravagant scandalous ways ; which may bring more prejudice to the place, than their presence can bring profit. And the Prefect's conscience, as also the other members, who tender God's service and the good of the College, are responsible before God for such disorders, if they strive not to hinder them by their own authority, or if need be, by giving us timely notice. So every one ought to be watchful on all occasions of the scholars, servants, and household affairs, &c. when they

see

fee any thing amiss, or that may be reformed, to give notice thereof to him, whose charge it is to look after it."

But the glorious victory of the Boyne dispersed those vain conceits and reinstated every thing.

By the attainder of the duke of Ormond, the 24th of June 1715, the right of presentation to the school lapsed to the provost and fellows of Trinity college, Dublin; and is still vested in them.

This school has had a succession of eminent masters; has produced men of great learning, and is justly esteemed the first school for the education of youth in this kingdom.

By a return of the school-master, Mr. Lewis, November the 16th, 1716, the tythes appropriated to the school were set and produced as follows:

Parishes of Bruor and Templemore set to Mr. John Carden for	-	76	0	0
Parishes of Kells, Donoghmore and Kilmocar, co. Kilkenny, to Mr. Richard Power for	-	72	0	0
Parish of Kells to Mr. Patrick Walfh, Mr. William Belcher, Toby Den, James Archdekin, Arthur Izard, Thomas Dyer and William Tucker, for	-	28	0	6
Parish of Donoghmore to Toby Purcell, for	-	17	10	0
Parish of Kilmacor to Mark Rudkins, for	-	18	10	0

In Marsh's library; Dublin, was a book of poems, intitled *Sacri Lusus*, by the young gentlemen of the college of Kilkenny: but not now to be found there. In the same library were, "Constitutions made in a provincial meeting at Kilkenny, A. D. 1614." This MS. also is stolen from its place.

KILKENNY.

THE following statement of the population of Kilkenny is given by *Tighe*, in his statistical account of this County.

"The city of Kilkenny including St. Canice or Irishtown, extends from north to south, as far as there is any continuation of houses, about 1500 yards; from east to west by John's bridge about 1470 yards, by Green's bridge about 1000 yards: including

including between these extremities an irregular square of about 1852500 square yards, or 235 acres, one rood plantation measure, of which about two thirds is cultivated ground. It contains 2870 inhabited houses: of these there are 404 of three stories high and upwards, at 8 per house are 3232 inhabitants: 431 one of two stories, at 6 per house, are 2586, and 2035 cabins at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per house are 9157 souls. Houses 2870, inhabitants 14975. Of these the corporation of St. Canice contains 26 houses of three stories, 80 of two and 909 Cabins, total 1015. Four hundred and four houses in Kilkenny, and 50 in St. Canice paid hearth-money in 1799. Three hundred and sixty-eight in Kilkenny and 51 in St. Canice in 1800, and 353 in Kilkenny, and 46 in St. Canice paid window-tax in 1800.

The population of the cabins was estimated from that of 306 taken down in different quarters of the City, producing 1409, or little more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ to each: houses of two stories are supposed, with the addition of one servant to each, and lodgers to some, to amount to six each: those three stories high and upwards, to have eight per house. The number of houses in 1788 was 2689, increase since that time 181. In 1689, Kilkenny contained but 507 houses, and in 1777 the number was 2174.

The corporation of Kilkenny are possessed of a large property: their rental in 1688 was 313*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* in 1794 it was 1567*l.* taking the tolls and customs at an average of 500*l.* Of this 700*l.* a year is paid in salaries to its officers: 300*l.* in paving, and 300*l.* in pensions and other purposes.

It is asserted in the (1) life of Hugh Rufus, second bishop of Ossory, that he granted a great part of the city of Kilkenny to William Earl Marshal, reserving to himself and his successors a chiefry of an ounce of gold. Notwithstanding the authority now cited, there are certainly some mistakes in this account. It supposes two things; either that the bishop had a paramount right to the soil prior to the English invasion which however does not appear, or there was some distinct exemption in his favour when those conquerors seized and colonized the country; which is equally destitute of foundation.

For Richard Strongbow had all his acquisitions in Leinster given in (2) perpetuity to him by Henry II. with the reservation of the maritime towns. These grants of his father were confirmed by king John to William Earl Marshal, who married Isabella, Strongbow's daughter. Both held Leinster in capite, invested with, and exercising

(1) Ware's Bishops, pag. 403.

(2) Davis's historical Relations, pag. 61.

cising absolute regal jurisdiction and prerogative. Was he not enfeoffed himself in this ample manner, William could never make the grants he did to St. John's priory; the (3) tenor of which expresses a superiority but little favouring of episcopal derivation. Stanihurst indeed has something which seems to countenance what is here contested: "The highe towne was builded by the English after the conquest, and had a parcel of the Irishtowne thereto united by the bishop his grant, made unto the founders upon their earnest request." From the inaccurate and unsupported manner in which this tradition (for it is no more) is expressed, we may rank it with those numerous monkish fictions, which aim at exalting the spiritual above the civil power.

The original charter of incorporation given by William Earl Marshal probably does not exist: Cox (4) says it was granted in 1223; but an amplification of it appears in an *inseximus* of the 3 Edw. III. A. D. 1328. It (5) recites, that the earl who was lord of all Leinster, had in his life time granted to the sovereign, burgeses and commonalty of Kilkenny, for the time being, various liberties and immunities, which they were to enjoy for ever throughout Leinster, as well as in the town. Particularly, that they should be free from toll, lastage, or payment for weighing goods, from pontage, and all other customs whatsoever. These exemptions were powerful inducements for people to settle in a city so much favoured; and the earl by thus depriving himself of considerable revenues, evinced his wishes to aggrandize it. No wonder if we shall find it increasing rapidly in extent, in population and riches; and selected by the great assemblies of the nation, above any other place, for its happy temperature, its ample conveniences and undisturbed security, and as the properest place

(3) *Haecant et teneant omnes donationes, concessiones et confirmationes prædictas, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam.* Appendix I.

(4) *Hist. of Ireland.* Hanmer says it was dated the sixth of April. and witnessed by Thomas Fitz Antony, Walter Purcell, William Grace, Haman Grace, Amnar Grace and others. *Chronicle*, pag. 173. The Waffhes and Caniwells came over with Fitz Stephen, and settled about Kilkenny.

(5) *Edvardus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, omnibus ballivis et ministris omnium villarum et villatorum Lageniæ, et cæteris quibuscunque de iisdem partibus, salutem.* Supplicavit nobis superior et communitas de Kilkenny, quod cum Willielmus, nuper comes marecallus et Pembrochiæ (tempore quo idem comes extiterat dominus totius terræ Lageniæ) concesserit burgenfibus et communitati villæ prædictæ, qui pro tempore fuerint, diversas libertates, inter quas, videlicet, quo ipso in perpetuum per totam Lageniam terram et proteitatem suam, tam in villa quam alibi, essent quieti de theulonio, lastagio, pontagio, et de omnibus aliis consuetudinibus quibuscunque; quam quidem chartam inspeximus, &c. teste Johanne Darcy, justiciario nostro Hiberniæ, apud Kilkenny, 8 die Julii, annoque regni nostri tertio. Per billam ipsius justiciarii. Hanmer supra.

place for holding their meetings. This excellent nobleman, equally accomplished in the arts of peace and war, Redburn (6) thus characterizes in his epitaph;

Sum quem Saturnum sibi senfit Hibernia, Solem

Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

In 1195, a spacious and noble castle was begun in Kilkenny on the site of that destroyed by the Irish in 1173. The situation, in a military view was most eligible; the ground was originally a conoid; the elliptical side abrupt and precipitous, with the rapid Nore running at its base; there the natural rampart was faced with a wall of solid masonry, forty feet high; the other parts were defended by bastions, courtins, towers and out-works; and on the summit the castle was erected. The area thus inclosed, besides furnishing accomodations for the earl and his domestics, contained caerns for a strong garrison with their equipments. The earl, in his charter to St. John's priory, provides, that if he be absent the monks of that house shall serve his castle-chapel, and receive the emoluments from thence arising; but if he be resident, then his own domestic chaplains shall attend. In the same record, his barns lying beyond the bridge, are mentioned, with every other circumstance indicating a regular household and court.

Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, marrying Isabella, one of the daughters and coheiresses of William, earl marshal, received as her dower the county of Kilkenny. He extended the privileges of the corporation by the following charter recited (7) by Hanmer. "To our seneschal of Kilkenny, and to our treasurer of the same, greeting. Know ye, that for the common profit of the town of Kilkenny, of our special favour, we have granted to our loving burgesses of the said town, that none shall sell victuals there, but such as shall be prized by the officers of said town, &c." Prifage, by (8) Blackstone, is mentioned as equivalent to butlerage, or a duty on wine; besides this, it had a more general acceptation, and meant those duties which every Castellan had a right to receive for commodities brought for sale to fairs and markets within the precincts of his castle. Of this our ancient regal charters, our old historians and the monasticon supply many proofs. These duties the earl of Gloucester transferred to the citizens.

By marriage, Kilkenny came into the ancient and noble family of Le Despencer; Hugh Le Despencer marrying Eleanor, sister and coheir of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Hugh le Despenfer, a descendant of the preceding, possessed great properties in different

(6) Camden, in Pembrokehire.

(7) Pag. 178.

(8) Commentaries, vol. 1. pag. 314.

ferent counties in England, conferred on his ancestor by the conqueror, immediately after the battle of Hastings. This Hugh (9) by deeds dated the fourth and twelfth of September, 1391, being the 15 Rich. II. conveyed the castle of Kilkenny and its (10) dependencies to James, earl of Ormond; which earl, in 1386, had built the castle of Dunfert, now called Danesfort.

Among the families attached to the earl marshal, and early planted in Kilkenny, that of Grace seems to have been very respectable. William, Hamen and Amnar Grace subscribe as witnesses to his charter to the city; and three years before, William and Haman attest his charter to St. John's. William erected a castle in the city; this old building, some years ago, was pulled down, and a court-house and prison erected on its site at the expence of the county; here are held the assizes and sessions for the county; it is in Coal-market, and still called Grace's old castle. The earl gave them large possessions, and an extensive tract of country, known by the name of Grace's parish. Haman Grace's posterity settled in the county (11) of Wexford, and other branches (12) at Ballylinch, at Carney and Leighan in the county of Tipperary. In 1560, one of them was baron of Courtistown, and lies interred in the cathedral.

The internal police of Kilkenny being fixed on a solid basis by the preceding grants and charters, and the prosperity of its citizens secured and extended by many privileges and immunities, it soon attained a prime eminence among the central towns of the kingdom. In 1294, Richard, (13) earl of Ulster was taken prisoner by lord John Fitz Thomas, and kept in hold until the feast of pope Gregory; he was then set at liberty by the king's council assembled in parliament at Kilkenny. The jealousies and competitions among the Irish nobility perpetually excited violent feuds and domestic dissensions. The ruling power of government was weak, and inadequate to restrain their enormities and excesses. Lord Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald laying claim to some lands belonging to the earl of Ulster in Conaught, endeavoured to possess himself of them by an armed force: the earl opposed him, but with ill success, for
he

(9) Carte's life of Ormond, introduction, pag. 36.

(10) These comprehended; the castle of Kilkenny, with the mills; the borough of Rosbargon, with the mills; the manors of Dunfert and Kildermoy; the serjeancy of Overk; all his tenements in Kallen le Hill; 33*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* in Kallan and the advowson of the church; with all the lands, tenements, advowsons and knight's fees in Noverk, Rosbargon, Logheran, Killagh, Rosinan, Illid, Knoctofre, the new town of Jerpoint, Killamery, Ardereston, Lyfdoufy, Kilfeckamaduff and Thollenabroge. Carte *supra*.

(11) Annals at the end of Camden, under the year 1305

(12) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 270.

(13) Annals *supra*.

he was taken and imprisoned, as above hinted, in the baron's strong castle of Ley, on the banks of the Barrow, in the Queen's county.

Mr. Selden and Mr. Pryne assert that parliaments did not exist at the time here mentioned, but the contrary seems well established from (14) what others have collected on this subject. They were, as to constituent members, not numerous; because the great lords were enfeoffed of the whole kingdom; alienations were then unknown, and the boroughs but few, so that the representatives were necessarily confined to a small number; and such assemblies were in reality rather Polish diets than British parliaments. Multitudes of retainers followed their lords to those meetings; turbulence and faction disturbed their deliberations, and the public were rather amused than benefited by them; however, the magnificence, prodigality and numbers displayed on those occasions could not but very much enrich the inhabitants of Kilkenny.

The next parliament held in Kilkenny was in the 3 Edw. II. 1309; its acts are to be found in the several (15) editions of our statutes; but there are others still extant in the black book of Christ church, Dublin, and given to the public by (16) Dr. Leland. One clause ordains, "that the English here shall conform in garb and in the cut of their hair to the fashion of their countrymen in England; whoever affected that of the Irish was to be treated as such; their lands and chattles to be seized and their persons imprisoned." Here is clearly disclosed the beginning degeneracy of the British colonies. Unrestrained by the wholesome severity of wise laws, and plunged in a perpetual round of violence and rapine, they soon lost that manliness of sentiment and propriety of conduct which they brought with them into the island; they insensibly contracted a familiarity with, and a fondness for the dissipated manners of the natives; they adopted their vices, and degenerated so far as to assume their drefs, and looked on the long glibbs of this uncivilized people as their boast and ornament.

Sir John Wogan, a Welshman, animated with a love of ancient British virtue, beheld with grief and indignation the falling off of his countrymen, and exerted his utmost efforts to prevent the contagion from spreading. To give the highest sanction to these laws, and to impress them on the people, Maurice Maccarwell, archbishop

5 T

of

(14) Ware's Antiquities by Harris, vol. 1. pag. 79, et seq.

(15) Statutes of Ireland by Bolton, Dublin 1621. Vesey's Statutes. Harris's MSS. pence Societ. Dublin, vol. 2. pag. 312.

(16) Hist. of Ireland, vol. 1. pag. 253, 254. Compare Ware's Bishops, pag. 476. where we may observe great inaccuracy in dates.

of Cashel, assisted by other prelates, denounced anathemas against the infringers of them in the cathedral church of St. Canice, in the presence of Wogan, and many of the nobility. In 1317, lord Roger Mortimer, justiciary of Ireland, and the Irish nobility met at Kilkenny to consider how they might oppose Edward Bruce.

The annals before quoted, under the year 1326, tell us of a parliament held in Kilkenny at Whitfontide, at which the earl of Ulster and other lords assisted, who were sumptuously entertained by the said earl; but that he soon after died. Cox (17) says it doth not appear what was then done, except ordering five thousand quarters of wheat into Aquitain for the king's use. To throw some light on the obscurity of the annalist we may observe, that Edward Bruce, towards the end of Edward the Second's reign, headed the Scottish invasion of this kingdom, and spread terror and desolation wherever he came; the northern and middle counties were over-ran, and he penetrated through (18) Ossory in his way to Munster; private animosities were forgotten in the general distress, and the rancour of rivalry gave way to the more imminent terrors of public danger; foreign enemies and domestic insurrections called for unanimity and vigorous exertions. A subjugation to Scottish power or Irish tyranny was equally alarming to, and dreaded by the English; if the latter succeeded, dispossession and expulsion were the gentlest treatment to be expected; if the former, every thing was to be dreaded from the cruelty of ferocious conquerors. Connected by one common interest, and eager to make one effort to check the career of a triumphant enemy, an army of thirty thousand men was collected, and a prodigious number of irregulars, who clustered together on the general alarm. The earl of Ulster, though married to the sister of Robert, king of Scotland, saw the danger that awaited him if his relation was victorious; and therefore came to the parliament; was the foremost in urging vigorous measures, and made his hospitality the instrument of his patriotism.

The next year, 1327, presents us with relations of broils among the nobility. Lord Arnold Poer, lord Maurice Fitz Thomas and lord Maurice Butler, with armed forces, plundered and wasted each others lands. The earl of Kildare, the lord justice, and others of the king's council, at a parliament in Kilkenny, appointed a day for all parties to answer these outrages. Butler and Fitz Thomas demanded the king's charter of peace, and the council took until the month of Easter to consider of it.

The

(17) Hist. of Ireland, vol. 1.

(18) Some vestiges of this invasion yet remain. Near Aghaboe is an old fortification, vulgarly called Scotfrath, but properly Scottiswaith, or the Scots walls or fortrefs.

The following year (19) gives us a frightful picture of the effects of superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny. Take the narration in the words of the author: "Richard Ledrede, bishop of Ossory, cited dame Alice Ketyll to answer for her heretical opinions, and forced her to appear in person before him; and being examined for sorcery, it was found, that she had used it. Among other instances this was discovered, that a certain spirit (Dæmon Incubus) called Robin Artyffon, lay with her, and that she offered nine red cocks at a certain stone bridge where four highways met; also, that she swept the streets of Kilkenny with besoms, between complin and corfew; and in sweeping the filth towards the house of William Utlaw her son, she was hear to wish by way of conjuring—Let all the wealth of Kilkenny flow to this house.

"The accomplices of this Alice, in wretched practices, were Penel of Meth, and Basilia the daughter of this Penel. Alice was found guilty, and fined by the bishop, and forced to abjure her sorcery and witchcraft; but being again convicted of the same practices, she made her escape with the said Basilia; but Penel was burnt at Kilkenny, and at her death declared, that William abovesaid deserved death as well as she, and that for a year and a day he wore the devil's girdle about his bare body.

"Hereupon the said bishop ordered William to be apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of Kilkenny for eight or nine weeks; and gave orders, that two men should attend him, but that they should not eat or drink with him, and that they should not speak to him above once a day. At length he was set at liberty by the lord Arnold Poer, seneschal of the county of Kilkenny; and he gave a great sum of money to the said Arnold to imprison the bishop; accordingly he kept the bishop in prison about three months.

"Among the goods of Alice, they found a wafer (hostia) with the devil's name upon it, and a certain box of ointment, with which she used to daub a certain piece of wood, called a cowltree, after which she and her accomplices rid upon it round the world, without hurt or hindrance. These things being notorious, Alice was cited again to appear at Dublin before the dean of St. Patrick's, having some hopes of favour given her. She made her appearance and demanded a day to answer, having given sufficient bail as was thought; but she appeared not, for by the advice of her son and others unknown, she hid herself in a certain village until the wind would serve for England, and then she sailed over; but it is not known whither she went.

"William

(19) Camden says it was in 1323, but Prynne in 1328.

“ William Utlaw being found on the trial and confession of Penel (who was condemned to be burnt) to have been consenting to his mother in her forcery and witchcrafts, the bishop caused him to be arrested by the king's writ, and put in prison; yet he was set at liberty again by the intercession of the lords, upon condition, that he should cover St. Mary's church in Kilkenny with lead, and do other acts of charity within a certain day; and that if he did not perform them punctually, he should be in the same state as when first taken by the king's writ.” Further particulars may be seen in Ware's life of bishop Ledred.

A. D. 1329. (20) The lord Thomas Botiller marched from Kilkenny with a great army into the country of (21) Ardnorwith; where he fought with the lord Thomas and William Mageoghagan, and was there killed, to the great loss of Ireland; and with him the lord John de Ledewich, Roger and Thomas Ledewich.

In 1330, Roger Utlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lieutenant of the kingdom under Darcy, held a parliament in Kilkenny, in which were present Alexander archbishop of Dublin, James earl of Ormond, Walter Bermingham and Walter de Burgo. An army was collected, and it marched to drive Brien O'Brien out of Urkuffs near Cashel. This O'Brien was chieftain of Thomond, and was appointed leader of a violent insurrection of the natives at this time.

Anthony Lucy (22) in 1331, appointed a parliament to meet at Dublin on the Utas of St. John the baptist. Many of the principal nobility absented themselves; a practice but too common. The paucity of members obliged Lucy to adjourn to Kilkenny. In the interim, Lucy had either threatened the absentees on the score of their allegiance, or had absolutely taken some steps to vindicate his own and his master's authority; for we find that the lord Thomas Fitz Maurice and the earl of Kildare appeared, and submitted to the king's grace and mercy; they were pardoned, but the last was obliged to swear on the holy evangelists and the relics of the saints to observe his allegiance and to keep the peace. Desmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham were seized, and William Bermingham executed for secretly favouring the Irish rebels.

The

(20) Camden's Annals, Luitwick, Luitwich, Lutwyche, Lutwidge, Ledwith, Ledewich, and Ledwich, such is the various orthography of the name in ancient writings, was a German family, originally settled in the hundred of Munslow in Shropshire. They removed to Cheshire and came over with de Burgo in 1200 who gave them large possessions in Longford and Westmeath, and created them Palatinate Barons, as in the text. They intermarried with the de Burgoes, Nugents, Lacies, &c. From this family the writer of these pages is descended.

(21) Ardnurher in the county of Westmeath.

(22) Cox, pag. 11.

The city, in 1334, had certain (23) tolls granted it, for pavage, for seven years. The annals of Ireland, under the year 1341, inform us of the precarious state of the kingdom, and the danger of its being dissevered from England. The king (24) revoked all those gifts and grants that by him or his father had been conferred, by any means, upon any persons whatsoever in Ireland, were they liberties, lands or other goods. For which revocation great discontent and displeasure arose in the land of Ireland, which was at the point to be lost for ever out of the king of England's hands. Hereupon, by the king's council, there was ordained a general parliament in the month of October; before which time there never was known so notable a division between those that were English by birth and English by blood.

The mayors of the king's cities in the same land, together with all the better sort of the nobility and gentry, with one consent, upon mature deliberation and council had, among other their conclusions, decreed and appointed a common parliament at Kilkenny in November, to the utility and profit of both the king and the land, without asking any council at all of Sir John Morris, the lord justice, or the king's officers aforesaid in that behalf; neither the lord justice or the king's ministers in any wise presumed to come to the same parliament in Kilkenny.

The elders therefore of the land, together with the ancients and mayors of the cities agreed and ordained, as touching solemn ambassadors to be sent with all speed to the king of England, and to complain of his ministers in Ireland, as touching their unequal and unjust regiment of the same; and that from thenceforth they neither could, nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his ministers, as it had wont to be; and particularly they made complaint of the aforesaid ministers by way of these questions.

Imprimis, how a land full of wars could be governed by him that was unskilful in war?

Secondly, how a minister or officer of the king should in a short time grow to so much wealth?

Thirdly, how it came to pass, that the king was never the richer for Ireland?

The title of these petitions, with the king's answer, appears thus in a close roll of the 16 Edw. III:

“ Les peticions, quenseunt feurent baillez a nostre seigneur le roy de France et Dengleterre, par frere Johan Larch, priour del hospital seint Johan de Jerusalem en Irlande, et Mons. Thomas Wogan envoie au roy en message, par les prelatz, countes,

countes, barons et la commune de la terre Dirlaunde, ove autres articles queur le roy par lavisement de son conseil ad ordeine. Que les petitions feurent diligement examinez et respondus par le conseil de roy, et les responses escriptes severalment apres chescun petition. Et puis le roy oyz et etendutz les dites petitions et responses si facorda, et commanda que les dites responses ove les dites articles feissent tenus et meintenuz en touz pointz sur les peines contenuz en ycelles."

The petitioners complained of the mal-administration of the governors and other officers; but the capital grievance was the resumption of their lands. The king's answers were mild and satisfactory, and a storm, that portended the convulsion and disunion of the kingdom, blew over, without any material injury but the alarm it created.

At a (25) parliament held in Kilkenny in 1347, it was agreed to grant a subsidy for the Irish wars, of two shillings for every carrucate of land, and of two shillings in the pound to be paid by every person whose fortune amounted to six pounds. Ralph Kelly, (26) archbishop of Cashel, conceiving this to be an infringement of the immunities of the church, summoned his suffragans and clergy to meet at Tipperary to deliberate on this new law; when they decreed it unlawful as to them; that every beneficed clergyman submitting to it, and contributing to the subsidy, should be rendered incapable of promotion within the province. This act did not go unnoticed; an information, at the suit of the king, was exhibited against the archbishop, and he was mulcted in the sum of a thousand pounds.

In (27) 1349, the county of Kilkenny raised twelve horses and men, both completely covered with mail, these were heavy cavalry, at twelve pence a day: sixty hobellers, or light horse, at four pence a day; and two hundred infantry at three farthings a day, amounting in the whole to two hundred and seventy-two men. For support of these a subsidy was granted and levied.

In 1356, Sir Thomas Rokeby, (28) lord justice, convened a parliament to Kilkenny, wherein many good laws passed for settling the internal government of the kingdom, and reclaiming the degenerate English. And in 1367, the celebrated statute of Kilkenny was enacted by a parliament in that city, held before Lionel duke of Clarence. This assembly was the most splendid and numerous that ever before met here on such an occasion. (29) Besides domestic regulations, the principal

(25) Leland, vol. i. pag. 310.

(26) Ware's Bishops, pag. 478.

(27) Cox, pag. 124.

(28) Appendix IV.

(29) Leland, *supra*, gives a summary of this statute, to which we refer the reader.

object of this famous law was, to prevent the English from degenerating into Irish; and therefore every intercourse between them was interdicted; the Brehon law was forbidden, and that of England alone allowed. It is remarkable, that this statute annexes the highest (30) penalties to the adoption of the Irish apparel, which certainly was an inferior species of criminality, and could arise only from an inordinate predilection of the English in favour of their own dress, which is thus described: (31) "The commons were befotted in excess of apparel, in wide furcoats reaching to their loins; some in a garment reaching to their heels, close before and strutting out on the sides, so that on the back they make men seem women, and this they call by a ridiculous name, *gown*; their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's; their lirripipes reach to their heels, all jagged; they have another weed of silk which they call a paltock; their hose are pied, or of two colours or more, with latchets, which they call harlots, and tie to their paltocks without any breeches; their girdles are of gold and silver, some worth twenty marks; their shoes and pattens are snouted and peaked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call crackowes, resembling the devil's claws, which are fastened to the knees with chains of gold and silver."

Thus gaudily attired, we need not wonder if the English beheld the Irish mantles, their trowsers, gibbs, crommeals, their barreds and brogues, not only with contempt but abhorrence; but when they considered the fourteen yards of yellow linen worn by the natives, by way of shirts and smocks, they execrated such anti-christian customs, and conceived it impossible for a single good quality to subsist under such clothing.

A. D. 1365. By (32) a deed dated the 40 Edw. III. Adam Cantwell grants to Robert le Marchal and Isabella Cantwell his wife, all his messuages, rents and tenements in his holdings in Irefton (Irishtown), in the Green near Kilkenny. The witnesses are Thomas Lynan, provost of Irishtown, and others.

At a parliament held in (33) Kilkenny in 1370, a subsidy of three thousand pounds was granted for the Irish wars, and in a subsequent session two thousand more. On the fourth of May, 1374 (34), Sir William Windfor, lord lieutenant, was sworn into the government, in Kilkenny. He undertook the charge of the kingdom for the

(30) The bishops of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, Lismore, Waterford, Offory, Killaloe, Leighlin and Cloyne were present, and fulminated anathemas against the transgressors of this law.

(31) The author of *Eulogium apud Camden*'s remains, pag. 20. See this extract explained in Strutt's *Antiquities*, vol. 2. pag. 14. &c.

(32) King's Collect. pag. 212.

(33) Claus. 47 Edw. III. memb. 3.

(34) Cox, pag. 131.

the annual sum of £.11213. 6s. 8d. and obtained an order from the king and council, that absentees should repair home, or find sufficient men in their room to defend their estates.

The next parliament in Kilkenny was in the year 1376, for the purpose of granting the king a subsidy for his foreign wars; but this not proving effectual, writs were issued in the 49th and 50th of Edw. III. for sending representatives to England, from each county and town. That to the county of Kilkenny is thus: (35) "*Consimile breve dirigitur senescallo libertatis Kilkenniae et vicecomiti croceæ ibidem, sub eadem data. Tenor retorni brevis prædicti sequitur in hæc verba: Alexander episcopus Offoriensis, et Galfridus Forstal, electi sunt per senescallum libertatis Kilkenniae et vicecomitem croceæ ibidem, ac magnates et communes ejusdem comitatûs.*" But this return being of one ecclesiastical person, contrary to the king's orders, and the county giving no powers to assent to a subsidy, or the imposition of taxes, a new writ was sent, and William Cotterell of Kenlis or Kells was joined with Forstal. Here the seneschal of the county and the sheriff of the cross or church-lands made the return; who these officers were will best appear from the words of Sir John Davis. "These absolute palatines (speaking of the nobility) who had whole counties, made barons and knights, did exercise high justice in all points within their territories; erected courts for criminal and civil causes and for their own revenues, in the same form as the king's courts were established in Dublin; made their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners and escheators. So the king's writ did not run in those counties, but only in the church-lands belonging to the same, which were called the Cross, wherein the king made a sheriff; and so in each of these counties palatines there were two sheriffs, one of the Liberty and another of the Cross."

Let us now attend the writ to the city: "*Consimile breve dirigitur superiori et præposito villæ de Kilkenny, &c. And the return was: Robertus Flode et Johannes Ledred electi sunt per superiorem, præpositum et burgenfis villæ Kilkenniae, ad transfretandum versus dominum regem in Anglia, &c.*"

Here the writ expressly mentions the officers of the corporation to be the sovereign and provost. The powers of each were anciently distinct; the first (36) was judge, in the last resort, of matters within his jurisdiction; he defended the rights of the city and its inhabitants, and executed other official acts. The provost was an inferior judge; he inspected the markets and farmed the tolls. Kilkenny, in this record is called

(35) Leland, vol. i. appendix.

(36) Du Cange, voce præpositus.

called villa, a town; at this time, 1376, there were but four cities in Ireland, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; and five towns, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Ross, Wexford, and Youghall; nor doth it appear from this document, that the representatives exceeded one hundred, which, considering the narrowness of the pale, were sufficient for the English colonists.

The year before, that is in 1375, (37) letters patent issued, granting to the corporation, for the space of seven years, very considerable tolls, for the repairs of the walls, bridges and pavements belonging to it; they were drawn up in Kilkenny, as the date of them proves; and as they seem to include the whole trade of the city at this time, it may be pleasing to the inquisitive to take notice of a few curious particulars. We shall arrange them under the following heads:

MEASURES AND WEIGHTS.

The Cranocus, or (38) Cronnog in Irish, was a basket or hamper for holding corn, lined with the skin of a beast, and supposed to hold the produce of seventeen sheaves of corn, and to be equal to a Bristol barrel. This was a remnant of remote ages, and an effort of unpolished society towards a just determination of their rights. A standard for measuring different kinds of grain, and thereby estimating their value in permutation, would naturally be among the first contrivances of mankind, and a basket of twigs lined with a skin was the most obvious and ready expedient for this purpose. Such is the attachment of rude people to their ancient customs and manners, that it is after a long lapse of years they can be induced to lay them aside, and adopt those that are more convenient and useful. From what is now said, we are not to conclude, that the citizens of Kilkenny were in a more uncivilized state than their cotemporaries; they were equal to any of them in the luxuries of living and dress.

The dolium, chane and lagena were uncertain measures, and the weights used were pounds and stones.

Summagium, or fagmegium, or fauma (39) seems to have been a car or cart load, and in this record is contradistinguished from onus, which was an horse load.

GRAIN.

Most species are enumerated, as wheat, malt, corcy, coir or oats, and fymal, femalum, seagol or rye.

5 x

MEAT,

(37) Appendix.

(38) Ware's Antiq. pag. 223.

(39) Du Cange in voce. Kennet's parochical Antiquities, glossary.

MEAT, FISH, &c.

Good living and an attention to personal ornaments were the prevailing passions of this reign. A law (40) was made to prohibit servants from eating flesh meat and fish but once a day; nor was any man, under one hundred pounds a year, to wear gold, silver or silk in his clothes. In a place abounding with all the luxuries and superfluities of life, and unawed by sumptuary restrictions, the inhabitants of Kilkenny, no doubt, indulged themselves to the utmost of their desires. Accordingly the tolls on sheep, goats, pigs and bacon are low; and those on herrings, sea-fish, salmon and lampreys but a farthing. Leek seed and onions are rated as articles of considerable consumption; the Norman families had not forgotten the porrecta, porree, or leek soup of their countrymen, nor did they want spices, or spices to improve it. No place in Europe affords accommodations for the table superior to Kilkenny at this day. Wooden dishes and plates are mentioned; it is extraordinary if any others were used that they were not set down. A toll was paid on ore and copper; the former must have been pewter, and both were, not improbably, for making domestic utensils.

HOUSES

In Kilkenny belonging to people of better fashion were shingled and clap-boarded, as is now the case in America and the West-Indies; both sorts of covering are specified. The windows were fitted up with coloured or white glass; the glass was in small panes, as they are here estimated by the hundred; staining glass was an art long known and practised, as was glazing with (41) lead; with this glass bishop Ledred, about sixty years before, adorned the east window of the cathedral. The common people used rush candles, but others had lamps, as the oil for them is here mentioned. Tapisstry (42) or chaluns adorned their rooms.

DRESS,

As we before observed, was studiously cultivated in those times. It here consists of various articles. The gentry had their English, or foreign linens. The quantity sufficient for an Irish shirt or smock, by the record, was twenty ells, or twenty five yards; this seems incredible, and yet no fact is better ascertained. Fynes Moryson, who (43) writ in 1588, says: "Their shirts in our memory, before the last rebellion, were

(40) 37 Edw. III. English statute.

(41) Fenestras—simul plumbo ac vitro compactis taubulis ferroque connexis inclusit. Leo. Ostiens. lib. 3. cap. 27. He writ about 1115.

(42) Du Cange, in vocc.

(43) Itinerary, fol. p. 110.

were made of some twenty or thirty ells, folded in wrinkles, and coloured with saffron." To the same purpose (44) Campion: "Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves plaited; thirty yards are little enough for one them:" and the 28 Hen. VIII. forbids above seven yards of cloth to be in any shirt or smock.

There is a warm dispute in the red book (45) of Kilkenny, in the 6 Hen. VII. between the glovers and shoemakers, about the right of making girdles and all manner of girdles; which is at once a collateral proof of the loose garments worn in this age, and how profitable in consequence was the employment here contended for. The rich had also their whole cloth, extremely fine, that had passed the alnage; for *so pannum integrum de Assisa* may be interpreted; also their cloth of gold, their bodkins or tissues, their silks and taffeties.

Very few would expect to find, even in this century, such mercery in an Irish town, it being more suited to some regal city or the imperial residence. We are not to forget, that the frequent concourse of the nobility to this place, besides the taste of the times, was the obvious cause for introducing these commodities. The poorer sort had their Irish stuffs, called *salewyche* and *wyrsted*, their canvas linen, their phallangs and mantles; felt caps are also mentioned. This detail would have been fuller, and the reader should have been presented with a translation of the record itself, were there not some articles which the writer did not understand, nor were they to be found in any glossary he had any opportunity of consulting.

In 1365, Lionel duke of Clarence landed in Ireland. During his government a parliament was held at Kilkenny, where the ancient Brehon laws are said to have been annulled. (46)

We have remarked, that about 1390, the earl of Ormond purchased the castle of Kilkenny from the heirs of Earl Marshal, from which time he mostly resided in it. In the reign of Richard II. being lord justice, he and the council made in Kilkenny an order for the repair and ward of castles by their owners; the neglect of which was among the other reasons that induced the Irish to revolt, and brought many inconveniencies and dangers on the English.

In 1399, king Richard made an expedition into Ireland; he was attended by a powerful army, and a numerous body of the British nobility. He landed at Waterford, and marched to Kilkenny, where he halted for fourteen days.

" In

(44) Hist. pag. 13.

(45) Apud Laffan's MSS.

(46) Collections, vol. 2. pag. 40.

“ In the yere 1400, (says Stanihurst,) Robert Talbot, a worthie gentleman inclofed with walls the better part of the towne, by which it was greatly fortified.” This short notice, with the year (47) of his death, 1415, is all that is handed down of this eminent benefactor to the city; neither his motives for such an expensive undertaking, nor the particular inducements for so well-judged a liberality are hinted at. The following remarks may perhaps tend to elucidate this transaction.

Petronilla, sister of James the second earl of Ormond, in 1340 married Gilbert Talbot, ancestor to the earl of Shrewsbury. This Gilbert and his son Richard remarkably signalized themselves in the wars of Edward III. Richard (48) seeing how open and defenceless Kilkenny was on every side, and willing to shew his respect for his uncle, who a few years before had purchased it, and the more to attach the townsmen to the family, surrounded the city with a strong wall. It began (49) at the earl's old stables, not far from the castle gate, and making a semicircular sweep, or nearly so, ran across the end of Coal market, and took in the Franciscan abbey; the Nore secured it to the northward, so that the new town was quite inclosed.

Thomas earl of Lancaster in 1408, after the feast of St. Hilary, summoned (50) a parliament to Kilkenny, in order to have a tallage granted.

A.D. 1419. The citizens were granted tolls for murage, pavage, &c.

In 1420, the clergy of (51) Offory paid a subsidy of 2*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* and the commons of Kilkenny 18*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*

During the unhappy feuds between the houses of York and Lancaster, the Ormond family suffered very severely; in 1462, an earl of this house was executed for being a Yorkist, and Kilkenny was shortly after taken and plundered by Desmond who espoused the other party.

Tirlagh O'Brien, (52) lord of Thomond had, in 1499, great contests with Sir Piers Butler about preys and the bounds of lands, which according to the custom of the times ended in a battle. The inhabitants of Kilkenny marched out in aid of the Butlers, but they were defeated and their sovereign slain.

Ware, under the year 1528, mentions a baron of Kilkenny, who he was we have not discovered; the great palatines granted this and inferior dignities, but they conferred none of the privileges of the peerage.

A.D.

(47) A. D. 1415. Obiit Rob. Talbot nobilis qui suburbias Kilkennie muro circumdedit. Ex Rot. turr. Bermingham.

(48) He is called Richard by Burke, Hibern. Dominic. pag. 205, and not Robert as by Stanihurst. Camden falls into the same mistake.

(49) Carte, supra.

(50) Annals, supra. Appendix, where liberty is allowed the citizens to trade with the retels.

(51) Appendix.

(52) Cox.

A. D. 1536, the lord deputy Grey came (53) to Kilkenny, and the next day the parliament sat there; from thence it adjourned to Cashel.

Piers or Peter, earl of Ormond, who died the twenty-sixth of August 1539, married (54) Margaret Fitz Gerald, daughter of the earl of Kildare, a lady of most amiable qualities; this noble and excellent pair endeavoured to enrich Kilkenny by introducing manufactures into it. For this purpose, they brought out of Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, artificers whom they employed and encouraged at Kilkenny, (55) in working tapestry, diaper, turkey carpets, cushions, &c. some of which, for many years, remained in the family; nor is it improbable, but that the tapestry at present in the castle may be the work of those Flemings. If the story of Decius be theirs, we must conceive very highly of their ingenuity, taste, and execution. But the times were too unsettled, and the nation not civilized enough to give encouragement to the elegant arts and works of fancy.

This earl, (56) every year for the last fortnight in Lent, retired to a chamber in St. Canice's church-yard, called (57) Paradise, and there devoted himself to prayer and almsgiving, and returned to his own house on Easter eve. He was not ashamed of the duties of religion; he was conscious that from the practice of them new splendour was derived to his family and high rank.

A. D. 1540. Sir William Brereton, marshal of Ireland, died at Kilkenny, as Cox tells us.

In 1552, (58) John Bale, the celebrated catalogue writer, was bishop of Offory; he composed many religious dramatic pieces; two of which, a tragedy called *God's promises*, and a comedy, intitled the preaching of John Baptist, were acted by young men at the Market-cross in Kilkenny, on a Sunday.

Baron Finglas, reporting the state of Ireland in his Breviate, at this time, bears honourable testimony of the cultivated manners of the county of Kilkenny: "The counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, (says he) wear the English habit, and keep the English order and rule, and the king's laws were obeyed here within these fifty-one years;

(53) Cox, pag. 195.

(54) Cox, pag. 247.

(55) Carte, supra. Ware says, the earl by his countess's advice hired and placed the polymitary, and other skilful artificers in Kilkenny, Annals 1539. *Polymita, vestis multis variisque coloribus filis et lictis contexta et variegata. Du Cange in voce.*

(56) Carte, supra.

(57) Atrium ante ecclesiam, quod nos, Romana consuetudine, Paradisum dicimus. Leo, Marfic. lib. 3. cap. 26. apud Lindenbrog. Cod. leg. antiq. et Du Cange in voce.

(58) Biographia Britannica, Article Bale.

years; and there dwelled divers knights, esquires, and gentlemen, who use the English habit."

The Butlers and Desmonds, offended at some proceedings of the deputy, Sir Henry Sydney flew to arms in 1568, and committed many outrages. Sir Peter Carew was sent to oppose them, which he did with success, and possessed himself of Kilkenny. Fitzmaurice, brother to Desmond, invested the town, but the spirited conduct of the garrison and citizens soon obliged him to withdraw; however (59) in resentment he plundered the smaller towns and villages, and particularly robbed old Fulco Quiverford (Comerford) of Callan of 2000*l.* in money, plate, household stuff, corn, and cattle; Quiverford had been servant to three earls of Ormond.

Rory Oge O More, in 1576, made his submission in the church of Kilkenny, before the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond.

The following year the lord deputy (60) held a sessions in Kilkenny, when several persons, both of the city and county, were discovered to be abettors of Rory Oge, but the popish juries could not be induced to find the bills of indictment, although the parties confessed the fact; they were therefore bound in recognizance to appear in the castle chamber in Dublin, to answer the contempt.

Sir William Drury, lord president of Munster, came to the deputy at Kilkenny, and complained, that Desmond kept together an unruly rabble, and being sent for, refused to attend the president. Desmond, being cited before the deputy, immediately appeared, and excused his not waiting on the president, because he was his inveterate enemy. Thirty-six criminals were executed in Kilkenny this year.

In 1579, Sir William Pelham, lord justice, made his progress towards Munster, and coming to Kilkenny he there kept sessions, and ordered (61) Edmond Mac Nial, an arch-traitor and other malefactors to be executed; after which he reconciled the earl of Ormond and the lord of Upper Ossory, each giving bonds for the restitution of preys.

Fynes Moryson, writing about the year 1588, says; "Kilkenny, giving name to a county, is a pleasant town, the chief of the towns within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the husbandman's labour and the pleasant (62) orchards." Camden, in the old edition of 1590, repeats part of this account: "*Municipium est nitidum, elegans, copiosum, et inter mediterranea hujus insulæ facile primum. Dividitur in oppidum Hibernicum et Anglicum.*" What he says of

(59) Cox, pag. 334.

(60) Cox, pag. 351.

(61) Ware's Annals. Cox, pag. 360.

(62) The account of the city's estate, in 1628, fully confirms this fact.

of its name from St. Canice, of the English town being constructed by Ralph, the third earl of Chester, and its castle by the Butlers, are, as we have seen, assertions without proof and contradicted by history.

Queen Elizabeth, in the sixteenth year of her reign, A. D. 1572, granted a charter to Kilkenny, which as it and that of her successor king James are in the hands of many persons, I shall but touch on.

By this the style of the corporation is,

THE SOVEREIGN, BURGESSES, AND COMMONALTY.

All their ancient privileges are confirmed.

They may have a merchant gild and other gilds.

The burgesses are permitted to dispose of their tenements or alter their situation.

The sovereign took cognizance of breaches of the peace, and the (63) provost presided in the hundred court, and tried civil actions.

To draw a sword, or ikein, (cultellum) in a quarrel, was punishable by the fine of half a mark.

There was to be a pillory (collistrigium) and tumbrel, for the punishment of offenders.

The burgesses were exempted from military duty, and free from customs throughout the Queen's dominions, as the burgesses of Gloucester were.

Those who suffered their tenements to go to decay in the town, were to be distrained until they rebuilt or repaired them.

A clerk was to be chosen from the burgesses; he was to receive of the lord of Kilkenny twenty shillings, and of the town ten shillings. The laudable and faithful services of the citizens, and those lately performed are mentioned as just reasons for particular favours. This alludes to their conduct under Sir Peter Carew in 1568.

They were to have a common seal, and the sovereign to be a justice of peace, coroner and escheator in the town, in the same ample manner as the sovereign of Rossport, or New Ross.

A. D. 1594, on St. George's day, there was a great cavalcade in Kilkenny, when the lords rode in their places, as Cox informs us.

A. D. 1600. The earl of Ormond forced the great rebel Redmond Burk and his followers into the Nore, where seventy of them were drowned, and particularly John Burk. Redmond was soon after taken and executed (64) at Kilkenny.

Mr.

(63) This will explain page 444, before.

(64) Cox, pag. 433.

Mr. Nicholas Langton was appointed by the city their agent to solicit a new charter in Dublin, (65) in 1608.

The charter of James I. was made in 1609. It recites that Kilkenny was well situated to repel the Irish rebels, and had performed eminent services in this respect, and therefore he creates it a CITY by the style of the

MAYOR, ALDERMEN, COMMON COUNCIL, &c.

The Mayor to be chosen yearly, on the Monday after the feast of St. John the Baptist; and Thomas Ley to be first Mayor.

The Aldermen not to exceed eighteen, and Robert Rothe, afterwards

Sir Robert Rothe,	Luke Shee,	Thomas Ley,
Arthur Shee,	Edward Rothe,	David Rothe,
Richard Ragget,	John Rothe FitzPierce,	Walter Archer,
Elias Shee,	Nicholas Langton,	Michael Cowley,
Thomas Archer,	Edward Shee,	Thomas Shee, and
Patrick Archer,	Walter Lawless,	William Shee,

to be the first Aldermen, and Robert Rothe to be Recorder.

The burgeses and commons of Kilkenny to be accounted as citizens, and to admit others to their freedom.

Two citizens to be sheriffs, Walter Ryan and Thomas Pembrock, the first; these to be annually chosen the Monday next after Midsummer; their election to be certified into the Exchequer, and they to hold courts.

Four or five serjeants are allowed, and a sword permitted to be borne before the mayor.

The mayor and recorder may have deputies, who are to be justices of the peace, and clerks of the market.

Half the forfeitures of treasons and felonies is given to the city; they were allowed three fairs annually, and three markets weekly.

The gild permitted to be established in Kilkenny receives some illustration from Mr. Laffan's papers, from whence we shall extract some curious particulars; previously observing, that gilds or fraternities were very early established in corporate towns for the advantage of the citizens. They were to purchase every foreign commodity from the maker and importer at an under rate, and their own they were to sell at the highest prices. Each person was confined to his own trade, and heavy penalties

penalties were annexed to the violation of these rules. The red and gild books, wherever extant, are full of these impolitic restrictions; a few instances may suffice:

1. Whoever shall buy goods for foreign merchants, or employ foreigners' money for little or no gain, shall be fined 5*l.* currency, toties quoties.
2. No strange merchant to open any ware in any house within the franchises, under pain of 4*s.*
3. No inhabitant or freeman to receive any money beforehand, to buy hides, fells, frize mantles, or wool, under the penalty of 3*l.*
4. A pewterer of Bristol permitted, on paying five shillings, to sell his pewter to freemen of Kilkenny, he having made the gild the first offer.
5. The same to a glass-bottle man.

These and numberless other examples shew us, what narrow views men then entertained of traffic, and how imperfectly the principles of it were understood. Were the noblest rivers confined to their native streams, and precluded from admixture with other waters, we should be deprived of all the useful and ornamental advantages attendant on such conjunctions. In like manner a free and disencumbered commerce carries with it wealth wherever it flows, but clogged with restrictions, is of little importance.

Besides the foregoing, the gild of merchants had monopolized the providing for funerals, as appears by the report of John Gernon, of the city of Kilkenny, alderman; John Archdekin senior, and James Roane of the said city, merchants, and freemen of the merchant-gild, appointed to regulate the future disposal of the wax tapers, black hangings, and hearse cloth belonging to said gild.

1. They find that in former times when the gild wanted wax, two of the body were nominated by the hall to assess on the members, as equally as they could, what sums were necessary; two collectors were empowered to distrain defaulters; the money, when levied, was laid out in the purchase of wax for the use of the gild.

2. One or two of the gild were assigned to be keeper or keepers of the tapers, wax, candlesticks, hearse cloth and hangings; these were not to be given out without the consent of the master, or three or four members of the gild.

3. That at the funeral of every alderman, or master of the gild, there was spent usually three pounds; the same when any alderman's or master's wife died; on every freeman, two pounds ten shillings; what was expended over and above was to be returned in wax, and payment for making the tapers.

4. Whoever got the tapers, hearse cloth, candlesticks or hangings were to leave sufficient pledges until they were restored, and payment made for the tapers, and for the overplus wax consumed.

5. From such as were not free of the gild, the keepers were to receive satisfaction for tapers, &c. as in their discretion they thought fit; a regular account was to be kept; the receipts to be stated thrice annually, and three pounds per centum to be deducted for making said tapers.

From these particulars we may conclude, that funeral obsequies were performed mostly in the night. It was certainly the practice of the early (66) Christians to prepare entertainments before the interment of the deceased, and to conduct the corpse to the grave with wax tapers; it is still retained in Roman Catholic countries.

In 1601, Kilkenny (67) was the residence of the lord president Mountjoy. On (68) the accession of the elder James, the Roman catholics rose every where, and endeavoured to shake off those coercive laws with which parliament had thought proper to shackle (69) them. In 1603, the religious of this communion were not less precipitate and violent in Kilkenny than their brethren in other places. Edmond Raughter, a Dominican, headed a sedition in that city; broke open the Black Abbey, which had for some time been used as a court-house; pulled down the seats, erected an altar, forced the keys of his house from one Mr. Bishop, who lived in part of the abbey, and gave possession of the whole to the friars; though by act of parliament it was turned to a lay-fee, and by legal conveyances became the property of other men; but those disturbances were soon quelled by the activity of lord Mountjoy, who writ the following letter to the chief magistrate of Kilkenny. It is preserved in Fynes Moryson.

"To

(66) *Translata est episcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro subicientibus, cum aliis pontifices lampades cereosque præferrent.* Hieron. epist. ad. Eustach. For feasts on those occasions, see Augustin. de luxur. et avar. cap. 6. Ambros. de jejun. cap. 17. They carried tapers in the day; *moles cereorum, sole fulgente, accendi.* Hieron. advers. Vigilant.

(67) Cox, pag. 442.

(68) *Secuto veluti interregno per mortem Elizabethæ, cum nondum satis constaret de successoris mente quoad religionem, nonnullæ civitates et oppida, quasi postliminio, vendicant ecclesias usui catholico. Et in his Canicopolitani monasterium ordinis Prædicatorum e tribunali restituunt in sacrarium. Quo eorum facto, ordines regni offenduntur, eosque persequuntur.* Analect. de reb. Hib. pag. 327.

(69) Cox, pag. 17.

“ To the Sovereign of Kilkenny.”

“ After my hearty commendations ; I have received your letters of the 25th and 26th of this month, and am glad to understand thereby, that you are somewhat conformable to my directions ; being willing to have cause to interpret your actions to the best. But though I mean not to search into your consciences, yet I must needs take knowledge of the public breach of his majesty’s laws ; and whereas you let me understand, that the inhabitants are willing to withdraw themselves for their spiritual exercise to privacy, contented only with the use of the Minors (the Franciscan) abbey : That being a public place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and marvel how you dare presume to dispose at your pleasure of the abbey, or any thing belonging to his majesty ; and therefore again charge you upon your allegiance to forbear any public exercise of that religion, prohibited by the laws of this realm ; and fully to reform these disorders, according to my directions, upon your extreme peril.

From Dublin, this 27th of April, 1603.”

The (70) Rent charge of the antient common revenue of the city of Kilkenny by the year. A. D. 1628.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Richard Lawless, for the room over the High Town gate, three shillings Irish	0	3	0
The castle over the Freren (Friars) gate	0	1	8
Edmond Archer, for the vault over Kilberry tower	0	0	8
Robert Archer, for the rooms over St. James’s gate	0	13	4
Mr. David Roth, for the rooms over Walkin’s gate	0	0	8
Mr. Richard Roth for the rooms over St. Patrick’s gate	0	10	0
Mr. William Shee, for the castle near Castle gate	0	6	8
James Brinn, for the rooms over the east gate of St. John’s	0	0	4
Mr. Michael Archer, for two bayes near the said East gate	0	5	0
Edmond Loghnan’s assigns for two bayes there	0	5	0
Walter Cantwell, assignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes	0	10	0
John Shee, for four bayes	0	10	0
Walter Ryan’s assigns, for two bayes there	0	3	0
Mr. David			

(70) Laffan’s MSS. This curious document will point out the extent of the city at this time, and the situation of many buildings now no more.

£. s. d.

The incroachment upon the town ditch at St. John's, and
the rent due for the same.

Robert Coursey's assigns, for an incroachment upon the town ditch in his garden	0	2	0
Walter Leix, for ditto	0	0	8
Mr. Michael Cowley, for a house, late Edmond Daniel's	0	11	0
Walter Leix, for a slip over the water near his house	0	3	0
The heirs of Edmond Grace, for a house in St. John's-street	1	9	0
Robert Langton's assigns, for a house	1	4	0
Michael Archer, for the rooms over St. John's castle	0	5	0
Patrick Shee, for the rooms over St. John's slip	0	0	4
Peter Roth Fitz John, for a house and garden near the great orchard in the East side thereof	0	2	0
Mr. Patrick Archer, for the kill-house and garden by the Castle gate	0	2	0
Peirce Archer, for the corner house at Castle street	0	4	0
The said Peirce for the next house to the same	1	2	0
Henry Archer for a house at Crocker's cross	0	4	0
Mic. Archer, assignee to John Brenan, for four coopes, parcel of David Pembrock's farm in Walkin street	0	17	0
Beale Barkly, for a messuage north side Walkin street	0	8	0
Patrick Sychan, his assigns, for four coopes	0	10	8
John Deneagh, his assigns, for a couple	0	2	8
William Fitz Thomas, his assigns, for two coopes	0	8	8
Tho. St. Leger, assignee to Walter Ragget, for four coopes	0	17	2
Kate Fitzharries assigns, for two coopes	0	8	8
Richard Roth, for two coopes	0	8	8
Thomas Archer's assigns, for a messuage in Walkin street	1	0	0
Walter Cantwell, for Geoffry Roth's house	0	12	0
William Kelly, for a shop under the Thosel	0	10	0
John Hacket, for a stone house at the entry of St. James's street	0	13	4
Edward Cleer, for a messuage at the Arkwell	0	0	8
Peter Shee, for the corner shop	0	0	6
James Shee's assigns, for the slip at John Barry's new house	0	0	2
Thomas Archer's assigns, for land at the north end of the old Thosel	0	0	5

Richard

	£.	s.	d.
Richard Roth, for the rooms over the slip in his house -	0	1	0
William Shee, for his house in Low lane -	0	13	0
Richard Brophy's assigns, for a messuage near Jenkin's mill -	0	6	8
To the master and company of shoe-makers, for licence for tanning	0	3	4
Patrick Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy -	0	1	4
Thomas Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy -	0	1	4
Richard Troy, for a garden near the Green -	0	2	6
Thomas Archer's assigns, for the Standart Garden -	0	1	4
Walter Shee, for Downing's Inch -	0	3	0
Michael Marshall, for a garden at the Lake -	0	2	0
James Archer, for a garden at Mill street -	0	1	0
John Byrn's assigns, for an acre of land -	0	2	0
Patrick Synnott, for Gibb's Inch -	0	1	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for four acres of land near Loughboy -	0	17	0
Thomas Ley's assigns, for the North castle at the Magdalens -	0	14	0
Thomas Archer's assigns, for the next house to the said castle -	0	11	0
Edward Roth's assigns, for a house next the same, a parcel of the town ditch, and an acre of land -	0	8	0
John Cullen, for a house and acre of land, rent free during his life			
Edmond Téhan, for the next house -	0	4	0
Edward Langton's assigns, for a void place near the Poor-house	0	2	0
Adam Shee's assigns, for a void room near the Poor-house -	0	5	0
Thomas Ley's assigns, for a house and land near the same -	0	5	0
Walter Cleer and James Cleer's children, for a house and land	0	16	0
David Mery, for a messuage and land in the Magdalens -	0	13	4
Patrick Morres, for a messuage and land where Patrick Lannon dwelt	1	0	4
Lucas Shee's assigns, for the next messuage -	0	16	0
Edward Shee's assigns, for a messuage next the Port, and for land	0	11	8
Lucas Shee's assigns, for the Black castle of the Magdalens -	0	18	4
Edward Shee's assigns, for the next farm, formerly Seix's -	0	8	0
Gillopatrick Sychan, for the next house and land -	0	12	0
Nicholas Langton, for the next farm and land -	0	10	0
Patrick Gormell's assigns, for a messuage and land -	0	10	0

	£.	s.	d.
Patrick Fitz James's assigns, for Patrick Mery and William Reardon's messuage	0	7	8
Edward Langton's assigns, for two acres of the Magdalen's land	0	3	0
Nicholas Langton, for Ann Walsh's messuage	0	8	0
Patrick Synnot, for the shop under the Old tholfel	0	10	0
Assigns of Patrick Murphy and John Archer, for licence for tanning	0	6	8
Richard Roth, for licence for tanning	0	1	4
James Shee, for licence for tanning	0	1	4
Jasper Shee's assigns, for a garden near the house	0	5	0
The bailiff, receiver of the revenues belonging to St. John's Abbey, his charge.			
James Langton's heirs, for a messuage near St. John's bridge	0	16	0
Heirs of Walter Daniel, for the next house and garden	0	16	0
James Shee, for the next house and garden	0	16	0
Executors of Pat. Fitz James, for the next house and garden	0	13	4
Walter Shee, for two messuages and two gardens there	1	5	4
Tho. Shee Fitz Edmond, for next house and garden at Tomyn hill	0	10	0
John Hoen, for a house next the hospital, and garden of the common, without St. John's gate	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for the prior's chambers	0	2	0
Peirce Roth Fitz Edward, for the vault, the great kitchen and garden	0	6	8
Nicholas Asteikin, for two chambers in the cloyster of St. John's, and an orchard near the cloyster	1	0	0
Nicholas Wall's assigns, for Sir David's orchard	0	18	0
William Shee, for a house in John street, formerly David Kearney's	2	10	0
Walter Cleer, for the cart gate, castle, and out stall in St. John's cloyster	0	2	0
Pat. Fitz James's assigns, for two messuages next the hospital	0	0	0
George Langton's assigns, for the bake-house at St. John's and the Prior's fires	0	2	0
The said assigns, for the chapter-house within the cloyster	0	7	0
The rooms from the entry of St. John's Abbey towards the outer St. John's gate.			
John Hoen, for the corner shop near the entry, and four other coopes	0	10	0
Wat. Cantwell, assignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes there	0	10	0
			Edmond

IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

459

	£.	s.	d.
Edmond Lagnan, for two bayes there	0	5	0
Walter Ryan, assignee, for two bayes there	0	3	6
Michael Archer, for a house, turret and clofe in St. John's freet	0	13	4
The fouth fide of the Abbey.			
Assigns of James Birne, for a house and garden	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for a house	0	13	4
Nicholas Aftekin, for his house in St. John's	0	1	0
Assigns of Patrick Fitz James, for a messuage	0	16	0
Simon Seix, for a messuage and garden	0	16	0
Thomas Shee, assignee of Sir Richard Shee, for a house in St. John street	2	0	0
Houfes in the High Town.			
Thomas Ley's assigns, for a house near the Old tholfel	0	6	0
Thomas St. Leger's executors, for his house	0	12	0
James Archer Fitz Martin, for his house	0	7	0
Edmond Ryan, for the Prior's orchard	1	6	0
George Shee, for the upper orchard	0	14	0
The gardens beginning at St. Michael's gate, and thence to Tomy'n's hill round to St. John's gate.			
Robert Shee, for the clover house and garden	0	6	8
Walter Cleer, for the great croft	0	13	8
Pat. Morchan's assigns, for a garden north of the fame	0	4	0
Geoffry Roth's assigns, for a garden	0	16	0
Edm. Ryan, for a garden at Tomy'n hill	0	4	0
Pat. Morchan's assigns, for two gardens	0	4	0
John Seix, for the corner in the S. W. end of St. John's gate	0	6	8
George Comerford's assigns, for the corner	0	1	0
Nic. Aftekin, for a garden called Syrman's hayes	0	16	0
The quarter South the way leading from St. John's gate to the Green.			
Nicholas Loghnan's assigns, for a garden	0	2	8
Owner Mc. Donaghoe's assigns, for a garden	0	6	8
Patrick Mory, for David Kearney's garden	0	2	0
John Roth Fitz John, for a garden	0	3	8
From the Magdalen's to St. John's gate.			
Tho. Ley's assigns for the Magdalen's mills	6	0	0
	Richard		

	£.	s.	d.
Rich. Langton, for a garden beside the mills	0	3	0
The infirmary garden, being 13s. 4d. allowed by the corporation to the hospital, Richard Troy tenant	0	8	0
Pat. Morchan's assigns, for the next garden	0	2	8
Edmond Archer, for three gardens in the High hayes	0	13	0
Said Edmond, for Sinnet's church yard, garden, and croft	0	6	0
Henry Shee's assigns, for two gardens	0	9	0
Edward Cleer, for a garden at the Black mill	0	4	0
Walter Daniel, for a garden	0	4	8
Richard Lawless, for the sweet pond	0	4	0
Christopher Shee, for the Prior's meadow	0	8	0
Edm. Archer, for the third part of the demesne of St. John	2	0	0
Robert Cleer, for a quarter of said demesne	1	0	0
William Shee, for a third part of the demesnes	2	0	0
Geo. Langton's assigns, for the Prior's wood, Roahferian, Bannagh-carragh, and the cherry croft	1	12	0
James Kivan, for the parson's manse land of Comer	0	13	4
Michael Cowley, for his third part of Brownstown	3	0	0
Michael Ragget, for two acres of land at Ardkreddan	0	8	0
Mr. David Roth, for three parts of Drakeland	9	0	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for the fourth part of Drakeland	3	0	0
David Roth, for the round meadow	0	4	0
Richard Cleer, for a meadow beside Robert's hill	0	2	8
Simon Whyte's assigns, for the lands of Tromer, county Wexford	0	14	0
Walter Talbot, for the lands of Brittas, Polring alias Melring, Ballygarum, and five acres in Ballyfampson	14	16	8
Nicholas Roth's assigns, for a messuage in Rofs	0	1	4
James Fitzharries, for the parsonage of Rofs	20	0	0
Marcus Shee, for land in Cottrell's boly	4	0	0
Patrick Murphy, for the parson's part of Moycully	4	0	0
Thomas Garret, for the parson's part of the manse land of Skirk	0	13	0
John Dooley and Robert Murphy, for the manse land of Jerpoint	2	13	4
George St. Leger, for the parson's part of the manse land of Tabbrit	13	0	0
			Edward

IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

461

	£.	s.	d.
Edward Langton's assigns, for the Levyacre -	1	0	0
Robert Hacket, for a garden near St. John's gate -	0	1	6
Coursey's heirs, for the house next the end of St. John's bridge	0	4	0
John Baskerville, for the parsonage of Skirk, except the manse land	22	3	4
David Roth, for Rathleigh - - -	1	6	8
John Kivan, for the manse land of Dunfart - - -	0	6	8
John Seix, for the parsonage of Jenkinstown - - -	3	6	8
Richard Langton, for a part of the demesnes - - -	0	16	0

The charge of the Fryer-bailiff for Michaelmas 1633, and Easter 1634, Robert Shee, Esq; mayor, Edmond Mc. Ireynne, bailiff, beginning at the Black freren gate, and about the precinct of the Black fryars.

Patrick Murphy, for the orchard near the Black freren gate	0	6	8
Henry Manywaring, for the room in the north side of the Black freren steeple, and the upper rooms of the steeple	0	3	4
Ditto, for the house called the king's chamber, the cloyster, the kill-house, Sir Richard Cantwell's chamber, &c. -	2	4	4
Ditto, for the room near the chop-house - - -	0	3	0
Edward Clinton's assigns to Mr. Lucas Shee, for an orchard within the Freren, and a messuage and garden in the old Freren street	0	17	0
Ditto, assignee to Anne Walsh, for a house and garden in the Freren street - - -	0	13	4
Pat. Dowly, for a messuage, garden, and orchard near the wall	0	12	0
Richard Roth, for four bayes of a house, east side of Freren street	0	16	0
Peter Roth, for the kill-house and garden near the choir	0	16	8
Edward Clinton, for the two next houses - - -	0	8	0

The inner Freren street.

John Loughnan, for his house - - -	1	1	0
John Loughnan, the house next the bridge - - -	0	10	0
James Dobbin, for his house - - -	0	6	0
Peter Roth, for a room in Freren street and moiety of the garden at Black freren gate - - -	0	10	0
Edmond Treny, for a house, inner Freren street - - -	0	8	0
Oliver Roth, for half an orchard and half a messuage there	0	13	0

	£.	s.	d.
Robert Roth, for the same	0	13	0
Patrick Gaffney, for half a messuage S. side of Freren street	1	0	0
Peter Roth, for a house and garden there	0	13	0
Mic. Power, for a house on the north side	0	14	0
John Hoen Fitz Robert, for a house and garden next to Troy's gate	0	10	0
Redmond Savadge, for the corner house before Troy's gate	0	8	0
William Kelly, for a house south side	1	0	0
Robert Murpy, for two messuages next the same	1	0	0
Pat. Gaffney, for a house and garden near the High Town gate	0	13	0
Within the High Town gate.			
Walter Shee, for the house next the High Town gate on the west side	0	8	0
Richard Lawless, his house	0	6	0
Jenkin Roth, for a house in a lane leading to the Gray Friars	0	7	4
Patrick Gaffney, for a messuage	0	5	4
Peter Roth, for a void room in the Gray Freren park	0	13	4
Richard Roth, for a chamber and void room in the cloister there	1	0	0
Peter Roth, for the kill-house and messuage next the choir	0	16	0
Patrick Murphy, for a house in the Gray Freren park	1	2	8
Patrick Murphy, for a stone house near the Freren gate	0	17	4
Robert Archer, for the rooms over the chapter house, steeple, and body of the abbey there	0	3	4
Margaret Murphy, for the Gray Freren park	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for a house and orchard W. St. Francis's wall	1	0	0
Richard Savadge, his house	0	3	0
George Shee, his house	0	18	4
Thomas Ley, for the house and slip near the New Quay	0	6	8
Robert Archer, for a house and garden N. of St. James's street	0	12	0
Thomas Shee Fitz Michael, for a house at the Market Cross	0	6	8
David Roth, for two houses near our Lady's church yard stile	0	1	8
Joan Power, for a house and garden in Bowce's lane	0	6	8
William Archer, for a house at Crocker's cross, west of Patrick street	0	6	0
Heirs of Lettice Walsh, for a house E. side of Patrick street	0	6	0
Richard Fitz Nicholas, for a messuage	0	10	0
Thomas Ragget, for a messuage there	0	8	0
Gardens			

	£.	s.	d.
Gardens and Outlands.			
George Shee, for a parcel of land called Bishop's lane	0	8	0
Said Shee, for a garden called Hay-hill	0	4	0
Peter Roth, for the Gray Freren Inches	2	13	0
Peter Roth Fitz Edward, for gardens near Black Freren gate	0	6	8
Said Roth, for two or three gardens	0	7	0
Henry Maynwaring, for a garden at Killberry tower	0	16	0
Sir Cyprian Horsfal, for a parcel of meadow near St. Canice's well	0	6	0
Edmond Grace's assigns, for a garden, corner St. Roch's churchyard	0	6	8
Robert Murphy, assignee to Thomas Geat, for a garden	0	1	0
Peter Roth, assignee to William Roth, for a garden	0	6	8
Daniel Martin, assignee to Clement Shee, for a garden	0	4	0
Phillip Roth, for a garden there	0	6	8
Walter Ryan's assigns, for three acres of furze at the Booths	0	7	0
John Hoyne, for two acres of land and two acres of meadow at Kildriffe	0	4	6
Richard Roth, for a meadow at Coulriff	0	1	6
John Shee, for Farren-brock, Chepple, and Lisnafunfy	13	6	8
Robert Shee, for the moiety of Ardragh	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for the moiety	1	0	0
James Shortal, for Ballynolan	0	10	0
Robert Shee, for two acres of meadow at Aldernwood	0	1	0
James Asteekin, for two acres of meadow at Coolboygan	0	4	0
Richard Roth, for an acre of wood and certain lands at Keatingstown	0	0	10
The rent issuing out of Boothstown	0	18	4
Nicholas Asteekin, for a meadow at Coolifhill	0	5	4
The total of the City's annual revenue	£.231	17	11

IN 1619, bishop Wheeler presented a state of the bishoprick of Ossory to the king, in which he sets forth, that the manor and lordship of Kilkenny was before and at the conquest belonging to the bishops of Ossory, with large liberties both of freedoms and

and other privileges thereunto belonging, all which in the sickness of the late bishop were by a new charter granted unto Kilkenny (whereby it was incorporated a city) united and made of the county of the said city, to the great prejudice of the present and future bishops. (71)

In 1636, the lord deputy Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, visited Kilkenny, when (72) the mayor of the city thus addressed him:

“ Right noble Lord,

The general applause of heaven, the joyful acclamations of Ireland, and pleasant pastimes of the multitudes of Kilkenny, the true ancient seat of English warriors, loyal always to their kings and crowns, suit with the dignity of you her renowned viceroy, lord Thomas Wentworth. Be pleased then amidst your triumphs, to vouchsafe her and me leave to feed our unsatisfied eyes with the longed-for aspect of Ireland's parent, protector and reliever; to run this day upon some of the pleasing effects of your government, with admiration of those natural and intellectual parts of yours, which like so many stars in conjunction, with the glorious sun of England, fit instruments and fortunate organs! to illuminate with their influences the breath of a faithful people.

Witness your wisdom, prompt to overslip no way, no means to reform the abuses, root out the vices and remove the annoyances; witness your industry, watchful not only of the common, but of the private welfare of each deserving subject. His majesty bestowing you on us as a good, necessary for all; and arming your designs with such means, as best conduce to the maintenance of the estates in security, against all wrongful intruders. The king of kings intrusting into your hands, for our behoof, the heart and bounty of the great CHARLES, to increase more the flourishing state of this kingdom, in strength, wealth and civility.

These were the scope of so many wholesome laws and statutes, voted in the last parliament; of so many provisions of state, regulating the disorders of human society, daily issuing from your Solomon-like prescience; in which and by which, we, in this your garden of Ireland, smell the gracious flowers of your government, enjoy the felicity of your plantations, and feed our hearts with the satiety of present, and hope of future improvement; so that no place, no degree, no sex over all this pleasant paradise, but is partaker of your comfortable influence; even those choaked up in the

(71) Ware's MSS. vol. 75.

(72) Laffan's MSS.

the midst of the darkest prisons, acknowledge the sun-shine of your provident care, and receiving new life and relief from your hands, cry out—Long live our life, our relief, noble Wentworth!—

The widows and orphans oppressed find you a propitious patron; the nobility, a mirror of honour and worth; the warlike, a town of arms, and flower of martial discipline; the ecclesiastical dignitaries, their reformer, their advancer; and all acknowledge you to be the true receptacle of virtue, and other the best attributes of perfection.

To abbreviate my discourse, lest offensive to your much honoured ears, deign me the favour, that while the suffrages of so many provinces and cities; the acclamations of the common people; the general applause of Ireland, and approbation of your gracious leige and sovereign so concentric meet with the celebration of those your matchless endowments, I may, right honourable, revolve into our first principles of your honour and worth, and rising on the wings of adorned eloquence, to force to the mount and zenith of your best merits, to flutter after you with the best wishes of all my citizens, by redoubling in your presence and absence the oracle of God, my king and country, that we have just cause, and that we must honour

THOMAS WENTWORTH."

But little worth recording happened in Kilkenny until that memorable æra in the annals of Ireland, the breaking out of the Grand Rebellion in 1641. The causes leading to this dire event, and the transactions consequent thereon, have been minutely detailed by many writers. In 1641, and for a few years succeeding, this city was alternately the seat of business and tumult; in 1641, lord Mountgarret (73) with the mayor and aldermen stood by, with three hundred citizens armed, while every protestant was plundered; and in 1642, the Confederate Catholics, as they styled themselves, met in Kilkenny.

It was absolutely (74) necessary, that the rebels should have the form of an authority established among them, to make the orders of superiors obeyed, and prevent that confusion and those mischiefs which always attend competitions for power, and uncertainty in the right to command; this was done in the general assembly of deputies from all the provinces in the kingdom, which met the 24th of October 1642 at Kilkenny.

The first act, after their meeting, was to protest, that they did not mean that assembly to be a parliament; confessing, that the calling, proroguing and dissolving that

(73) Cox, pag. 73.

(74) Carte, supra.

that great body was an inseparable incident to the crown, upon which they would not encroach: but it was only a meeting to consult of an order for their own affairs, until his majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles. They formed it, however, according to the plan of a parliament, consisting of two houses; in the one of which sat the estate spiritual, composed of bishops and prelates, together with the temporal lords, and in the other the deputies of the counties and towns, as the estate of the commons, by themselves.

The meeting was at the house of Mr. Robert Shee, son of Sir Richard Shee, now Mr. Langford's in Coal market; the lords, prelates and commons all in one room; Mr. Patrick Darcy, bare-headed upon a stool, representing all or some of the judges and masters of chancery that used to sit in parliament upon wool-sacks; Mr. Nicholas Plunket represented the speaker of the house of commons, and both lords and commons addressed their speech to him; the lords had an upper room, which served them as a place of recess, for private consultation, and when they had taken their resolutions, the same were delivered to the commons by Mr. Darcy.

This chamber forms part of a house, now inhabited by Mr. Trelham, an apothecary, it consisted of one large hall, forty-nine feet by forty-seven, with a dungeon under-neath, twenty feet square; with which the hall communicated by a trap door, and stone stairs. Part of the benches with high backs, and the carved-oak frame of a table remain. An iron door formerly led out of the dungeon into the yard: the windows have iron bars, and are small high and arched. This hall is now subdivided into a kitchen, shop and three or four rooms. The upper floor is low, with large beams, and above is a modern building.

The clergy, who were not qualified by their titular sees or abbeys to sit in the house of lords, met in a house called the convocation, where it was reported among the laity, that they only handled matters of tythe and settling church possessions; in which points so little deference was paid to their debates, and their proceedings were treated with so much contempt by the lay-impropriators and gentlemen, that the provincial of the Augustinians was hissed out of the house, for threatening to wipe off the dust from his feet and those of his friars, and to bend his course beyond the seas, if the possessions of his order were not restored.

For the rule of their government they professed to receive Magna Charta, and the common and statute law of England, in all points, not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland. Several judicatories were established for the administration of justice, and the regulation of all affairs;

each

each county had its council, consisting of one or two deputies out of each barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve persons chosen by the county in general, with powers to decide all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts and personal actions, and to restore possessions usurped since the war; to name all the county officers, except the high-sheriff, who was to be chosen by the supreme council out of three, which the council of the county were to recommend. From these lay an appeal to the provincial councils, which consisted of two deputies out of each county, and were to meet four times a year, or oftener, if there was occasion, to examine the judgments of the county councils, to decide all suits like judges of assize, to establish recent possessions, but not to meddle with other suits about lands, except in cases of dower.

From these there lay a further appeal to the supreme council of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general assembly, of which twelve were to be constantly resident in Kilkenny, or wherever else they should judge it to be most expedient, with equal voices, but two-thirds to conclude the rest; never fewer than nine to sit in council, and seven to concur in the same opinion; out of these twenty-four a president was to be named by the assembly, and was to be always one of the twelve resident, and in case of death, sickness or absence, the other residents, out of the twenty-four, were to chuse a president.

The council was vested with power over all generals, military officers and civil magistrates, who were to obey their orders, and send duly an account of their actions and proceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by the general assembly, their acts to be of force until rescinded by the next assembly: to command and punish all commanders of forces, magistrates and all others, of what rank and condition soever; to hear and judge all capital and criminal causes (except titles to lands) and to do all kind of acts for promoting the common cause of the confederacy, and the good of the kingdom, and relating to the support and management of the war.

(75) On the first of November, they appointed

Lord Castlehaven,	Richard Martin,
Lord Gormanstown,	Feigh O'Flin,
Doctor Fennell,	Richard Beling,
Col. Dermot O'Brien,	Adam Cusack,
Sir Lucas Dillon,	James Mc Donel,
Sir Phelim O'Neil,	Patrick Crelley,
Thomas Burke,	Rory Maguire,

Patrick Darcy, and the lawyers, a committee, who drew up the preceding form of government; and on the fourth, the prelates enjoined the priests to administer an oath of association to their parishioners, and take their subscriptions; and on the fourteenth they named their supreme council,

LORD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET, President.

For Leinster.

For Connaught.

Archbishop of Dublin,
Lord Vis. Gormanstown,
Lord Vis. Mountgarret,
Nicholas Plunket,
Richard Beling,
James Cusack.

Archbishop of Tuam,
Lord Viscount Mayo,
Bishop of Clonfert,
Sir Lucas Dillon,
Patrick Darcy,
Jeffrey Brown.

For Munster.

For Ulster.

Lord Viscount Roche,
Sir Daniel O'Brien,
Edmond Fitzmorres,
Doctor Fennel,
Robert Lambert,
George Comyn.

Archbishop of Armagh.
Bishop of Down,
Phillip O'Reilly,
Col. Mac Mahon,
Ever Magennis,
Tirlagh O'Neil.

They used a seal, (76) which is thus described; it had a long cross in the center, on the right side of it was a crown, and on the left an harp, with a dove above the cross, and a flaming heart under it; and round it was this inscription,

“ Pro Deo, pro Rege et patria Hibernia, unanimis.

The conduct of the war is no part of our present concern, but we must remark, that the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jesuits now claimed their ancient possessions, and were generally reinstated; for one of the principal objects of this war was, the re-establishment of those orders, and the Romish hierarchy; that this point was accomplished, we learn from a letter written by the confederates in 1644 to the pope; wherein among other enumerations of their good fortune, (77) they exultingly observe: “ Jam Deus optimus maximus catholico ritu palam colitur; dum cathedrales pleræque suis antistitibus; parochiales parochis; religiosorum multa cænobia propriis gaudent alumniis.”

And

(76) Borlase's Irish Rebellion, pag. 97. They coined money.

(77) Burke, Hibern. Dominic. Append. pag. 876.

And in 1645, when the catholics had possessed themselves of almost all the churches in the kingdom, one of their articles with the earl of Glamorgan was, that they should retain the churches, which they, de facto, held. A printing press was set up in Kilkenny, at which all the state papers were printed: Doctor Burke, in his history of the Dominican order, refers to many of them; and it seems large collections of them exist in the Irish seminaries at Rome.

The kingdom, after more than three years of anarchy and desolation, exhibited a dismal spectacle of religious tyranny and confusion, and gladly reposed itself in the arms of peace. Articles for this purpose were signed by the marquis of Ormond and the confederates; but the happy prospect of concord was disturbed by that restless and ambitious ecclesiastic, Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio; he came in a frigate of 22 guns, and landed in Kerry the twenty-second of October 1645, with twenty-six Italians in his cortege; he brought 2000 muskets, 4000 bandoleers, 2000 swords, 500 pair of pistols, 10,000 pounds of gunpowder; and from another frigate were landed six desks and trunks of Spanish gold; with these he hastened to Kilkenny, and on the nineteenth of November had his audience in the castle, and declared the reasons of his coming, which were

1. To establish the Roman catholic religion.
2. To preserve their liberties, and
3. To serve their prince and sovereign, which last he expressed with (78) singular emphasis, thus:

“ Et serenissimo vestro principi meipsum devoveo.”

He said high mass in the cathedral of St. Canice on the thirtieth of November, being St. Andrew's day.

The nuncio reprobated the peace, and was joined by many bishops, particularly by David Roth of Offory, who laid the city and suburbs of Kilkenny under the following interdict.

“ Whereas (79) we have in publick and private meetings, at several times, declared to the supreme council and others whom it might concern, that it was and is unlawful and against conscience, the implying perjury (as it hath been by the special act of the congregation at Waterford) to both common-wealths, spiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and mischievous peace, so dangerous (as it is now

6 D

articled)

(78) A pamphlet containing intercepted letters, 1645.

(79) Borlase, pag. 163. Who preserves many papers printed in Kilkenny.

articled) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal. And whereas notwithstanding our declaration, yea the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom to the contrary, the supreme council and the publication, yea and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people.

We having duly considered and taken it to heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this fact is, and appears in catholics, even against God himself, and what a publick contempt of the holy church it appeareth, beside the evil it is likely to draw upon this poor kingdom; after mature deliberation and consent of our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the supreme council, and others who adhered to them, in matter of conscience to the holy church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an act, do by these presents, according to the prescription of the sacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general cessation of divine offices, throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries and houses in them whatsoever.

Given at our palace of Nova Curia,

Signed,

18th of Aug. 1646.

DAVID OSSORIENSIS."

The general assembly of confederate catholics met in Kilkenny, the tenth of January 1647, and took the former oath of association with some new clauses. We here give the (80) names of the representatives of the lords and commons.

Spiritual Peers.

Hugh O'Reiley, archbishop of Armagh,
 Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Dublin,
 Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore,
 John Burk, bishop of Clonfert,
 John O'Mollony, bishop of Killaloe,
 Richard Conell, bishop of Ardfert,
 Emer Matthews, bishop of Clogher,
 Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns,
 Edmond O'Dempsey, bishop of Leighlin,
 Edmund O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick,
 Arthur Magennis, bishop of Down and Connor.

Temporal

Temporal Peers.

Alexander Mac Donnel, earl of Antrim,
Christopher Plunket, earl of Fingal,
Maurice Roche, viscount Fermoy,
Richard Butler, viscount Mountgarret,
Theobald Dillon, viscount Costello, gallan,
John Netterville, viscount Netterville,
Donat Macarty, viscount Muskery,
Pierce Butler, viscount Ikerrin,
Lewis O'Dempsey, viscount Clanmalier,
Edward Butler, viscount Galmoy,
Bryan Fitz Patrick, baron of Upper Ossory,
Francis Bermingham, Baron of Athenry,
Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth,
William Burk, baron of Castle-connel.

Commons.

John Allen of Allentown,	Francis Blake of Galway,	Edward Comerford of Callan
Patrick Archer of Kilkenny,	Dominick Bodkin of Galway,	George Comyn of Limerick,
Walter Archer of Kilkenny,	John Brennan of Clonfinlogh,	Andrew Cowley of Kilkenny,
Clement Ash of Eilistown,	Hugh Brin of Corrinon,	Walter Cruise of Arlonan,
Patrick Babe of Drumskeyne,	Edward Browne of Galway,	James Cusack of Kilkenny,
John Baggot of Baggotstown,	Geoffry Browne of Galway,	Patrick Darcy of Galway,
Walter Bagnal of Dunleckny,	Sylvester Browne of Dublin,	Barnabas Dempsey Clonchork,
George Barnwall of Kingstown,	Patrick Bryan of Lisfayne,	Nicholas Devereux of Ballymager,
Henry Barnwall of Castle Rickard,	John Burk of Castle Caroe,	Robert Devereux of Ballyshannon,
James Barnwall,	Richard Burk of Drumruisk,	Edmond Dillon of Streamstown,
Geoffry Baron of Clonmell,	Richard Burk of Shillewly,	James Dillon of Clongassell,
Gerald Barry of Lisshriffin,	Theobald Burk of Baulyburk,	John Dillon of Streamstown,
Peter Bath Fitz Robert, late of Dublin,	Ulick Burk of Glinsk,	Lucas Dillon of Loughglin,
Peter Bath of Kilkenny,	William Burk of Pollardstown,	Allen Donnel of Montagh,
Robert Bath of Clanturk,	Edmond Butler of Idough,	Michael Dormer of Ross,
Robert Bath late of Dublin,	James Butler of Swyneone,	Walter Dougan of Castletown,
John Bellew of Lisfranny,	John Butler of Foulterstown,	Laurence Dowdall of Athlumney,
Richard Belling of Tyrrelstown,	Pierce Butler of Banefseagh,	James Doyle of Carrig,
Christopher Bermingham of Corballis,	Pierce Butler of Barrowmount,	Terence Doyne of Kilkennan,
Edward Beringham of Curraghton,	Pierce Butler of Cahir,	Patrick Duffe of Rosspatrick,
John Bermingham of Galway,	Walter Butler of Paulstown,	Richard Everard of Everard's castle,
William Bermingham of Parsonstown,	Connell Carve of Allobarnayre,	Stephen Fallon of Athlone,
Bryan Birne of Ballynacorr,	Arthur Cheevers of Ballyfeskin,	William Fallon of Milltown,
Bryan Birne of Rodine,	Peter Clinton of Dollystown,	Geoffry Fanning of Gleanagall,
James Birne of Ballyaccide,	Anthony Colclough of Rathelir,	Patrick Fanning of Limerick,
John Birne of Ballyglan,		

- Gerald Fennell of Ballygriffin,
 John Finglafs of Walspeltown,
 Christopher Fitzgerald of Coynelunan,
 Edmond Fitzgerald of Ballymartyr,
 Edmond Fitzgerald of Brounsford,
 Gerald Fitzgerald of Clonyad,
 Gerald Fitzgerald of Timogue,
 Henry Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
 Luke Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
 Mathew Fitzgerald of Gobinstown,
 Maurice Fitzgerald of Allone,
 Nicholas Fitzgerald of Marmayne,
 Pierce Fitzgerald of Ballyshannon,
 Thomas Fitzgerald of Boneyford,
 Mark Fitzharris of Cloghinotfoyl,
 Nicholas Fitzharris of Rofs,
 Edmond Fitzmaurice of Tyoburry,
 Gerald Fitzmaurice of Goby,
 Florence Fitzpatrick of Lifdunvearney,
 Philip Flattisbury of Dremantown,
 Thomas Fleming of Cabragh,
 Fiagher Flin of Ballilagha,
 Christopher French of Galway,
 James French of Galway,
 Mark Furlong of Wexford,
 John Garvey of Lehons,
 Charles Gilmore,
 John Gould of Cork,
 Patrick Gough of Kilmanihane,
 John Hadfor of Keppett,
 John Haly of Limerick,
 Nicholas Haly of Towryne,
 Robert Hartpole,
 Nicholas Hay of Wexford,
 Charles Henefly of Catergyn,
 Thomas Heynes of Feathard,
 Daniel Higgins of Limerick,
 William Hoare of Cork,
 William Hoare of Harristown,
 Christopher Hollywood of Tartane,
 Alexander Hope of Ballymacfearagh,
 John Hope of Martinstown,
 Matthew Hore of Dungarven,
 Maurice Hurly of Kilduffe,
 Edmond Kealy of Gowran,
 William Kealy of Gowran,
 Daniel Keefe of Dromagh,
 Eneas Kinfly of Ballynecarrigy,
 Patrick Kerwan of Galway,
 John Lacy of Bruff,
 Denis Lalor of Ballywoy,
 William Langton of Kilkenny,
 Martin Lynch of Galway,
 Nicholas Lynch of Galway,
 Robuck Lynch of Galway,
 Nicholas Mac Alpin of Moy,
 Hugh Mac Cartan of Lorgline,
 Charles Mc. Carthy Riagh,
 Dermot Mc. Carthy of Cantwyrk,
 Thady Mac Carthy of Kilfallyway,
 James Mac Donnell of Muff,
 Charles Mc. Geoghegan of Dromore,
 Conly Mc. Geoghegan of Donore,
 Edward Mc. Geoghegan, Tyrotorine,
 Richard Mc. Geoghegan of Moycashell,
 Daniel Macnemara of Downe,
 John Macnemara of Moyriorisky,
 Arthur Magennis of Ballynaferney,
 Connell Magennis of Lifnatierny,
 Daniel Magennis of Glasca,
 Ever Magennis of Castlewellan,
 Hugh Magennis of Illanimoyle,
 Anthony Martin of Galway,
 Roger More of Ballynakill,
 Roger Nangle of Glynmore,
 Patrick Netterville of Belgart;
 Richard Netterville,
 Pierce Nugent of Ballynecurr,
 Thady O Body,
 Tirlogh O Boyle of Ballymore,
 Connor O Bryen of Ballynacody,
 Dermot O Bryen of Dromore,
 Callaghan O Callaghan of Castle Mc.
 Auliff,
 Donat O Callaghan of Clonmeene,
 Daniel O Cavanagh of Cloynmulbin,
 Murtagh O Cavanagh of Garryhill,
 Daniel O Connor of Quelleane,
 Thady O Connor Roe of Ballynafad,
 Thady O Connor Sligo,
 Hugh O Donnell of Rumalton,
 Edward O Dowde of Porterstown,
 Thady O Dowde of Rosbur,
 Philip O Dwyer of Dundrum,
 Daniel O Farrell of Enniscorthy,
 Fergus O Farrell of Bleanvohir,
 Francis O Farrell of Moate,
 Thady O Hanly of Colerane,
 James O Kearney of Ballylufkey,
 Daniel O Kelly of Colengeere,
 John O Kelly of Corbeg,
 Patrick O Komelty of Dungannon,
 Henry O Neil of Kilbeg,
 Phelim O Neil of Morley,
 Turlogh O Neil of Ardgonell,
 Francis O Ronane of Kilkenny,
 Hugh O Rourke of Coonerena,
 Thomas O Ryan of Doone,
 Dermot O Shaughnecy of Gort,
 O Sullivan-More of Downekyrane,
 Daniel O Sullivan of Culmagort,
 Nicholas Plunket of Belrath,
 David Powre of Clonemore,
 John Power of Kilmaecdan,
 James Prendergast of Tollovellane,
 James Preston of Gormanstown,
 Robert Preston of Gormanstown,
 Thomas Preston,
 Robert Purcell of Curry,
 Charles Reynolde of Jamestown,
 Edward Rice of Dingle,
 David Roche of Glanore,
 John Roche of Castletown,
 Redmond Roche of Cahirdowgan,
 Hugh Rochfort of Tagonan,
 John Rochfort of Kilbride,
 George Ruffel of Rathmolin,
 Christopher St. Lawrence of Cructown,
 Nicholas Sankey of Ballytarkin,
 Edward Shee of Kilkenny,
 Robert Shee Fitz William of Kilkenny,
 Walter Shee of Trim,
 Bartholemew Stackpole of Limerick,
 Richard Stafford Fitz Richard of Wex-
 ford,
 Richard Strange of Rockswell castle,
 William Sutton of Ballcroe,
 Robert Talbot of Castle Talbot,
 Thomas Tyrrel of Kilbride,
 Richard Wadding of Ballycogly,
 Thomas Wadding of Waterford,

IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

473

John Walsh of Ballybechayne,	William Warren of Casheltown,	Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffy,
John Walsh of Waterford,	James Weldon of Newry,	Francis Wolverstown of Newtown,
Alexander Warren of Churchtown,	John White of Clonmel,	William Young of Cashal,
Edmund Warren late of Dublin,		

Spiritual Peers	11
Temporal Peers	14
Commons	226

Total 251

Notwithstanding the efforts of the wiser and more moderate part, the confederates found it impossible to establish a permanent form of government; disorder reigned in their councils, the people caught the contagion, and every day was marked with some dangerous tumult. The friars took an active part. In 1648, Paul King (81), a Franciscan and a zealous nuncioist, formed a party among the deluded inhabitants of Kilkenny to betray the city and the supreme council into the hands of Rinuccini and O Neil, which however did not succeed. The (82) next year Redmond Carron, commissary general of the Recollects, being at Kilkenny and siding with the loyal catholics against the nuncio and his adherents, and endeavouring to remove one Brennen and other seditious friars from the city, was put in danger of his life, had not the earl of Castlehaven arrived with some friends, in the very instant of time to save him. On this (83) occasion, thousands of men and women in the dusk of the evening, being collected by seven or eight furious Franciscans of the nuncio's party, and being worked up to madness by their lies, attempted to force into St. Francis's abbey, and to murder Caron, John Barnwall reader of divinity, Anthony Gearnon guardian of Dundalk, James Fitzsimon guardian of Multifernan, Patrick Plunket confessor to the poor Clares of Athlone, and Peter Walsh reader of divinity in that convent, although this Walsh, in 1646, had saved both mayor and aldermen from being hanged, and the city from being plundered by Owen O Neil.

The parliament of England, turning their attention to the distracted state of Ireland, sent over, in the person of Oliver Cromwell, a lord lieutenant who was able to correct its disorders.

On the twenty-third of March 1650, Cromwell came before Kilkenny, on the side of the black quarry, and sent this summons that evening (84):

6 E "Gentlemen,

(81) Ware's writers, pag. 141.

(82) Ware's supra, pag. 145.

(83) Walsh's hist. of the remonstrance, pag. 587.

(84) Borlase's Irish Rebellion.

"Gentlemen,

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God pleaseth, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny and your obedience to the state of England. For the unheard of massacre of the innocent English, God hath begun to judge you with his sore plague, so will he follow you until he destroy you, if you repent not. Your cause hath been already judged in England upon them who did abett your evils, what may the principals then expect? By this free dealing, you see I entice you to a compliance; you may have terms; may save your lives, liberties and estates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant, and you to receive. If you chuse for the worse, blame yourselves. In confidence of the gracious blessings and presence of God with his own cause, which this is by many testimonies, I shall hope for a good issue upon my endeavours; expecting a return from you, I rest your servant,

O. CROMWELL."

To the Governor, Mayor, &c.

To this Sir Walter Butler answered:

"Sir,

Your letter I have received, and in answer thereof, I am commanded to maintain this city for his majesty, which, by the power of God, I am resolved to do, so I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

WALTER BUTLER."

Kilkenny, 23d March, 1650.

Lord Castlehaven had appointed Sir Walter Butler, governor of the city, with two hundred horse and a thousand foot, but they were reduced by the plague to three hundred. This circumstance Cromwell hints at. On the 24th, he surrounded the place, and in the evening attempted to possess himself of Irishtown, but was beaten off and forced to retire; his cannon began between five and six o'clock on the 25th, to batter the end of the marquis of Ormond's stables, between the castle gate and the rampart, and having continued firing until twelve, he assaulted the breach; his men were twice beaten off, and could not be persuaded to make a third attack; the breach was repaired, and Cromwell was on the point of raising the siege, when the mayor and townsmen invited him to stay, and assured him they would receive him into the city; upon this he appointed a party to set upon Irishtown in the evening, which was manned by some of the citizens, the best part of the gar-
risons

rifons being employed about the breach; the citizens immediately deserted their posts, without striking a stroke, and Cromwell taking possession of the cathedral and the other parts of Irishtown, lodged there that night.

On the 27th he began to break the wall of the Franciscan abbey, near the river side, with pick-axes, to make way for his horse and foot to enter; that post being also guarded by townsmen only, they began to forsake it, when they governor gave orders to a party of horse to alight and leading them on, beat off the enemy, and killed most of those that were near the wall, and put an end to their efforts there; at the same time an attempt was made to burn the gate on St. John's bridge, but there the enemy were likewise repulsed with the loss of many officers and soldiers.

Next day Cromwell was joined by Ireton with 1500 fresh men, and Sir Walter Butler, considering the weakness of the garrison, few in number and those worn out for want of rest by continual watching, and hopeless of relief, determined to execute lord Castlehaven's orders; which were, that if they were not relieved by seven o'clock the day before, he should not, for any pucilio of honour, expose the townsmen to be massacred, but make as good conditions as he could, by a timely surrender. A parley was beaten, a cessation agreed on at twelve o'clock the next day, when the town and castle were delivered up on the following conditions:

ARTICLES

Of agreement between the commissioners appointed by his excellency, the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant general of Ireland, for and on behalf of his excellency of the one part, and those appointed commissioners by the respective governor of the city and castle of Kilkenny, of the other part, March 28th, 1650.

I. That the respective governor of the city of Kilkenny shall deliver up to his excellency the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the use of the state of England, the said city and castle, with all arms, ammunition and provisions of public stores therein, without embezzlement, except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning.

II. That all the inhabitants of the said city of Kilkenny, and all others therein, shall be defended in their persons, goods and estates from the violence of the soldiers; and that such as shall desire to remove thence elsewhere, shall have liberty so to do, with their goods, within three months after the date of these articles.

III. That the said governor with all the officers and soldiers under his command in said city and castle, and all others, who shall be so pleased, shall march away at, or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning, with their bag and baggage: the
officers

officers and their attendants with their horses and arms, not exceeding one hundred and fifty horses; and their foot soldiers to march out of the town, two miles distant with their arms, and with their drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted; and then and there to deliver up the said arms to such as shall be appointed for receiving them, except an hundred muskets and an hundred pikes allowed them for their defence against the tories.

IV. That the said officers and soldiers shall have from his excellency a safe conduct, six miles from the city of Kilkenny; and from thence a pass, to be in force for six days, they marching at least ten miles each day, and doing no prejudice to quarters.

V. That the city of Kilkenny shall pay 2000*l.* as a gratuity to his excellency's army: whereof 1000*l.* to be paid on the 30th of this month, and the other on the first day of May, to such as shall be by his excellency appointed. That major Comerford and Mr. Edward Roth shall remain hostages, under the power of his excellency for the performance of said articles, on the part of the said city and garrison of Kilkenny.

And lastly, for the performance of all and singular the said articles, both parties have hereunto interchangeably put their hands, the day and year above written.

O. CROMWELL.

Edward Cowly, John Comerford,
Edward Roth, David Turnball,

Sir Walter Butler and the officers when they marched out were complimented by Cromwell, who said: "That they were gallant fellows: that he had lost more men in storming that place, than he had in taking Drogheda, and that he should have gone without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townsmen."

Cromwell appointed col. Axtel (85) governor, with a considerable garrison. The plague raging in Dublin, Ireton, in 1651, wintered in (86) Kilkenny; and the next year, Fleetwood, on his arrival, (87) took up his residence in this city, for the same reason.

On the 4th October, 1652, a high commission court was held in Kilkenny before justice Donellan, justice Cooke and commissary Reynolds.

On the restoration of Charles II. Kilkenny resumed and exercised its chartered rights, and every thing wore a tranquil appearance. In 1666, England being engaged

(85) Forlase, pag. 255.

(86) Forlase, pag. 282.

(87) Forlase, pag. 302.

gaged in a war with Holland, there were sixty-nine Dutch prisoners sent to Kilkenny from (88) Waterford and other sea-ports, for greater security.

In 1672, Nicholas (89) Loghnan petitioned the privy council of Ireland in behalf of himself and other citizens of Kilkenny, and stated, that in a small assembly of aldermen and common-councilmen, a resolution was made of charging each person who stood in the market with commodities, three half pence every time, for murage, pavage, &c. The petitioner alledged, that the customs and duties of the market, amounting to above one hundred pounds per annum, were appropriated to these uses, and were sufficient to repair the streets, walls and bridges. Besides, that the corporation was endowed by royal grants, with three intire abbies, with their lands and livings, and several rich impropriations, to the value of four or five hundred pounds yearly, but that these revenues were sunk very much by embezzlement.

He therefore prayed that the distresses taken in pursuance of the above resolution may be restored.

On this petition, the lord lieutenant and council made this order :

“ 3d Jan. 1672.

We require the mayor and aldermen of Kilkenny within mentioned, by themselves or their agents sufficiently instructed and authorized, to appear and answer the within complaint.

Essex, Ja. Armachanus, Mich. Dublin. Can. Donegall, O'Bryen, Thomond, Herbert, Cha. Meredyth, Hen. Ford.”

This put an end to this illegal imposition.

King James II. when he was new chartering the different corporate towns in the kingdom, to answer his wretched views, did not forget Kilkenny. The corporation, before the year 1687, consisted of seven companies, but by the new charter they were reduced to five. The (90) expence of this charter was 260*l.* but 305*l.* were raised. There were now to be twenty-four aldermen, besides the mayor, two sheriffs and a chamberlain with thirty-six burgeses, a recorder and town clerk, who was also prothonotary and clerk of the peace and crown.

(88) Laffan's MSS.

(89) Laffan's MSS.

(90) Laffan's MSS.

The revenues payable to the corporation of Kilkenny for the year 1688, amounted to £.313 18s. 8d.

In 1689 a militia (91) was formed in Kilkenny.

The Mayor, John Archdekin, Captain. _____ Lieutenant.

Serjeants, Nicholas Cranisborough,	Corporals, Edward Fitzgerald,
John Lee,	Michael Langton,
Thomas Mayher,	Patrick Condon.
Patrick Hickey.	

With one hundred and twenty one private men.

The subsidies (92) levied off the inhabitants were very considerable. The number of houses now in the city and suburbs according to the collector's return :

In St. Mary's parish	-	241
In St. John's	-	94
In St. Patrick's	-	20
In St. Canice's	-	152
Total		<u>507</u>

Allowing eight persons to a house, there were then but 4056 souls in Kilkenny. By the hearth-books of 1777, an interval of but eighty-eight years, it appears there were then 2274 houses, which estimating as before, makes 18,192 souls, or an increase of 14,136 persons. Such are the happy effects of domestic peace, the regular administration of justice, and the establishment of trade and manufactures.

This year, 1689, (93) the corporation petitioned king James, that by his proclamation having ordered coals to be sold at nine pence per barrel, lieutenant Walth and James Meigh in disobedience thereof, being overseers of Idough colliery, prevented coals from coming to the city, and thereby enhanced their price, although the city was obliged to find fuel for colonel Thomas Butler's regiment of foot, and two troops of lord Galmoy's horse, and therefore prayed redress.

From Mr. Laffan's collection of MSS. we learn, that John Archdekin was elected mayor of Kilkenny in 1689, but was displaced the seventeenth of July 1690, after the glorious victory at the Boyne. He petitioned the corporation for his year's salary, which was 100*l.* and that for nine months and twenty-four days he had received but 75*l.* 18s. 6d. Among his disbursements the following are remarkable.

For

(91) Laffan's MSS.

(92) Laffan's MSS.

(93) Laffan's MSS.

For falt to the militia of Dublin, by consent of an assembly at the
Old Thofel £. s. d.
0 3 0

For candles to lord Tyrconnel and the French general after the
route of the Boyne 0 8 0

Paid Patrick Mc. Moran for shoeing Colonel Sheldon's horses, he
helping to keep the city from plunder after the route 0 5 0

For iron for shoeing lord Tyrconnel's horses 1 14 0

Paid men and women for carrying corn to the mill for want of
horses, to get some ground to make bread for the running army after
the route 0 3 0

Paid Nicholas Murphy for seven carcasses of mutton, given to the
guards that came with lord Tyrconnel 3 0 1

For iron delivered to Thomas Barry, for mending the locks of the
city gate, after the route of the Boyne 1 16 0

He also charges the board of ordnance 25 14 3
for mounting seven iron fakers, the diameter of each three inches and a half, their
length from the base ring to the muzzle seven feet and a half; three were mounted
on field carriages, and four on truckles; four were placed on the half moons of the
city walls, and three about the castle of Kilkenny.

1690. In July king James's army on quitting the town extorted a good sum of
money from the inhabitants, to preserve the town from plunder. On the nineteenth
of the same month, king William was splendidly entertained by the duke at his
castle, which had been preserved by count Lauzun from being (94) pillaged.

July 24, 1690, the (95) following justices of the peace were appointed to receive
their arms and submission from such as submitted to his majesty's declaration, in the
city and county of Kilkenny.

Sheriff, for the time being, Richard Coote, Esq; Sir Henry Wemys, Knight;
Sir William Evans, Knight; Balthazar Cramer, Samuel Booth, John Baxter,
Agmond. Cuffe, Christopher Hewetson, Esqrs.

CASTLE of KILKENNY

Has lately been much improved. The entrance into it is from the parade, and
leads to the back of the house, the front facing the river. In the court-yard are
the foundations of buildings, and opposite the door of the house, is a clock placed
in an old tower.

On

(94) Harrie's life of King William, pag. 281. (95) Ibid, App. pag. lxx.

On entering the house, we turn on the left hand into the dining parlour; it is ill-proportioned, as are all the other rooms; convenience and elegance are consulted in none of them. That the duke of Ormond did not build the whole, the different additions and improvements demonstrate. It is impossible to conceive so meanly of his grace's taste and judgment, as to imagine he could adopt such irregularities and disproportions in any plan offered to him, much less would he have neglected suitable bed-chambers, which are absolutely not to be found here. To compensate for these defects, the curious visitant may contemplate many portraits of the various branches of this truly ancient and noble family. Led (96) by no very intelligent Ciceroni and unfurnished with a catalogue, the reader must pardon whatever errors he may find in the following detail of the pictures.

DINING PARLOUR.

Earl of Arran, by Sir Peter Lely.

Earl of Ossory, father of lord Arran.

Emilia de Nassau, countess of Ossory.

Dutchess of Richmond, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Two beauties of the court of king Charles II.

Dutchess of Devonshire, daughter to the first duke of Ormond.

Countess of Chesterfield, her sister.

Dutchess of Beaufort and Somerset.

Two young children of the family.

BREAKFAST OR TAPISTRY ROOM.

From the dark and irregular figure of this room, it appears to have been one of the old towers: and we discover the thickness of the walls, which is very great. The tapistry, admirably executed, contains the history of Decius, the colours fresh and lively. In this room are

The first duke of Ormond, a full length.

The second dutchess of Ormond.

Over the chimney, A shepherd and two lambs.

A handsome glass lustre and gilt mouldings and bases adorn this room.

THE ALCOVE OR PRESENCE CHAMBER.

This room is also hung with tapistry, representing the four seasons, but inferior in design and execution to the foregoing. The paintings are

The last duke of Ormond.

Lady

(96) This account was written in the life time of Mr. Butler, the present Earl of Ormonde's Grand-father.

Lady Thurles.

Herodias with the head of St. John in a charger.

A madona and child, from Corregio, by Carlo Dolci.

Lord Arran.

Royal family, by Vandyke.

Charles II'd's queen, by the same.

A portrait unknown.

A Landscape.

In this chamber is a chest finely japanned, said to be the duke of Ormond's travelling chest; and a pier glass, and under it a table inlaid with various marbles.

BALL ROOM OR GALLERY.

This gallery is of great length, but unfinished, nor does proper care seem to be taken of the valuable works it contains. In it are the

Head of lord Strafford.

King Charles I. and his queen.

King Charles II.

King James II.

Queen Mary.

Queen Anne.

First duke of Ormond.

Earl of Offory, his son.

Dutchess of Kent, all whole lengths.

Admiral Jenkin, in black.

Lord Clanricarde.

Mary Magdalen, almost naked.

Fourteen portraits unknown.

Six battle-pieces, representing the engagements in the Dutch war, in which lord Offory was present.

Mrs. BUTLER'S DRESSING ROOM

Is small, but handsomely fitted up. There are a japanned cabinet, and a commode of olive inlaid and divided at top with lines of holly. The paintings are,

Ceres and Autumnus.

Two of the beauties of king Charles's-court.

Two flower pieces.

Last Dutchess of Ormond.

Lady Amelia Butler.

A very small closet called a *boudeur*, with a library in it.

LADY ANNE'S DRESSING ROOM,

Is a small octagon, in one of the towers. Here are some miniature paintings, particularly one of the earl of Wandesford, lady Anne's father, and his countess.

A small chamber organ.

Two Chinese mandarins, &c.

We pass through a long corridor to the bed chambers, which are but indifferent.

LADY ANNE'S BED CHAMBER

Is hung with tapistry, made by nuns; the figures are Chinese and grotesque, the bed curtains the same, but neither figures or colours good.

The CHAPEL.

Mr. and Mrs. Butler continue Roman catholics, and have this small room for a chapel. The altar is of wood, and in the centre is a stone covered with a coarse canvas, and called the holy stone; it is an oblong of about eight inches by four, with an inscription in old Gothic letters, of some text. At first sight it was judged a relique, but on farther consideration, it was found, that by the first canon made by (96) archbishop Comyn in 1186, it is ordered, "that altars be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size cannot be got, then a square, intire and polished one be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated; of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and to bear the foot of the largest chalice." This sufficiently explains the reason of the stone being inlaid in the altar.

There is a tabernacle for the elements, with a madona over it; and in an inner room, a confession chair.

EVIDENCE CHAMBER

Contains a great number of family papers. Mr. Carte, while he was employed in compiling the life of the great duke of Ormond, had an order from the earl of Arran, to examine and take away whatever papers were useful to him; and accordingly he selected a great many, and brought them on—three Irish cars—as he expresses it, to Dublin, Mr. Butler informed the writer, that they were sent back, and repositied in this chamber. Mr. Carte moreover mentions a number of stewards accounts; these if carefully examined might give us as good a view of ancient manners, as the earl of Northumberland's household book, communicated to the public by the ingenious Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore. It would be worthy the noble possessor to have

have those ancient documents arranged, titled, and their contents expressed: valuable materials might be found to illustrate the history of the kingdom, in which the house of Ormond bore so illustrious a part, and in particular of the city and county of Kilkenny.

The front of the house lies nearly S. W. looking towards St. John's bridge. Before the front is a lawn edged with flowers and shrubs: this lawn with its wall forms a rampart next the river: at the foot of this wall, a walk of about eight feet in breadth has been taken off the river; it is called the mall, and here the citizens recreate themselves, while the Nore rolls rapidly by.

Sir James Ware mentions bishop Cantwell's rebuilding the great bridge of Kilkenny, thrown down by an inundation about the year 1447; it also appears that St. John's bridge fell down by a great flood in the year 1564.

On Sunday the second of October 1763, about eight o'clock in the morning, a most unusual flood and inundation poured down upon the city and county of Kilkenny, from twenty-four hours of incessant rain. Green's bridge near the cathedral fell, but no life was lost. On St. John's bridge about an hundred persons were standing; but it being reported, that a cabin was falling down the river without sinking, most of them hastened to behold the sight; fourteen men and women however unfortunately remained, the bridge fell, and they were instantly swallowed up in the torrent. For two days there was no communication between the people on each side the river; boats could not ply: in most low situations the water rose to eleven and in some to fifteen feet in height.

HOSPITALS, &c.

WILLIAM St. Leger (97) granted the church of St. Nicholas, of Tullachbrock, now called Tullaghanbroge, in the diocese of Offory, with all the lands there which Tancardus Brun held, and all the tithes and ecclesiastical benefices belonging to that church and the church of Attenach (Attana) "in pure and perpetual alms," with five carrucates of land in Tullachbrock, and six in Roscomin, rendering one mark of silver for all services, at the feast of St. Michael; (98) which grant his son confirmed. Of this grant there are no traces:

Near

(97) From Tighe.

(98) Archdal's Peerage, VI. p. 93.

Near the cathedral is an Alms-house in a tottering condition; it was founded by Bishop Williams: Bishop Otway, who died 1692, left an estate called Fermoy, worth then 40*l.* a year, to this institution; but by the fraud of his executors, and perhaps the inattention of his successors, it was conveyed away, and never recovered: its value now would be considerable. Eight old women inhabit this house; they receive trifling annuities from different estates of the family of Waring: three have 40*s.* a piece; four 15*s.*; and one 3*l.* 5*s.* per annum, from the estate of Mr. Waring of Springfield.

There was a Poor-house, called an hospital, founded in the coal market, pursuant to the will of Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde; he left to it the impropriate rectories of Drominberran and Bewly: his son procured an incorporation by charter, in 1630, under the name of the Master, Brothers, and Sisters of our most holy Saviour Jesus Christ. Another charitable appropriation of the tithes of Inch and Drumboth, in the diocese of Cashel, was made by an Earl of Ormonde, who obtained an incorporation from Charles II. for a master, brethren, and sisters, of a large house in Kilkenny. The house was suffered to go to decay; but a smaller one was afterwards built by the present branch of the family, upon one-third of the ground; both the former endowments were lost; these latter tithes are supposed to produce between 200*l.* and 300*l.* a year. The present house, or Ormonde poor-house is under the superintendence of the mayor; it was repaired about eighteen years ago, by the present Countess of Ormonde: it consists of two stories, four rooms on each floor, and contains eight widows, some of whom have families living with them: they must be natives of the city of Kilkenny, and are allowed 5*l.* a year each, together with the ground rent of two houses adjoining, amounting to 1*l.* 6*s.* to each widow: the house is kept in a dirty state, but in tolerable repair, and contains at present twenty souls.

Shee's Hospital.—The armorial bearings of the founder in the front, with eight quarterings, have this inscription, which shews the date of the foundation, "*Insignia Ricardi Shee Kilkennienfis armigeri, qui hoc xenodochium fieri fecit, 1581.*" The building is in Rose-inn street; the family arms at the front and back are kept in repair by the descendants of the founder.

Sir Richard Shee built the house in his lifetime, and endowed it at his death; these are the words of his will and codicil; "Item, for that I have great desire and special care of the hospitall built by myselfe and my wyfe att Kilkenny, that the poore men and women there, and their successors, shall be well mayntayned from
tyme

tyme to tyme, I will and bequeath unto the saide poore, and their successors, the parsonadge of Butler's woodes and Kilmocahill, in the counties of Kilkenny and Catherloghe. And for as muche as I cannot as yett make a perfect estate unto them thereof, for that theye are not incorporated, and want a mortmayne; my will is, and doe chardge my sonne Lucas upon my blessinge, or curse in doeing the contrarie, to use his best endover, to obtayne a charter to make them a corporation, by the name of "*Fratres et Sorores Hospitalis Jesu Christi in Killkenniâ*," and to procure a mortmayne and corporation for them and their successors accordinglie for ever. And doe desire and request my said sonne Lucas, and his heirs, upon my blessinge, and my feoffees and their heirs, and the survivor of them, from tyme to tyme, to perfect a sure estate thereof to the said hospitall, accordinge to my meaninge herein. And doe will, that my feoffees and their heires, and the survivor of them, shall stand and be seised of the profytte of the said parsonadge yearlie, to the use of the saide poor men and women, and their successors of the said hospitall: and pay the master and his successors of the said hospitall, viz. five pounds sterling of the profytte of the said parsonadge, to the master and his successors yearlie, who shall have care of my newe chappel and monument buylt in our Ladies Quayre, and shall order and dispose the saide poore men and women in the feare of God, as becometh, and the rest of the profytte of the said parsonadge to be converted yearlie to the use of the saide poor men and woomen of the said hospitall, and their successors for ever, prayinge my wyfe for the love shee beareth unto me, to give competent meate and drinke att her own table to the said master; and after her death my sonne and heire doe the lyke, prayinge my wyfe, my sonne, James Walshe, my brother Matthew Shee, Thomas Browne, and my sonne John, to have care of the execution hereof. Item, I will also that from tyme to tyme, the house of the saide hospitall and their successors for ever, and my newe chappell to be buylded, to be repayred and kept upp upon the profytte of the tythes of Kilmacahill and Butler's woodes afforesaide; the rest thereof being converted to the uses as before."

Codicil.—"Item, and whereas by my last will I have appoynted my wyfe to have a speciall care of my hospitall, mayntayne a master that shall attend the poore there, buyld and make up a chappel; my will is, and I doe require my sonne and heire, as he will looke to avoyde my curse, to looke carefullie to my hospitall, and mayntayne a master to attende them and praye for me, buylde and make upp a chappell, and to doe all other good works, which I appointed my saide wyfe and others to doe. Item, forasmuche as with speciall trust and affiance reposed, I have infeofed

and made estate of all my land to suche of my friends as accompted and reputed trustie unto me, with suche limitations and to suche uses as thereupon is expressed and declared, I therefore heartily desire my said feoffees, as they will discharge the said trust, and answer the same before the tribunall seate of God, not to give consent to anye of my sonnes, to sell, alien, dispose, or doe awaye anye of the said land soe past unto them, other than as my intent has byn and is declared."

Lucas Shee executed the trusts, and obtained the charter: but the founder's curses did not preserve the bequest; although he provided, that "if the allocated revenue was by any means stopped, an equivalent should be disbursed from his estate." At first twelve poor persons, male and female, were supported in it, and each had an annuity of 40s, besides which, a chaplain was kept, and mass regularly said at an altar which still remains. In 1685, the poor petitioned Dr. Phelan, titular bishop, against Edmund Shee, whom they said defrauded the community. The bishop wrote to the master, warned him of the horrible sin of cheating the poor, but recommended at the same time a kinswoman of his to a place in the hospital. The master returned an answer, which is here given, and is curious for the reasoning and particulars it contains.

"Rev. Lord, Kilkenny, 8th June, 1685.

"I received yours of this instant, and am very fory that I cannot comply with your request this tyme, as concerning your kinswoman; for I doe assure you the howse is full, and noe place vaquent: and as for Fra. Theobald Archer, there is noe place from him, but a chamber that belongs to the master, where no pintion belongs, and which I have turned to other uses which is usefull to the howse. And if there been anny complaynt made of me unto your lordship, it is more than I deserve, for I doe assure you, I have payd them all, in generall, though I am not as yet repaid. It is true, there was one of them that dyed lately before her pension was dew, and bequeated it to her dougter, and as I humbly conceave, it is neyther contionable nor equitable, that anny boddie, who depends upon the charitie of pious uses, shoud have the power to rest it to worldly uses, and this I leave to anny religious order to judge of, that your lordship thinks fit; and as for my fowls savetie I prefer it before all the tresieurs in the world, and doe hope I shall take as great care towards my fowle, as any of my predecessors ever did. This being all, I rest your lordship's faithfull and obedient servant,

EDMOND SHEE."

The

The chaplain was paid for a long time, but no mass has been said these forty years. The tithes allocated to this hospital, have long since been detained by lay hands. An attempt was made to sell them in 1752, when the following caution was issued from the ecclesiastical court of Ossory.

“Whereas Edmund Shee of Cloran, in the county of Tipperary, Esquire, has declared his intention of selling the house or tenement in the city of Kilkenny, commonly called Sir Richard Shee’s Hospital, as also the parsonage of Butler’s woods and Kilmacahill in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny; and whereas the said Sir Richard Shee, by his last will, bearing date December 24th, 1603, and by a codicil to the said will, dated December 31st, 1604, (which will and codicil were proved in the Prerogative Court of this kingdom, in 1608,) did devise the said hospital and parsonage to and for the use and maintenance of the poor men and women of the said hospital, and their successors for ever, and did thereby enjoin his son and heir, Lucas Shee, Esquire, to use his best endeavours to obtain a mortmain and charter to make them a corporation; and whereas at the request of the said Lucas Shee, and in pursuance of the said will, a mortmain and charter bearing date the seventh day of November, in the sixth year of his reign, was granted by King James I. to make the said poor and their successors a corporation, and to vest the said hospital and parsonage with the glebe, tithes, &c. thereof in them for ever; which will, codicil, mortmain, and charter, are on record in the proper offices; this is therefore to caution all purchasers how they treat for, or purchase the said hospital or parsonage. Dated this — day of May, 1752.”

The property, however, was never recovered for the hospital, or compensated out of the estate of Sir Richard. This hospital had some property vested in the French funds, bequeathed by General St. Ruth; it produced about 20*l.* a year, which sum was paid through the hands of the titular bishop; when there were eleven women, they received about 30*s.* a year each, and less when the house was repaired: since the beginning of the revolution the interest has ceased, but the property may now be restored.

The house contains thirteen poor women; six live in the lower story, where there is also a kitchen; and seven in the upper, which is on a level with the lane at the back, and where there is a plain altar and a crucifix. They receive no money, except occasional gratuities from the family of Shee, by whom the women are nominated to supply the vacancies; and what is collected at St. Mary’s Chapel, on the day of the exaltation of the cross.

The

The tithes of the parish of Kilmacahill, are at present divided into three parts ; one part is paid to an alms-house in Waterford, another part is in lay hands, and a third is received by the minister of the parish : it appears that the rent of these tithes was paid for the use of the poor to the first of November, 1741.

Not only the heirs of Sir Richard Shee are appointed trustees to this charity, but the mayor of Kilkenny for the time being : but it has been neglected by civil, as well as ecclesiastical authorities.

The celebrated general St. Ruth left a house in Patrick-street to Thady O'Dunn, to pay 12*l.* a year in charity. The profits have never been accounted for, and the house was lately a barrack.

John Cramer made a charitable bequest for apprenticing two or more boys was to protestant masters, and distributing weekly bread to poor people, but this lost by the chicane of law.

Edward Cramer, a baker in Kilkenny, left turnpike debentures, the interest to buy bread for the poor list of St. Mary's. This continues to be well applied, as does Mr. Nicholai's bequest to the same poor.

Mr. Lewis Chapelier bequeathed 520*l.* the interest of which, every second year, is to be a marriage portion for the daughter of a respectable tradesman, a protestant, and to be married to a protestant. The charity is well attended to.

The late Sir William Fownes bequeathed 32*l.* a year : 3*l.* is given to the county infirmary, and the rest in pensions. There are besides a charitable society for taylors ; a benevolent society for bed-ridden objects, a charitable loan for lending money, and a society for bettering the condition of the poor. There is no diocesan school, the name exists with a salary of 36*l.* a year. The charter school contains sixty boys, and is well conducted.

MONASTERIES.

AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY.—The oldest monastic foundation in Kilkenny is the priory, hospital or abbey of St. John the evangelist, whose charter, in the Monasticon, is dated A. D. 1220. It recites, that William Marshall the elder, earl of Pembroke, for the salvation of his soul and those of his predecessors, gives to God and St. John, a piece of ground at the head of the small bridge of Kilkenny, between the small stream of water and the road that leads to Loughmederan. From this situation we may conclude, that the monks designed to erect their building nearer the bridge than it now is : the place was insulated by the stream before mentioned, as the ground at the back of the King's Arms is at this day, and which seems a remnant of this ancient aqueduct, as it is called.

The

The earl grants them the parish beyond the bridge to the east, and bordering on the bridge, which was St. Mæls; and the ecclesiastical revenue of his land of Dunfert; this is now called Danesfort, but improperly, for the name Donfert or Dunfert, appears in very ancient records. He bestows on them the tenths of his mills, fisheries, orchards and dovecotes in Kilkenny, and also land at the head of the greater bridge, where they formerly began their convent. He gives the rents of his burgage-tenements in the new town, the church of the new town, which must be St. Mary's and that of Hagaman, and the intire benefice of the old town, in tenths, oblations and obventions. Do not these words clearly imply a strong doubt of the cathedral not having as yet made any considerable progress from its foundation, or if it had, that its chapter, revenues and jurisdiction were not settled? the grant of totius beneficii veteris villæ admits of no qualification, it is decisive in its import. Had there been a cathedral in Irishtown endowed with ancient revenues, he never would have wrested them from it for his new priory. The words also militate strongly against the claim of Hugh Rufus, as if he was lord paramount of Irishtown, when the contrary is here evident. Bishop Fitz John appropriated to them the church of Claragh, reserving an annual pension of twenty shillings to the vicars choral.

In 1645, when the monastic orders were every where repairing their houses, the Augustinians, to whom this abbey originally belonged, endeavoured to possess themselves of it; but the Jesuits interposed a claim, and it was confirmed to them by Rinuccini, the nuncio. From a MS. of Mr. Laffan we have this transaction authenticated.

“Whereas we the mayor, aldermen and burgeses of the city of Kilkenny have of late granted our certificate to the rev. fathers the Jesuits, confirming unto them, as much as in us, and as law permits, a certain grant or donation passed unto them in the year 1645, of the monastery of St. John the evangelist in this city, by the rev. father Thomas Roth, prior in commendam thereof; and having since considered the manifest inconveniencies the said city, and the several tenants deriving under a late lease from our predecessors are like to lie under, have for that reason entered into a further scrutiny of the said Jesuits' title, and we find, that they can produce neither grant, lease or any thing like from us or our predecessors of the said monastery, either in 1641, or since, but the said grant from the said father Roth, confirmed by the pope's nuncio, then residing in this city.

“ We therefore considering the invalidity of the said grant, so as to divest us of our right, and the obligation on us to maintain the lease made by our predecessors, do hereby revoke and annul the said certificate, until the said Jesuits do produce a legal title from us of our predecessors: on sight whereof we will freely and unanimously join in the chapel and garden of the poor Capuchins, which they have improved on the meanest and craggiest spot about this city, to our admiration and edification. Besides which spot, we humbly conceive, that there are sufficient room and apartments for the Jesuits.

In witness that this is our last resolution and pleasure, we have hereunto subscribed our names this 18th day of March, 1689.”

From this document we find, that the Jesuits had prevailed on Roth to surrender the abbey to them: that the city, though they had made leases of it, yet divested themselves of their right, and that in 1645, the nuncio confirmed these illegal proceedings. On his return to Italy, he wrote to the general of the Jesuits, and most unclerically mentions this act of injustice done through predilection of the order.

“(1) Si contenti vostra paternità reverendissima, che jo si affecuri di non aver mai veduto, e forse non letto una simile novità, la quale accrese la sua forza dal saperfi per tutto il regno, che jo nel medesimo punto per servire alla compagnia avevo terminato l'acquisto della chiefa abbaziale di S. Giovanni di Kilkennia per quei padri, non ostanti tutte le opposizioni dei canonici regolari.”—(2) None need wonder, says Walsh, to see among those approvers of the nuncio, the whole college, or professed house of the Jesuits then at Kilkenny. The members of this society resident in the city, were

(3) Henry Plunket,	William St. Leger,
Robert Bath,	William Dillon,
Christopher Maurice,	John Usher.

Whereas the Augustinians in the kingdom, according to this author, did not exceed sixty or eighty: the Jesuits were more numerous; being busy, enterprising and of great influence.

In 1432, (4) John Fleming, bishop of Leighlin, was canon of St. John's, and in 1500, (5) James Shortal was prior of it. The annals of it are frequently mentioned,

(1) Hibern. Dominic. supra, App. 915.

(2) Supra. Pref. pag. 45.

(3) Walsh, pag. 2.

(4) Ware's Bishops, pag. 495.

(5) Ware, supra, pag. 415.

tioned, and were in the Chandois (6) collection. The codex Kilkenniensis so frequently cited by Colgan, and reprobated by Bollandus, was the production of this monastery.

Great part of this abbey was demolished to make room for a foot barrack; however its ruins declare its former splendour. For about fifty-four feet of the south side of the choir it seems to be almost one window. The eastern window is about sixteen feet wide and forty high; it is divided by delicate stone mullions. The following monumental inscriptions still remain amid the ruins.

D. Michael Cowley

Irenarcha et jurisconsultus, &c. et uxor ejus D. Honoria Roth, hic requiescunt in æternam, ut speramus, hinc requiem transferendi ubi quod corruptibile est in corruptionem induet; uterque mortis subdidit legi; uterque mortuus commune solvit debitum naturæ. Hæc vivere orbi desit anno die mensis cælo ille cæpit vivere anno

Epitaphium

Hic virtute animi et generoso stemmate clarus,

Couleur tristes quæ capit urna tegit.

Fallor, cœlestes, melior pars incolit arces,

Hoc tantum cineres flebile marmor habet.

Hic potuit juris discordes solvere nodos,

Sed nequid duræ solvere jura necis.

O homo vive Deo cœloque operare, sepultus,

Sola manet virtus, cætera mortis erunt.

Quod alii, lector, tibi mortuo obsequium,

Rependent nobis, impende æteanam

Requiem precare et vale.

F. Johannes Purcell

Abb. Ecc. qui obiit

He lies recumbent at full length, in the habit of a regular canon, with a mitre on his head; the whole is of black marble.

Close by is another figure, one of the same family as the word Purcell shews; he is in armour; a belt comes over his shoulder, from which depends a sword. The frame of this monument is ornamented with basso relievos of Christ and his apostles, each with their different emblems.

Hic

Hic jacet

Edvardus Langton, hujus civitatis major et burgenfis, et Superior villæ Killkenniaë ;
et Belena Archer, ejus uxor, qui obierunt 5^o die Maii, 1571, et Richardus
Langton.

Memento

Homo quod pufio es, et in pufionem reverteris. Neale Cullen, citizen of Kilkenny,
built this monument for his dear beloved wife Rofe Langton deceased, the 4th of
October 1646, his father John Cullen, his mother Ellen Seix, himself and family.

My virtue death feems to overfway

My virtue's fruit by deed will ne'er decay.

There are a few other monuments here, but all defaced and illegible.

DOMINICAN ABBEY,

Otherwise called the Black abbey, from the colour of the garments worn by the
monks of the order, was founded in Irishtown, by William earl Marshal the younger,
about 1225, and dedicated to the blessed Trinity. Bishop Hugh a Dominican, and
who died in 1259, made many donations to the monastery ; among others, he be-
stowed on it St. Canice's well an aqueduct and released a chief rent arising from
two messuages in Friar-street ; and was interred in the high church near the altar.

Bishop Cantwell was also of this order ; and on his promotion he still wore the ha-
bit, agreeable to the decree of the 8th Constantinopolitan (7) council, and was bu-
ried in this abbey.

The site of this monastery was granted at the reformation to the corporation of
the city. Part of the building was made a shire-house, as is mentioned in the char-
ter of the elder James. Some chapters of the order were held here in 1643, when
the whole was repaired. It had a (8) house for novices, situated to the north-
west, on the river Nore, about two miles above the city, and called now Thorn-
back.

The windows and arches are rather superior to those of St. John's ; the various
mouldings that adorn them are beautiful specimens of the Gothic taste, and for
elegance and lightness nothing can exceed its two towers.

It must occur to every one, that this is a very indifferent account of this founda-
tion. Dr. Burke, a learned Dominican, and titular bishop of Ossory, and for many
years

(7) Præterea monachi qui vita et doctrina ut episcopi creantur meruerint, non mutant habitus vestisque rationem ob
novam dignitatem. Caranzæ Summ. Concil. pag. 767.

(8) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 206.

years resident in Kilkenny, and who was particularly interested in the inquiry, declares, that except the few foregoing notices, (9) he could procure nothing more from printed books, MSS. monuments, or the information of the members, after the utmost diligence and application. This ingenuous confession at once detects the impositions of writers, who have obtruded on the world, as memorials carried out of Ireland in times of confusion, the lives of saints, and other historical collections; when, in reality, they are the genuine manufacture of the seminary clergy of Douay, Ghent, Lovain and other places; and if we may form an opinion of them from Bollandus, they are of no greater estimation than the dreams of Anniius of Viterbo, and similar impostors.

The Dominicans in 1437, obtained two parts of the tythes of (10) Mothil, as appears by the record.

FRANCISCAN ABBEY.

We have every reason to place the foundation of this abbey, previous to the year 1230. "For in the chore of the friers-preachers, says Stanihurst, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, was buried, who departed this life in the yere 1231. Richard, brother to William, to whom the inheritance descended, within three yeres after deceased at Kilkennie, beinge wounded to death in a field in the heath of Kildare, in the year 1234, the twelfe of April, and was intomed with his brother, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:—

Hic comes est positus, Ricardus vulnere fossus:

Cujus sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.

Hanmer says, he was killed by the O Connors, and buried in the Black abbey. He adds, that his tomb with those of eighteen knights that came over at the conquest, were at the suppression of the monastery, defaced, and by the inhabitants turned to their private uses, making fwine-troughs of some; so that there remained but one, on which the picture of a knight was pourtrayed, bearing a shield about his neck, with the Cantwell's arms insculpted: this the people call *Ryddir in Curry* (11), or the Knight on the Curragh.

John Clynn of this convent, writes

Post incarnatum lapsis de virgine natum

Annis millenis tribus triginta ducentis,

OR

In

(9) Supra, pag. 206.

(10) Appendix.

(11) Properly, Ridire in Currach, eques in Plano, meaning earl Richard who was slain on the curragh, or plain.

In primo mensis Aprilis, Kildariensis
 Pugna die fabbati fuit in tristitia facti,
 Acciderant stallo pugnæ comiti mariscallo.

Speed, speaking of this transaction, informs us, "his body was buried in Kilkenny, (which pleasantly situated towne our soveraigne king James erected into a city) where himself in his life had appointed. Some small tokens of this great name are yet (1611) remaining. For in the east window of the abbey church of St. John the Baptist, and in the abbey of St. Dominick, the antient armories of Marechal, lord of Kilkenny, are yet extant. Luke Wadding shews (12), that Matt. Paris and Du Chefne (13) agree in making him to have been interred in the Franciscan abbey.

This monastery soon grew so considerable, that in the year 1267, a provincial chapter was held there, as Clynn informs us. In 1321 the great altar was consecrated; it was a marble table of prodigious length and breadth.

In 1331, Nicholas Welifed, bishop of Waterford, consecrated the new cemetery without the church, on a friday, being the feast of St. Cecilia.

In 1347, on the first sunday in Advent, a fraternity or gild was instituted for building a belfry and repairing the church. In the same year on Palm sunday, being the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Isabella Palmer was buried in this convent. She had rebuilt the forepart of the choir. Thus far Clynn.

The monastery and its offices were of great extent, reaching from the street and city walls to the river. The windows and towers are inferiour to none. Part is made a horse barrack. Near the margin of the river and within the precincts of the abbey is a spring of pure limpid water, called St. Francis' well, and was heretofore famous for miraculous cures; it is inclosed, and still preserves some degree of credit. About a mile from the town was a grange belonging to the fathers: in Wadding's time it was in the possession of John, son of Sir Richard Shee. A century before on the suppression of religious houses, the corporation purchased from the crown this abbey and its demesnes.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

In the charter to St. John's priory, this church seems to be described by "The church in the new town." We have seen under the year 1328, that William Utlaw was sentenced to cover its roof with lead. And in Clynn's annals is the following notice :

(12) *Annales Minorum*, ad ann. 1234, pag. 470, 471.

(13) Pag. 403. *Du Chefne Hist. ad Anglet.* pag. 543.

notice: "A.D. 1343. A new belfry was erected for the church of St. Mary, Kilkenny." The following clause in Queen Elizabeth's charter to the city, relates to the provision of wax lights for the church and image of the Virgin Mary.

"Item, quia diversa tenementa in illa villa de Kilkenny ab antiquo tempore onerantur, tam illuminare coram imagine virginis gloriosæ Mariæ prædictæ, quam ad emendandam ecclesiam prædictam; procuratores seu clientes ad redditus illos, et jura levenda si negligentes fuerint, quod servientes vel burgenses villæ naniare possint pro redditus & jura prædicta, sine calumpnia."

The old church was much larger than the present one, which is contracted on the ancient site. It is in the form of a cross, neat and elegant; with a good organ. In 1689, Marcus Stafford, (14) clerk, and one of the vicars choral of Christ church Dublin, made oath before a magistrate, that he was credibly informed, and did, from a knowledge of the fact for eighteen years before, believe, that the curacy of St. Mary's was in the presentation of the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny. The motives for this affidavit we are not told, or the steps taken in consequence. At present the church is in the patronage of the bishop.

The following are the most remarkable monuments.

Spiculum mortis.

Ortus ad interitum erectis progressibus, urget
Mortalesque rapit mortis vis nescia vinci,
Nescia consilio, voto, vel voce moveri.
Imperii, eloquii, rationis, acuminis, artis,
Et sophiæ transcendit opem, erectoque lacerto
Spicula contorquet gravis inclementia lethi.
Cujus ad imperium quicquid spirabile mundi
Machina complexu fovet, expirare necesse est.

Speculum mortalium.

Siste gradum, qui transgrederis, cordate viator;
Inque sepulchrali hoc speculo circumspice clari
Ora viri, genio ingenioque, et moribus orbi
Brittanico lumen; cujus facundia vocis
Et facundia gravi sensu, censuque facultas:
Non contemnenda pietas, doctrina favorque:

Magnus

(14) Apud Laffan's MSS.

Magnus tum mentisque vigor, dum vita vigeret,
Nunc tenet orbatum cultu brevi urna cadaver.

Johannes Nafhus

Humanæ fragilitatis conscius, charissimæ uxori, Eleonoræ Rothæ et liberis, adhuc vivens posuit. A. X. 1617. Quibus ut æternam requiem preceris, tum finis memor enixe rogat. Obiit honestus hic & cordatus civis, 31 die Maii mensis, salutis humanæ. A. 1643.

Jacobus Archdeacon

Mercator, et hujus urbis Kilkennienfis burgenfis, hoc sibi et uxori Catharinæ Woodloke, et posteris suis vivus monumentum posuit. Fato cessit ille obiit hæc die mensis

Epitaphium.

Hæc mihi, qua condar, feralis conditur urna;
Et tibi quem parili sorte sepulchra manent.
Quisquis es, extinctos vermis prædabitur artus;
Et quæ me primum te quoque fata prement.
Ut recte vivas mortis memor esto; sepultus
Æternum ut possis vivere: disce mori. 1636.

Hic jacet

Johannes Rothus, Petri filius, civis prætorius civitatis Kilkennæ, qui sacellum hoc cum monumento sepulchrali pro se, uxore liberisque ac posteris suis fieri fecit, anno salutis 1612. Ipse vero non tam obiit quam abiit, 31 die, mensis Januarii, A. D. 1620. Necnon Rosa Archera charissima ejus conjux, quæ viceffit magis quam decessit, die mensis 8º. anno Dom. 16 . . .

Quorum animabus propitiatur Deus.



Symbolum salutis.

Ortus quæque suos redolent animantia primos.
Et redit in cinerem quod fuit ante cinis.
Mens superas nunc avet opes . . . imas
Nempe fui memorem structilis urna facit.
Ast rediviva olim quando urna refuderit ossa
Juncta animis, Deus O faxit, ut astra petant.

ST. MÆL OR MAULA.

The church dedicated to this faint is of great antiquity, and pointed out in St. John's charter, as lying on the east side of the river. It is a sufficient apology for introducing legendary narrations in accounts of ancient foundations to say, that frequently none others are to be found; this is the case at present.

The sex of this faint is doubtful: if it was dedicated to St. Mæl, we (15) are told he was nephew and disciple of St. Patrick, and by him placed over the see of Ardagh in 456, where he presided for more than thirty years and died the 5th of February, 487. The professed writers of the lives of the saints stretch the belief of the credulous very far, when they relate with such minute exactness unauthenticated events. The following tale deserves as little credit.

"About (16) the same time that St. Kennie's church was built, a church was erected over against the east side of the Nore, in honour of St. Maula, the mother of St. Kenny, whose memory is continued in Kilkenny by her plague that fell upon them thus: there was a plague in the towne, and such as died thereof, being bound with wythes upon the beere, were buried in St. Maula's church-yard; after that the infection ceased, women and maids went thither to dance, and instead of napkins and handkerchiefs to keep them together in their round, it is said, they took those wythes to serve their purpose.

"It is generally conceived that Maula was angry for profaning her church-yard, and with the wythes infected the dancers so, that shortly after man, woman, and child died in Kilkenny,"—We here see a natural effect superstitiously and ignorantly ascribed to another cause.

(15) Ware's Bishops. (16) Hammer's chronicle.



APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL RECORDS.

No. I.—Page 383.

Prioratus five hospital. Sti. Johannis evang. de Kilkenn. fundat. circa ann. 1220.

WILL. Mareschallus, comes Pembrochiæ, &c. concessi B. Johanni evang. locum quendam ad caput parvi pontis de Kilken. sc. inter ductum minoris aquæ & viam quæ ducit ad Loghmaderan ab horreis meis, & 16 acras de terra libera ex eadem parte aquæ illius, cum pertinentiis, ad construendum ibidem domum religionis, in honorem Dei & Sti. Johannis, & ad sustentationem pauperum & indigentium. Concessi etiam, totam parochiam ultra pontem de Kilkenn. versus orientem & adjacentem eidem ponto cum pertinentiis, absque omni retinemento. Etiam beneficium ecclesiasticum totius terræ meæ de Donfert, quantum sc. inde ad patrum pertinet; & beneficium ecclesiasticum totius terræ me de Loghmadheran eodem modo cum omnibus pertinentiis, tam in decimis, quam oblationibus & obventionibus. Et omnes decimas molendinorum, piscariarum, pomariorum, & columbariorum meorum de Kilkenn.

Volo etiam & concedo, quod prædicti fratres deserviant capellâ castri mei de Kilkenn. et inde habeant omnes obventiones et oblationes si ego absens fuero vel hæredes mei: sin autem, tunc dominici capellani mei oblationes ex ea provenientes præcipiant.

Concessi etiam locum quendam ad caput magni pontis, ubi primitus domus eorum inchoata fuit, reddendo de eodem loco mihi & hæredibus meis annuatim tres solidos pro omnibus servitiis. Et quod habeant et possideant pacificè omnes redditus burgagiorum quæ eis in villa de Kilkenn. data fuerunt et danda, salvo servitio meo, et salvis omnibus quæ juris mei sunt. Præterea concessi ecclesiam de Haghamon et ecclesiam de Nova villa, & totum beneficium Veteris villæ cum omnibus pertinentiis ad easdem ecclesias spectantibus. Præterea, decimas molendinorum meorum & fenorum meorum in parochiis prædictarum ecclesiarum.

Insuper,

Infuper, triginta marcas argenti de decima redditus mei affisi in Hibernia precipiendas in perpetuum ad scaccarium meum de Kilkennia. Et præter hæc, unam carrucatam terræ cum pertinentiis, viz. illam quam Thomas Drake consuevit tenere juxta Kilkenniam, quietam ab omnibus servitiis, &c.

Monasticon Anglic. vol. 2 pag. 1042.

No. II.—Page 383.

REX superiori & præposito & communitati villæ de Kilkenny, salutem. Monstravit nobis venerabilis pater, Alexander episcopus Ossorienfis, ut cum ipse omnia temporalia sua teneat de nobis in capite; ipseque quoddam mercatum in villa sua del Irishton juxta Kilkenniam, quæ est parcella dictorum temporalium, viz. die Mercurii singulis septimanis, obtineat. Et licet idem episcopus & prædecessores sui nuper episcopi loci prædicti, mercatum suum prædictum, ut prædictum est, & libertatem suam infra Croceam episcopatus prædicti, libere & absque custumis aliquibus pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, absque assensu & voluntate prædicti episcopi & prædecessorum suorum solvendis a tempore foundationis ecclesiæ ipsius episcopi Sti. Canici de Kilkennia habere consueverunt. Vos tamen quasdam literas nostras patentes ad certas custumas pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam de Kilkennia et infra Croceam prædictam venientibus, percipiendas absque consensu sive notitia dicti episcopi impetraistis, & custumas hujusmodi de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum & infra libertatem ipsius episcopi prædictam venientibus prætextu dictarum literarum nostrarum minus juste percepistis, et indies percipere non desistis, in ipsius episcopi ac ecclesiæ suæ prædictæ grave præjudicium, dictique mercati ac libertatis suæ prædictæ perturbationem & retractionem manifestas, ut dicitur; super quo nobis supplicavit sibi remedium adhibere; & quia per quendam inquisitionem coram fratre Willielmo Tany, priore hospitalis Sti. Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia, cancellario nostro, ibidem captam, et in cancellarium nostram Hiberniæ remanentem est compertum, quod dicta villa del Irishton est parcella dictorum temporalium: & quod idem episcopus & prædecessores sui prædicti mercatum prædictum una cum libertate prædicta in forma prædicta habere consueverunt. Nolentes proinde, quod præfato episcopo in ea parte prætextu dictarum literarum nostrarum aliququalitur præjudicetur, vobis et cuilibet vestrum mandamus, quod prætextu dictarum nostrarum literarum de dicta villa del Irishton, mercatu aut libertate prædictis,

prædictis, vel de custumis aliquibus pro muraggio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia de rebus venallibus addictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, absque assensu et voluntate ipsius episcopi de cetero capiendis. Vos autem aliquem vestrum nullatenus intromittatis sub periculo incumbente.

Teste Jacobo de Botiller, comite de Ormond justiciario nostro apud Dublin 28 die Januarii, anno regni nostri 51.

Rot. cancell. Hiber. 51. Edw. III. 1376. No. 76 in dorso.

No. III.—Page 441.

PRÆPOSITUS, ballivi et probi homines villæ de Kilkennia habent pavagium ad villam suam paviendam per septem annos sub data, apud Dublin, 25 die Novembris, anno 1 Edw. III. 1334.

Ex rotul. turr. Bermingh. pat. 8. E. III. p. No. 106.

No. IV.—Page 442.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Cum communitas comitatûs nostri de Kilkennia nobis in subsidium guerræ super Hibernicos partium Lageniæ hostes nostros, Dei adjutorio, expugnandos, sua spontanea voluntate nobis concefferint duodecim homines ad arma, cum tot equis coopertis, quolibet eorum capiente per diem duodecim denarios; et sexaginta hobelarios, quolibet eorum capiente per diem, quatuor denarios; et ducentes pedites, quolibet eorum capiente per diem tres obolos, vadiis ipsius communitatis sustineri per quoddam certum tempus in comitiva justiciarii nostri Hiberniæ, dicta guerra durante, moraturos, prout inter ipsos justiciarium et communitatum erat concordatum. Assignavimus dilectos nobis Willielmum Lye et Thomam Moygne in cantredas de Olgellan et Ognentoy: Ricardum Forestal et Walterum Sillame in cantreda de Sylerchir: Adamum Tonibrige, Gilbertum Synniche et Johannem Herberd in cantredis de Odoch et Galmoy, ad dictum subsidium conjunctim et dilecto consanguineo nostro Jacobo de Botiller, comiti de Ormond, et hominibus quos idem comes retineat in guerra prædicta (dum tamen ad numerum hominum ad arma, hobelariorum et peditum prædictorum attingat eosdem hostes guerrando) per indenturam inter eos, modo debito conficiendam, liberandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod iisdem Willielmo, Thomæ, Ricardo, Waltero, Adæ, Gilberto et Johanni, tanquam assessoribus et collectoribus subsidii prædicti, pareatis et intendatis. Damus autem assessoribus

et

et collectoribus prædictis, tenore præsentium in mandatis, quod circa præmissa cum omni festinatione et diligentia faciant et exequantur informa prædicta.

In cujus, &c. teste Almarico justiciario apud Tristledermot, 26^o die Novem.

Per ipsum justiciarium et concilium.

Ex rot. Turr. Berm. pat. 23 Edw. III. No. 53. A. D. 1349.

No. V.—Page 445.

REX dilectis sibi superiori et communitati villæ de Kilkennia, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos fortificationem et reparationem villæ vestræ vestris exigentibus meritis, affectuose desiderantes, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus, et licentiam dedimus vobis, in auxilium murorum, paviamenti et pontis ejusdem villæ reparandorum, quod vos et posterius vestri per vosmet aut deputandos a vobis capere possitis, et habere a decimo die Decembris jam proxime futuro, usque ad finem septem annorum extunc proxime sequentium plenarie complendorum, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam venientibus, seu de eadem causa veniendi transientibus, sive per eandem villam per unam lucam circumquaque, tam in Crocea quam in libertate ibidem venientibus, consuetudines subscriptas.

Vir de quolibet cranoco cujuscunque generis, bladi, braisei, farinæ et salis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet cranoco waide venali duos denarios. De quolibet cranoco de corcy et fymal venali, unum denarium. De quolibet cranoco tanni venali, unum quadrantem. De duodecim cranocis quorumcunque carbonum venalibus, unum denarium. De duodecim cranocis calcis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet equo, vel equa, hobino, bove vel vacca venali, unum denarium. De decem ovibus, capris vel porcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quinque venalibus baconibus unum obolum. De duodecim velleribus lanitis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet corio equi vel equæ, hobini, bovis, vel vaccæ, frisco, salito vel tanato venali, unum quadrantem. De qualibet centena pellium agnorum, capriolorum leporum, vulpium, catarorum et squirrellorum, venali, unum obolum. De qualibet centena pellium omnium lanetarum, caprarum, leporum, biffarum, damorum vel damarum venali, unum denarium. De duabus molis manualibus venalibus, unum denarium. De duabus molis manualibus, unum quadrantem. De quolibet magno sacco lanæ venali, quatuor denarios. De qualibet mafa allecis venali, unum quadrantem. De viginti grossis piscilnis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet summagio æqui piscium maris venali, unum quadrantem. De centum anguillis

grossis aquæ dulcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet salmone venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet dolio vini et cinerum venali, quatuor denarios. De quolibet summagio mellis venali, unum denarium. De quolibet summagio cinerum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet summagio pannorum venalium, unum obolum. De quolibet panno integro de assissa venali, unum denarium. De viginti ulnis panni Hibernici, salewyche et wyrstede, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis linei teli Anglici vel transmarini, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis de canenis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De decem capellis de feltro venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet tapeto vel chalon venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet panno aureo venali, unum denarium. De quolibet panno de ferico vel baudikino venali, unum obolum. De quolibet capite findonis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet fallinga Hibernica venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet summagio pannorum, vel aliarum rerum venalium, unum obolum. De qualibet benda ferri venali, unum obolum. De centum gaddis asceris venalibus, unum obolum. De centum libris de pice, vel rosino venalibus, unum obolum. De centum libri feminis porri venalibus, unum denarium. De duabus milliariibus ceparum venalibus, unam quadrantem. De octo chane salis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De centum magnis bordis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari scinrularum grossarum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari scindularum minutarum unum obolum. De quolibet milliari clavorum venalium, unum obolum. De quolibet centena ferrorum adequos, et clutorum ad carectas venali, unum obolum. De qualibet nova cista, vel archavenali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet milliari difcorum et platellorum ligneorum venali unum quadrantem. De qualibet duodena de cordwane, corney, et bafyne venali, unum obolum. De qualibet centena oris et cupri venali, duos denarios. De qualibet centena de scalpyn et piscis auri venali, unum denarium. De decem petris cannabi et lini venalibus, unum denarium. De decem lagenis olei lampadarum venalibus, unum obolum. De qualibet centena de vitro colorato venali, unum denarium. De qualibet centena de vitro albo venali, unum obolum. De duabus solidatis cujuscunque generis specierum venalibus, unum obolum. De qualibet centena de amero de pondere venali, unum denarium. De qualibet duodena panni Anglici vel transmarini venali, unum denarium. Et de quolibet mercimonio valoris duorum solidorum, unde hic non fit mentio venali unum quadrantem.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod consuetudines prædictas de rebus venalibus prædictis capiat et habeatis, usque ad finem termini prædicti; completo autem termino

termino illo, consuetudines prædictæ penitus cessent et deleantur. Ita semper, quod denarii inde provenientes circa muragium, pavagium et pontagium villæ prædictæ et non alibi, fideliter expendantur. Volumus enim quod in fine cujuscunque anni, durante termino prædicto, computus inde coram venerabili patre episcopo Ossoriensi, qui pro tempore fuit et Roberto de la Ffreigne milite, vel altero eorum, et non ad scaccarium nostrum Hiberniæ, de anno in annum fideliter per vos reddatur.

In cujus, &c. teste Gullielmo Tanny, Gubernatore, apud Kilkenniam, primo die Julii, anno regni 49.

Per petitionem de concilio.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 49 Edw. III. No. 125, intus. A. D. 1375.

No. VI.—Page 448.

REX, &c. omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Supplicarunt nobis superior, præpositus et communitas villæ de Kilkennia, ut cum villa prædicta in marchiis fuerit assessa, et diversis Hibernicis inimicis nostris, ac aliis rebellibus, malefactoribus, felonibus et utlagatis Lageniæ, Momoniæ et Conaciæ undique circumvallata: idemque superior, præpositus et communitas non habeant unde venire valeant secure omnimodo exemptione et venditione victualium, et aliarum parvarum rerum et mercandizarum suarum, quæ præfatis inimicis et rebellibus ad evitandum eorum malitiam necessario vendere et dare oportebit; et adhuc indies, vi compellantibus aut alias dicta villa foret per dictos inimicos et rebelles spoliata, destructa et omnino desolata et relicta, quod absit. Velimus, præmissis consideratis, et quod eadem villa major extat relevamen et confortamen quorumcunque ministrorum, soldariorum et aliorum fidelium nostrorum, per terram nostram Hiberniæ laborantium, quod ipsi victualia et mercandizas cum dictis inimicis et rebellibus, tempore pacis et trugarum, emere, vendere et mercandizare tam infra villam prædictam quam extra in partibus vicinis, absque impetitione nostra hæredum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque, licentiam gratiose concedere.

Nos de avifamento et assensu charissimi filii nostri, Thomæ de Lancaestre seneschalli Angliæ, locum nostrum tenentis in terra nostra Hiberniæ, ac aliorum de concilio nostro præmissa advertantium, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam delimus præfato superiori, præposito et communitati, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet de cætero, usque ad finem trium annorum ex nunc proxime sequentium, plenarie

plenarie complendorum, omnimoda hujusmodi victualia et merchandizas suas (equis et armaturis duntaxat exceptis) tam tempore pacis quam trugarum, diebus mercati, tam in villa prædicta quam in aliis villis Anglicis mercatoriis comitatûs Kilkenniaë, eidem vicinis, dictis inimicis ei rebellibus nostris vendere; et de eis emere et cum eis merchandizare, absque impetitione aut occasione nostri, aut ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque, aliquo statuto, sive ordinatione inde in contrarium factis non obstantibus.

Ita semper, quod hujusmodi victualia et merchandizæ in foris dictarum villarum, et diebus foralibus et non alibi, emantur et vendantur.

In cujus rei, &c. teste præfato locum nostrum tenente, apud Trym, 20^o die Feb. anno regni nostri quarto.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 4 Hen. IV. No. 128, intus. A. D. 1402.

No. VII. Page 448.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos considerantes grandes ~~castus~~, quod dilecti legi nostri superior et communes villæ de Kilkennia habent et sustinent, necnon roberias, extortiones et oppressiones, quæ iis per Hibernicos inimicos et Anglicos rebelles nostros factæ existunt; ac etiam alia onera imposita, quæ dicta villa et patria circumquaque foldariis nostris ibidem, que extendunt ad ducentas marcas quolibet quaterno anni in resistantiam superbiæ et malitiam dictorum inimicorum et rebellium de die in diem supportant; et quod dicta villa auxilium et confortamem comitatûs Kilkenniaë, et aliorum ligeorum nostrorum dictæ villæ reparantium in omnibus agendis suis contra eosdem Hibernicos et rebelles existat: Ob quod præfati superior et communes in tantum depauperati sunt, quod non possint reparare vel emandare defectus murorum, pontium et pavementorum dictæ villæ absque relevamine nostro; qui vero mures, pontes et pavimenta pro majori parte prosternantur, et pro defectu custuum, in periculum cadendi ad terram existunt.

Nos de gratia nostra speciali, de assensu venerabilis in Christo patris Richardi archiepiscopi Dublin, deputati, dilecti et fidelis nostri Johannis Talbot de Holomshire Chivaler, locum nostrum tenentis terræ nostræ Hiberiæ, et concilii nostri in eadem terra, in salvationem dictæ villæ et patriæ circumquaque, dedimus et concessimus eidem superiori et communibus, certas custumas de quibuscunque merchandis venalibus ad dictam villam venientibus, secundum formam et effectum literatum patentium charissimi domini et patris nostri, Henrici quarti nuper regis Angliæ eis data,

data, viceffimi octavi Januarii, anno regni ejusdem patris nostri fecundo, ut dicitur, factarum: Habendum et percipiendum customas prædictas hucusque ad finem 21 annorum plenarie complendorum.

Volentes insuper, quod compotus inde coram nobis et hæredibus nostris et ministris, duobus burgensibus ejusdem villæ, per superiorem et communes ejusdem villæ, pro tempore existentes, ad hoc singulis annis eligendis, et non coram nobis, seu hæredibus nostris, aut ministris quibuscunque de anno in annum fideliter reddatur. Proviso semper, quod customæ prædictæ circa reparationem et emendationem murorum, pontium et pavimentorum prædictorum expendantur, et completo termino prædicto penitus ipsæ cessent et deleantur.

In cujus, &c. teste præfato deputato apud Trym, 20^o die Septembris.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 7 Hen. V. No. 12, intus. A.D. 1419.

No. VIII. Page 411.

Johannes Allen armiger, cancellarius domini regis terræ suæ Hiberniæ, Georgius, miseratione divina Dublin. archiepiscopus, Hiberniæ primas, et Will. Brabafon Arm. sub-thesaurarius supremi domini regis in terra sua Hybernia prædicta (et ejusdem invictissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri dom. Henrici 8vi, Dei gratia, Ang. et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris et domini Hyberniæ, et supremi capitis ecclesiarum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum post Deum in terris) commissarii et legati speciales et generales in ecclesiasticis causis et suæ ecclesiæ jurisdictione, per totam Hiberniam legitime constituti et deputati.

Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus ad quorum notitiam præsentis literæ pervenerint, et illi vel illis, quæ seu potius infra scriptum tangit, seu tangere potuit quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in domino sempiterno, atque præsentibus fidem adhibeamus indubiam.

Cupientes finem imponi ne plus ultra modum graventur laboribus et expensis; præsertim nunc de juribus ecclesiasticis aut ecclesiasticarum personarum statu, aut etiam ecclesiastica jurisdictione contenditur: de quibus diutius absque animarum et rerum periculo et jactura decertari non potest; ea propter in causâ, et quæstione aliquamdiu ventilata, inter discretum virum dom. Jacobum Cleere, dec. ecc. Off. et vicarios perpetuos et chorales communis aulæ collegii cathedralis ecclesiæ Sti Canici, villæ Kilkenn. et præsertim propter eorundem vicariorum de et super

Jurisdictione decani, et statu vicariorum ipsorum, auditis allegationibus juris et facti (saltem quibus uti valebant in hac parte) cordi sit nobis lites minuere et a laboribus relevare subjectos, tam de consensu prædicti in Christo patris dom. Milonis epif. Ostor. quam subjectorum, duximus statuere et ordinare in hunc, qui sequitur, modum, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum.

Imprimis, quod vacante stallio, aliquis vicarius choralis, cujus nominatio ad aliquem de dignatoribus et præbendariis dictæ ecclesiæ cathed. de jure seu consuetudine spectat, præsentatur decano examinandum, si moribus et honestate approbatus fuerit, ipsum commendabit præcentori, de sua peritia in cantu, et cancellario de sua literatura examinandum: quibus omnibus sufficientur imbutus admittetur per decanum, in vicarium choralem, juxta modum in antiqua fundatione, traditum. Eo semper salvo, quod perpetui vicarii communis aulæ legitimas exceptiones coram decano opponant, quas si viderit verisimiles, admittet, eisque differat, quantum de jure poterit et debet. Et casu quo hujusmodi exceptiones coram decano per dolum vel excogitatam maliciam opponuntur (ipsis spretis et negatis) nominatus et præsentatus, si habilis moribus, cantu et literatura, ut præmititur, expertus fuerit, nihilominus admittatur.

Item, quod decanus, episcopus vel archiepiscopus juxta formam prænominatam, culpis, delectis, criminibus prænominatorum vicariorum exposcentibus, ipsos aut ipsorum quemlibet, (trina monitione prævia) removere valeant, aut ipsos, aut ipsorum quemlibet censura eccles. compescere, si maluerint, ut in antiqua fundatione.

Item, quilibet vicariorum debet servire choro, et se non absentare absque licentia decani, seu ejus vicarii, sine rationabili causa; et debet modum et formam legendi quotidie in mensam, bibliam, aut alias sacras literas fervare, ut consuetudo inolevit in ipso collegio.

Item, quod dicti vicarii chorales id aula foveant hospitalitatem quotidie: et in mensam aut silentium teneant, aut finita lectione, laudabile et honestum colloquium habeant. Et simili modo silentium teneant, aut contemplationi vacant in dormitorio, ab hora octava in nocte usque horam quintam in mane. Et quilibet eorum dormire debet in dicto dormitorio, nisi ex rationabili causa de licentia decani seu ejus vicarii habuerit alibi dormiendi, si fuerit prope dictum collegium, per statium unius miliaris.

Item, quod dictorum vicariorum quilibet, excepto decani vicario, debet gerere omnia officia dictæ domus successive; ita tamen quod uno eodemque tempore non

fit nisi unus officiorum, et iste non inducat vel conducat servum, ancillam vel mulierem, sine licentia vicarii decani et ejus confratrum.

Item, quod eorum aliquis sit personaliter parochialis ut inolevit.

Item, quod iste procurator sive officarius domus eligatur de communi consensu et assensu ipsorum vicariorum; et quod sit unus illorum vicariorum prædictæ communis aulæ, et quod quolibet anno ab illis vicariis eligatur, et ob negligentiam ipsorum, potestas ipsum eligendi devolvatur ad decanum, cum assistentia saltem seniorum de capitulo.

Item, quod nullus eligatur nisi unus vicariorum prædicto officio, et quod iste procurator sive officarius teneatur reddere rationem seu computum ipsis vicariis singulis hebdomadis, et decano bis in anno.

Item, quod si aliquis dictorum vicariorum in suo ministerio seu divino officio ad quod, de fundatione tenetur, negligens et culpabilis repertus fuerit, pro parva offensa mulctatur in quatuor denariis, et si tunc monitus secundo deliquerit in 8 denariis, et tertio monitus si denuo deliquerit in 12 denariis: medietatam mulctarum hujusmodi ad usum decani, et aliam, medietatem in communem utilitatem dicti collegii converti volumus.

Item, ordinamus, quod fundatio et alia scripta et munimenta dicti collegii conservanda una cum eorundem sigillo communi, ponentur et custodiantur salva et secura, infra dictum collegium dictæ ecc. cathed. in una cista sive scrinio sub tribus feris, et una clavis ejusdem cistæ vel scrinii remaneat sub custodia decani vicarii, alia in custodia vicarii præcentoris, et tertia in custodia vicarii cancellarii dictæ ecc. et dicta cista sive scrinium nunquam aperiatur nisi de consensu et assensu dictorum vicariorum et partis majoris cæterorum vicariorum. Et quod nulla pars reddituum concedatur alicui personæ ultra quinque annos, nisi ad hoc accesserit assensus decani.

Et interea præmissis non obstantibus, ex certis rationabilibus causis nos moventibus, et præsertim pro utilitate dicti collegii, volumus quod Nicholaus Brytton dictæ ecc. thesaur. pro termino trium annorum sequentium erit tanquam procurator et supervisor et provisor dicti collegii, ita quod reddit computum dictis vicariis de sua administratione semel qualibet septimana, et decano bis in anno, ut supra dictum est.

Ordinamus insuper, quod fructus, redditus et preventus ecc. de Kilkesy remaneant singulis annis ad thesaurarium dicti collegii, et reparationes ædificiorum ejusdem, aliaque communia onera pro utilitate collegii supportanda de ærario in cista seu scrinio

serinio prædicto; ita quod nulla pars pecuniæ exinde proveniens distribuatur, nisi de consensu decani vicarii, & majoris partis vicariorum ejusdem collegii pro tempore existentium.

In quorum omnium et singulorum præmissorum fidem & testimonium sigillum quo utimur ad causas ecc. præsentibus duximus apponendum. Datum Kilkenniae 8^o die Aprilis dicti dom. regis tricesimo primo. A.D. 1540.

No. IX. Pag. 493.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Supplicarunt nobis dilecti nobis prior et conventus fratrum prædicatorum Kilkenniae, ut cum ipsi continuo sint oratores pro statu nostro, et pro animabus nobilium progenitorum nostrorum, quondam regum Angliæ, &c. Et seipfos non possunt sustinere ex eleemosynis villæ Kilkenniae, neque comitatus Kilkenniae, eo quod dictus comitatus est tam per rebelles nostros quam Hibernicos inimicos destructus & devastatus.

Volumus, præmissis consideratis, eo prætextu cum eis agere gratiose, nos supplicationi suæ prædictæ annuentes, de assensu venerabilis in Christo patris, Ricardi archiepiscopi Dublin justiciarii nostri terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, et consilii nostri in eadem terra nostra per manucaptionem Johannis Nauyler de Trym & Thomæ Clopham de Navane, concessimus iisdem priori & conventui, duas partes, omnium commoditatum, & proficiorum quorumcunque rectoriæ ecclesiæ de Mothil in comitatu prædicto, in manibus nostris, certis de causis, existentes. Habendum et tenendum dictas duas partes, quandiu in manibus nostris prædictis contigerint remanere. Reddendo inde per annum ad scaccarium nostrum Hiberniæ octo denarios ad festa Sti. Michaelis & Paschæ per æquales portiones.

In cujus, &c. teste præfato justiciario nostro apud Dublin 25^o die Julii.

Ex turr. Berm. pat. 15 Hen. VI. No. 11. intus. A. D. 1437.



W. & A. G. Smith del.

ABBAY and CHURCH of AGHABOR

Published by John Jones, No. 10, Bride St. Dublin.

CHURCH OF AGHABOE.

ADAMNAN, Abbat of the Culdean monastery of Hy or Iona, flourished about the year 680, and (1) writ the life of St. Columba. In this work our parish is named *Achet-bou*, very little deviating from its true orthography, *Achad-bho*, in Irish the field of a Cow, an appellation derived from the uncommon richness of the pasture surrounding the church.

St. Canice, probably the same as the St. Canocus mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis in his Welsh Itinerary, was the intimate friend of St. Columba, fixt (2) his residence here at the end of the sixth century, and formed an ecclesiastical establishment. On their conversion to christianity, the great feudatories, who were styled Kings and Princes, endowed the Church with ample possessions. Aghaboe is situated in the principality of Ossory, which included the (3) whole county of Kilkenny, called Lower Ossory, and a great part of the Queen's county, named Upper Ossory, being co-extensive with the Bishop's jurisdiction at this day.

The Princes of Ossory early embraced the faith, and were bountiful in an eminent degree to the clergy, founding above two hundred churches; and hence they obtained the name of Mac-giolla-phadruic, or the son of the servant of Patrick, which was changed by the English into Fitz Patrick. This name expressed their devotion to him, whom the legends supposed to be the first preacher of the gospel here. Walsh and Keating give instances of the conspicuous piety of Scanlan and Donogh, Kings of Ossory in the tenth century: and Lynch, in his Cambrensis everfus, observes that our national writers pay particular attention to this race of princes; for they give a catalogue of the Kings of Ossory, and they pass over the lesser princes. When the English adventurers landed here in 1170, Donald Mac-giolla-phadruic was King of Ossory: they found the country full of defiles, woods, and marshes, and a (4) brave people prepared to defend their country. As founders of the see and churches, these princes, for many ages, presented to both. The noble

60

representative

(1) Pinkerton, Vit. S. Scot. l. 1. c. 4.

(2) Usser. Primord. p. 957.

(3) Ware's Bishops, in Ossory.

(4) In primis igitur Ossyricæ partes non longe penetrantes, quasi in ipso terre limbo, locis in arctis, et tam sylvis quam paludibus inviis, Ossyrienses in patriæ defensione non invalidos invenerunt. Gir. Cambrens. p. 762. An eye witness.

representative of this family, the present Earl of Upper Ossory, possesses the advowson of the churches of Aghmacart, Cahir, Killeen, Killermogh and Coolkerry and a large estate in Upper Ossory; patrimonies descended to him through a long line of noble progenitors for more than a thousand years: an instance not, perhaps, to be paralleled in Europe.

The (5) *Provinciale Romanum*, a catalogue of uncertain date, preserves the names of fifty-three bishop's sees, among these we perceive that of Aghaboe under its appropriate title of *Ossinenfis* for *Ossorienfis*: this is distinctly mentioned from that of Gainich or Canich which was Kilkenny; and it proves that the princes of Ossory had not relinquished their ancient bishopric, but resisted the encroachment of papal power. This circumstance evinces this catalogue to have been compiled after the year 1102, for at (6) that time, "Felix O Dullany died, whose cathedral church was then at Aghaboe in Upper Ossory." It was not until the legateship of Cardinal Paparo in 1152, that the old See of Aghaboe was extinguished and sunk in that of Kilkenny; so that reckoning from the age of St. Canice to that of Paparo, it enjoyed the episcopal dignity for more than seven hundred years. As some compensation for this loss, it was made the head of a (7) rural Deanery, and had under its (8) inspection the churches of Offerlan, Bordwell, Rathfaran, Rathdowny, Kildelgy, St. Nicholas, Killahy, Clomantigh, Aghmacart, Donamore, Killermogh, Skirk, Tubrid, Caher, Killeen and Eirk.

As a matter of curiosity, Sir William Petty's survey of the parish is here introduced with the names of the proprietors in 1640, the denominations, the quality of the land, number of acres, &c. This survey is called the Down survey, a technical expression, as Petty (9) explains it, of measuring by the chain and needle of the mile in length, and not by the thousand acres of superficial content. Or in other words, the base of downs or hills were only surveyed; a method which he seems first to have used. This down survey of the Kingdom, which is in Dublin Castle and resorted to as a legal record, receives some obscure light, if I may so say, from Petty's work last cited. This the late Lord Chancellor Clare had reprinted at his own expence by Grueber in Dame-street, but unaccompanied with notes or illustrations: the consequence is, it is almost unintelligible to a common reader; for it requires an extensive and accurate knowledge of the civil and political affairs at the time, and of Petty's personal history to supply either entertaining or useful information. The numbers refer to those in the Map.

No.

(5) *Geograph. sac. a Car. a S. Paulo in Append.*

(6) *Usser. sup. p. 957.*

(7) *Antiquities supra p. 82.*

(8) *From Bishop Otway's Visitation-book.*

(9) *Reflections upon some persons and things in Ireland. Lond. 1666, pag. 74.*



CHURCH OF AGHABOE.

511

No.	Proprietors A. D. 1640.	Denominations.	Quality of the Land.	Number of Acres.
1	Duke of Buckingham	Shanbogh	Arable, pasture and shrub	264. A bog.
2	The same	Burris	Arable and pasture	660.
3	The same	Derreenishanagh	Arable, pasture and moor	254.
4	The same	Municulipenan	Arable, pasture and moor	223.
5	The same	Dermeflough	Arable, pasture and moor	64.
6	The same	Ballydeemodery	Arable, pasture and moor	63, 0, 20.
7	The same	Rood	Arable and pasture	37, 3, 0.
8	The same	Derryborigin	Arable and pasture	100, 3, 20.
9	The same	Bardnafallogh	Arable, pasture and shrub	80.
10	The same	Balluorigin	Arable and pasture	80, 2, 2.
11	The same	Ballykevan	Arable, pasture and shrub	72, 2, 0.
12	The same	Cappagh	Arable, pasture and shrub	124.
13	The same	Kilbeg	Arable, pasture and shrub	171.
14	The same	Knockroe	Arable and pasture	49.
15	Mrs. Pigott	Magherinstart	Arable, pasture and moor	124, 1, 29.
16	Terence Fitz Patrick	Lifmore	Arable and pasture	69. A bog, 89, 2, 0.
17	Duke of Buckingham	Ardnarny	Arable and pasture	31, 3, 0.
18	The same	Grangemore	Arable and pasture	280. A bog, 118, 0, 0.
19	Mrs. Pigott	Gangebeg	Arable and pasture	325.
20	Duke of Buckingham	Ballybroghy	Arable, pasture and shrub	304. A bog.
21	The same	Kilrotton	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	219, 1, 2.
22	Morgan Cashin	Carran	Arable and pasture	689.
23	Parson of Aghaboe	Keallagh	Arable and pasture	157t
24	Mr. Carpenter	Aghaboe	Arable, pasture and moor	295.
25	F. Fitz Patrick & Ant. Cashin	Knockmullen	Arable and pasture	96.
26	Barnaby Fitz Patrick	Gurtnebooke	Arable, pasture, wood, moor and meadow	487.
27	Parson of Aghaboe	Farranagh	Arable and pasture	69, 2, 10, Half the Chapter
28	Anthony Cashin	Crofs	Arable and pasture	147.
29	Mr. Carpenter, part	Friar's Land	Arable and pasture	50.
30	Thomas Hovenden	Boherard	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	341.
31	Morgan Cashin	Coolbally	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	260.
32	Sir Charles Coote	Palmer's Hill	Arable and pasture	113. A bog.
33	Theobald Butler	Billiegiebane	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	135.
34	Florence Fitz Patrick	Towrooe	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	12.
35	Morgan Cashin	Ballygoudanbeg	Arable, pasture and moor	50.
36	Thomas Hovenden	Ballygoudanmore	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	88.
37	Geffry Fitz Patrick	Kilmulfoyle	Arable and pasture	266.
38	John Fitz Patrick	Ballygihen	Arable, pasture, wood, moor and meadow	1430.
39	Morgan Cashin	Larah	Arable and pasture	124. A bog, 11, 2, 0.
40	Daniel Fitz Patrick	Knockfin	Arable, pasture, moor and wood	250.
41	The same	Kileneffere	Arable, pasture, wood and moor	248. A bog, 25, 0, 0.
42	The same	The same	A Wood	—
43	The same	Clonkinahanbeg	Arable, pasture and moor	29, A bog, 19, 0, 0.
44	Florence Fitz Patrick	Clonkinahanmore	Arable, pasture and moor	129, 3, 0.
45	The same	Kileteloga	Arable, pasture and moor	184.
46	The same	Oldglafs	Arable, pasture, moor and shrub	303.

The Denominations in the Vestry-book, the Number of Acres and the present Proprietors, A. D. 1796.

Shanbogh	—	—	264	Chandos family.
Burros	—	—	600	The fame.
Derreenshinagh	—	—	257	The fame.
Dunmunnu and Monefat	—	—	237	The fame.
Curraghmore	—	—	8	The fame.
Barnafallagh	—	—	80	The fame.
Cappagh	—	—	123	The fame.
Kilebeg and Derreen Oliver	—	—	171	The fame.
Knockaroe	—	—	49	The fame.
Mahernafkagh	—	—	125	Sir Erasmus Burrowes, Bart.
Lifmore	—	—	60	Richard Grace, Esq.
Ardvarny	—	—	34	The Chandos family.
Grangemore	—	—	111	The fame.
Grangebeg and two Ballyrilies	—	—	270	The fame.
Ballybrophy	—	—	276	The fame.
Kilcotton	—	—	219	The fame.
Carran and Carroreigh	—	—	680	Carran, Thos. Carr, Esq. Carroreigh, Robert Stubber, Esq.
Keilagh Glebe	—	—	157	The Vicar of Aghaboe.
Aghaboe and Frier's-land	—	—	445	Thomas Carr, Esq.
Knockamullen	—	—	96	Lord Upper Offory.
Gurtneaclea and its Members	—	—	487	Lord Mountmorres.
Farran Eglith Glebe	—	—	65	Part the Dean of Offory, part the Vicar.
Crofs	—	—	148	Thomas Carr, Esq.
Boherard	—	—	215	John Rotton, Esq.
Coolbally	—	—	260	Earl Annesley.
Palmer's Hill	—	—	106	Lord Mountrath.
Deligibawn	—	—	66	Robert Stubber, Esq.
Tooreigh and Tereragh	—	—	37	Peter La Touche, Esq.
Ballygowdenmore	—	—	188	Henry Grattan, Esq.
Kilmunfoyle	—	—	103	Lord Upper Offory.

Ballygihen

Ballygihen and its Members		1430	Part Henry Grattan, Esq. part Dr. Draught
Larah	—	50	Despard, Esq.
Baunoge	—	70	Peter La Touche, Esq.
Knockfin	—	179	Lord Portarlington,
Kilenekeer and Clonkinahanbeg	—	249	Gerald Fitz Gerald, Esq.
Oldglas and Clonkinahanmore	—	250	Lord Upper Offory.
Park	—	50	The same.
Ballycolla	—	50	The same.
Newtown	—	57	The same.
Ballygarvin	—	80	The Parson of Killermogh.
Ballyhenode	—	50	Lord Upper Offory.
Garryduffe	—	125	Despard, Esq.
Derreenfollogh	—	60	Chandos family,
Kiletelague	—	160	Lord Upper Offory.
Coolfin	—	36	Omitted since 1768.

It has been understood, that the present parish church of Aghaboe was the chancel of the cathedral. There are some reasons to induce this belief, for there is no west window; but a gothic arch of red grit, now filled up with masonry, clearly marks a chancel or some such division of the church. The foundations of walls point out a continuation of the church to the west. The belfry, a small hexagonal building, is without the church, and on a line with the chancel. It is closed with a circular cap of masonry. The bell is placed distinct from it: the top of the belfry is not as high as the roof of the church. When you enter the church a few paces, to the south is seen a door, imitating a transept. It is of stone, the arches concentric, and beautifully enriched with carving and foliage. The church is about forty feet long, and lighted by three windows; two to the south and one to the east: the latter divided by stone mullions, and branched out into trefoils. The northern wall is adorned with niches, canopies, and concentric mouldings, and has a curious confession-box in the thickness of the wall, not far from the altar.

On this account, I shall only remark, the whole has the appearance of an old rural cathedral, but the pointed arches and other decorations favour of more

recent ages. There are no sepulchral monuments within or without the church deserving notice.

The Dominican abbey was (10) founded in 1382, by Florence Fitz Patrick, prince of Ossory. It stands but a few yards from the parish church. It is one hundred feet long by twenty-four wide, and has five pointed windows; three to the south, with the east and west ones. That to the east is ramified. The western door has concentric arches. The wall of this abbey are not ornamented. There is a small tabernacle for sacred utensils. On the south side of the abbey is a projecting building, called Phelan's chapel, yet connected with the abbey by a noble arch resting on a pillar of solid masonry. On the east side, above the altar is a pedestal on which stood the statue of St. Canice. There are two tabernacles and an inverted cone with eight grooves for holding holy water. On the north side of the abbey was a quadrangle, of sixty feet square. In this were the monks' cells, in number ten, servants' apartments and necessary offices. The cellars were spacious, and over them was the Prior's room forty-six by seventeen feet, and a large sleeping room. I am sorry to add, that my predecessors in the living of Aghaboe, and who had the fee of the land on which this abbey stood, demolished most of this venerable pile to enclose a demesne.

There were two cells, each above a mile distant, dependant on the monastery of Aghaboe: one on the lands of Farran Eglisb for females, and from the black colour of their clothes, was named Teampul na Cailleachdubh, or the church of the black women. The other was at Ballygowden for males. Mr. Archdall is mistaken in saying there is a round tower at Teampul na Cailleachdubh; there are no remains of such. As I supplied him with all his information concerning Aghaboe and the parish, he must have relied on some other authority.

Besides the mother-church at Aghaboe, there are the remains of religious edifices at Knockseera, Lismore and Kilmonfoyle. These with those before enumerated seem to countenance an opinion delivered by the historian of the (11) county of Kerry, who thinks the inhabitants of Ireland prodigiously diminished, because in the barony of Corkaginny, there were anciently twenty parish churches, and now but nine places of worship. This writer knew but little of ecclesiastical antiquities, or the causes that retarded population, or even the state of the country in remote periods, when he drew this conclusion. I shall endeavour concisely to throw some light on this subject.

Originally

(10) Burke, *Hibern. Dominicana*, supra.

(11) Smith's *ancient and present state of Kerry*, p. 172.

Originally the Bishop's Cathedra, or church in which he resided, served as an altar and baptistery to the diocese: from this the eucharist was dispensed to other churches, and in this the sacrament of baptism was alone administered at stated times, and as a mother-church it had the right of tithes. When the lords of manors built churches for their families and tenants, a third part of the tithes was allocated to them. By the laws of Æthelstan, A. D. 928, a ceorle or husbandman was raised to the dignity of Thane, if he had five hides of land, a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell; and in the laws of Hoel Dda, A. D. 940, one is—if in a country-village the king shall grant his licence to erect a church, and if masses are said there, and the dead interred in its cemetery, from thenceforth it shall be a free village with particular exemptions. The inducements to construct churches, we see, were numerous and powerful; but the strongest motive for (12) multiplying sacred structures is yet to be mentioned, and that was, that the building a church was sufficient to save a soul and secure it Heaven: this point the clergy earnestly inculcated on the laity from the age of Constantine, and in times of predominant superstition it had its full effect in increasing the number of churches and clergy; so that an (13) excellent judge of such matters remarks, that the number of ecclesiastics in Ireland, at one time, was equal to that of all its other inhabitants.

Our small chapels, before named, seem to be included in (14) Canute's fourfold division of churches, as expressed in his laws, A. D. 1036. 1. The Bishop's cathedral. 2. The parish church, which had the rights of tithes, sepulture, and sacraments. 3. Those which had only the right of sepulture; and 4. The field-oratory, wherein mass alone was performed. All these were sanctuaries (another reason for multiplying religious edifices) and the violation of them was punished according to their dignity: the discipline was the same on the (15) continent and in Ireland, as far as we can collect from some obscure (16) Irish canons. At present Knockfeera, Lismore, and Kilmonfoyle are much resorted to as places of interment.

(12) Ὁσέλειον ψυχῆς οὐνεσφορον, την των δι μνημενν ποις θαι αυτω πιστευων. Euseb. Vit. Constantin, l. 4. c. 60. Qui ecclesiam seu templum ædificat, regnum Dei sibi præparat. Vincent. Specul. l. 25. c. 25.

(13) Nicholson's Irish Historical Library.

(14) Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 540.

(15) Videat Episcopus, at ecclesia Dei suam habeat honorem simul & altaria, secundum suam dignitatem. Regino p. 44. Edit. Baluz.

(16) Canon. Sti. Patricii, p. 34—35. Edit. Ware.

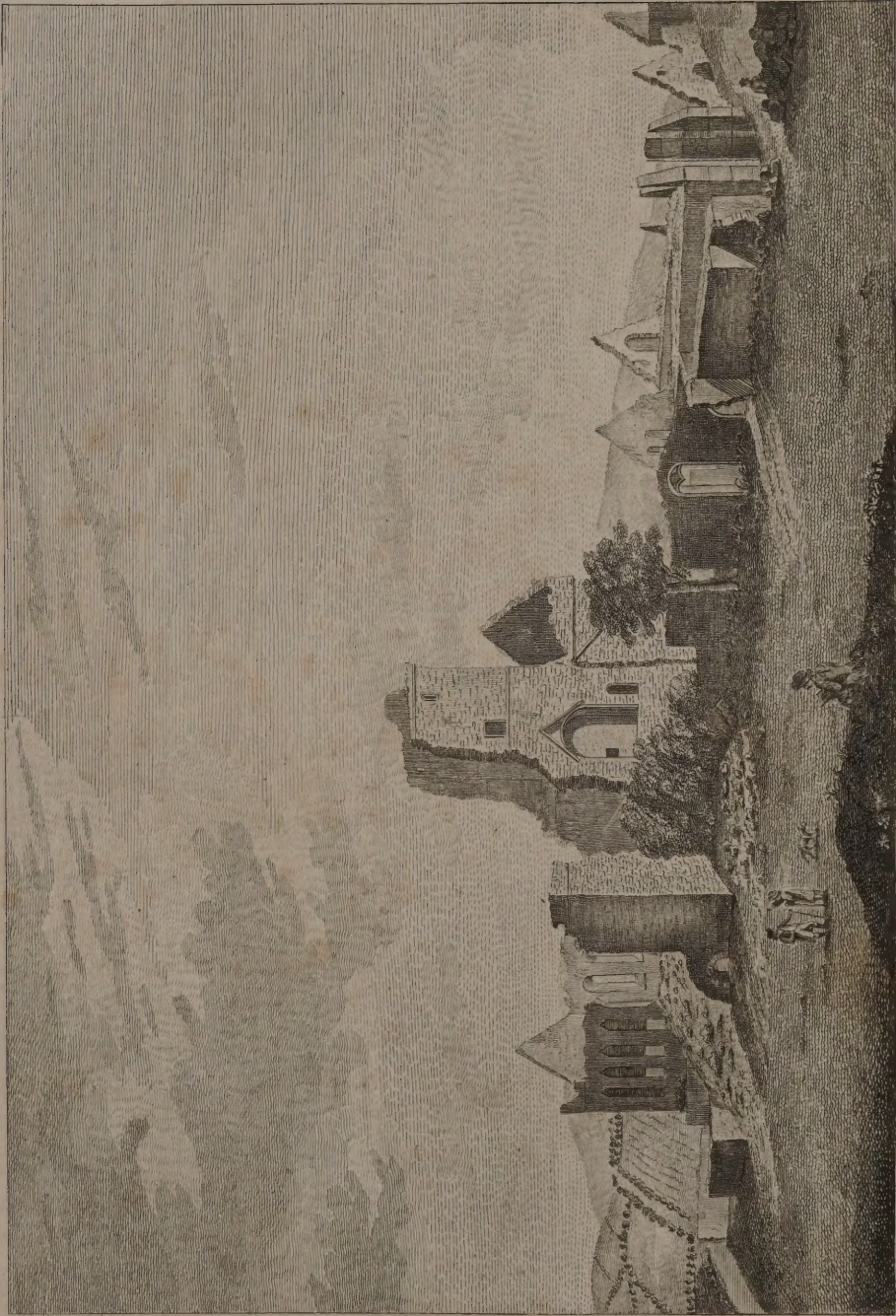
PRIORY OF ATHASSEL, IN THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

THE noble religious structures erected by the early English settlers justly excite our admiration. Scarcely had they gained footing in this Isle, and long before the natives suffered them to enjoy repose, than they set about raising most magnificent and costly buildings, either as votive offerings to the Deity, or to secure his future protection. The favour of Popes, particularly Innocent and Calixtus, and the reformation of the order, had exalted the Monks of St. Augustine to a great degree of eminence, and made it fashionable among those of the highest rank, to found monasteries for them in the twelfth century. Almost all the ancient abbies of this order, evince a style of architectural elegance and grandeur but little inferior to their fabrics in England and on the continent. This taste of the Augustinians, seconded by the opulence of their patrons, produced many beautiful religious structures.

Athassel was founded by William Fitz Adelm de Burke, about the year 1200, in the village of Athassel, three miles from Cashel, for Canons Regular of the order of St. Augustine, and dedicated to Edmund the King and Martyr. This Fitz Adelm was steward to Henry II. and ancestor of the illustrious family of De Burgo. On the king's return from Ireland, he was entrusted with the management of affairs, and in 1204, he was interred at Athassel. Veneration and love for their great progenitor made the De Burgos and their numerous dependants bestow ample possessions on, and contribute largely to the decoration of their favourite Priory. To this place Richard, the Red, Earl of Ulster, retreated from the world, after entertaining the nobility assembled at Kilkenny, in 1326, and here he died shortly after.

The ruins of this Priory speak its former magnitude and splendor. The choir is forty-four feet by twenty-six. The nave was of the same breadth with the choir, supported by lateral ailes; by the external walls it measures one hundred and seventeen feet in length. In the S.W. corner is a small chapel. The steeple was square and lofty. The cloisters large. We cannot behold the numerous arches, walls, windows, and heaps of masonry promiscuously mixt in one common ruin, without saying with Ovid:

*Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo:
Et subito casu, quæ valuerè, ruunt.*



W. B. Cooper del. J. G. Smith sculp.

A N. W. VIEW of the ABBEY of ATHASSEL.

Published by John Jones, No. 50. Bride St. Dublin.



Engraved by W. H. W.

ISLE of DEVENISH.

Published by John James, No. 90, North St. Dublin.

Printed by J. W. H.

PRIORY OF DEVENISH, IN THE COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

DEVENISH, corrupted from (1) Dav-inis, or the Ox's Isle, is an island in Lough Erne, a few miles from Enniskillen. There (2) St. Lasarian in 563 founded a monastery. We learn with more certainty from Ulster and Ware, that it originally was a Culdean establishment, where the celebrated disciples of St. Columba continued to exercise their piety and virtue till overborne by superstition and an intolerant religion.

In the interpolations of the Ulster Annals, at the year 1130, it is said the Abbey of Daminis, for so it is named, was founded that year. Ware supposes this refers either to repairing the ancient monastery, or erecting a priory of Culdees there. But Ware knew very little of the history of this monastic order, or he would have perceived, that what the writer of the Annals understands by founding was, the building a new stone fabric on the Roman model, with ailes, oratories, and altars, and the whole under the invocation of some legendary saint; practices which the Culdees never adopted, and some of which they abhorred. The Augustinians, who seized every where the Culdean churches, began an Abbey here, but not so early as stated in the Annals. The Culdees were not expelled, but lived for some ages in subjection to their new masters. The latter procured large possessions, which enabled them to beautify their church and construct many other buildings. The oldest erections here are St. Molaise's house, and a fine round tower, both probably coeval. The former contained the reliques of St. Lasarian or Molaise, and is an additional proof of what has heretofore been advanced respecting these over-ground crypts. St. Molaise's house is a vaulted building of hewn stone; it and the round tower have every appearance of being built by the same architects.

(1) Lhuyd's compar. etymol. in Bos.

(2) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 259.

HOLY CROSS, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

THIS Abbey is situated in the County of Tipperary, about two miles from Thurles. Donagh Carbragh O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded it in 1169, in honour of the Holy Cross, St. Mary, and St. Benedict, for monks of the Cistercian order. It is said, that Murtagh, a former monarch, received from Pope Paschal II. in 1110, a piece of the Cross covered with gold, and ornamented with precious stones, which was deposited in this Abbey, and the devotion to it, as we learn from Sydney's state papers, was almost universal throughout the island. O'Neil, the great Ulster rebel, made a pilgrimage to it in 1559. It is at once surprizing and deplorable to observe the superstitious use made of the cross in the dark ages. Oecumenius, a Greek writer, at the end of the tenth century tells us, "it is the shield, armour, and trophy against the devil, a sign he dare not touch, it raises the fallen, supports the standing, helps the infirm, the staff of pastors, the leader of the devout, the perfection of the virtuous, the preserver of soul and body, the abhorrence of the bad, the love of the good, the destruction of sin, the root of the resurrection, the wood of life." Such hyperbolical expressions operated strongly on the minds of rude and ignorant people: they were understood not figuratively but literally, and hence those religious communities that wished to attract numerous visitors were sure of attaining that end by pretending to have a relique of the real cross. What shews the weakness and absurdity of such encomiums is, that the greatest admirers of the cross cannot determine of what wood it was composed: some affirm it was of oak, others of cedar, palm, cypress, and olive, (see Lipsius de Cruce,) so that the adoration of bigotted and besotted creatures was paid to the most worthless tree, as it was to the bones of the greatest malefactors in those unhappy times.

The charms of beautiful architecture contributed not a little to the fame of the holy relique. The building consists of an high steeple, supported on each side by a beautiful Gothic arch, and in the centre a great variety of ogives passing diagonally from each angle. On the East side is a small chapel, and on the South the tomb of
the



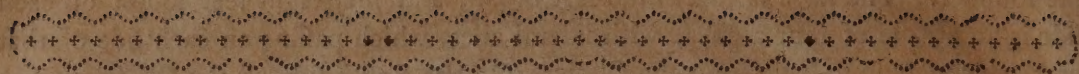
CHAPEL AT HOLYCROSS.
Published by John James, N^o. 90, Bride Street, Dublin.

W. Beauford delin.

J. Dine engr.

the founder. The nave is forty-nine feet broad, and fifty-eight feet long; on each side is an arcade of four arches, with lateral ailes, which passing on each side of that part we conclude to have been the Choir. On the South side of the Choir are two chapels, between these are a double row of Gothic arches, supported by twisted pillars; here the monks were waked. On the North side are two other chapels. The whole building, when perfect, was not inferior in design and execution to any in the kingdom.

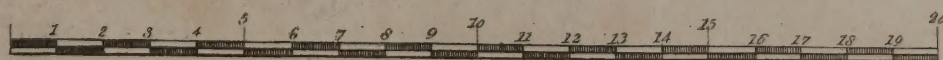




KNOCKMOY.

THE Abbey of Knockmoy is in the County of Galway, six miles from Tuam. It was founded in 1189 by Cathal O'Connor, surnamed Crove-derg, or the red hand. He was king of Connaught, and like the other Irish princes, beheld with a jealous eye the progress of the English in the subjugation of the isle, and watched every opportunity to expel them. A favourable one seemed to offer itself on the removal of John De Courcy from the lieutenancy of Ireland and the appointment of Hugh De Lacy. The latter carried his honours imperiously, which excited the resentment and resistance of the former. Taking advantage of this division, and of course the weakness of the English interest, O'Connor summoned all the Irish chieftains, who quickly assembled in great force to attack the English in every quarter. De Courcy understanding this, dispatched letters to Almeric St. Laurence apprizing him of his danger, and requesting his aid. St. Laurence instantly marched to Ulster with thirty knights and two hundred infantry. O'Connor intercepted him, an engagement ensued and St. Laurence and his company were cut off, after having slain above a thousand of the Irish. In the height of the battle, O'Connor vowed to build an Abbey in his own country if he was crowned with success, and he erected Knockmoy, in Irish Cnoc-mugha, the hill of slaughter, and in monkish writers styled "Monasterium de colle victoriæ," to perpetuate the remembrance of O'Connor's victory. It was bestowed on the Cisterrians, the habit of which order the founder took on him, and dying in 1224, was interred in his own abbey.

The most curious remains at Knockmoy are the fresco paintings which adorn the monument of O'Connor. One compartment represents Christ on the cross: another exhibits six kings, three deceased and three living; of the latter, he in the middle is Roderic O'Connor, monarch of Ireland. He holds in his hand the seamaroge or shamroc, a plant greatly regarded by the Irish, from a legendary tradition that St. Patrick emblematically set forth to them the mystery of the Trinity by this three-leaved grass. This also expressed his being Lord proprietor of the soil of the kingdom.



Scale of Feet

Nº 11

St. Paul St.

*Fresco Paintings in the Abbey of Knockmoy on the Monument of O Connor the Founder.
Published by John Jones No. 90 Bride St. Dublin.*





W.L. 1784

J. Ford sc.

Fresco Paintings in the Abbey of Knockmoy Co Galway on the Monument of O Connor the Founder.

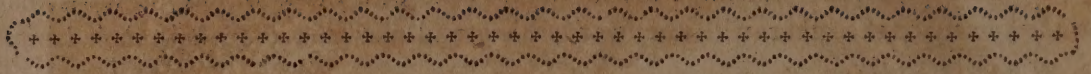
Published by John Jones N^o 90 Bride St. Dublin.

dom. The princes on each side are his vassals; he with the hawk on his fist is his grand falconer, the other with the sword, his grand marshal: these held their lands by grand serjeantry.

Below them sits a Brehon with his roll of laws, having pronounced sentence of death on Mac Murrough's son, for the crime of his father for having joined the English. See Giraldus Cambrensis, page 770. The boy is tied to a tree, and two archers are executing the sentence, his body being transfixd with arrows. This supplied a good hint to such Irish chiefs as deserted their natural prince.

I do not believe these paintings are as old as the age of O'Connor; they seem rather to have been executed in the seventeenth century, when the Confederate Catholics possessed themselves of the abbies, which they every where repaired, and in many instances, adorned with elegant sculptures.





LEIGHLIN.

LEIGHLIN, or rather Leth-glen, the half-enclosed valley, is situated in the barony of Idrone and County of Carlow, in a recess of the Slieumargah mountains. Monastic legends ascribe the foundation of the church and episcopal see of Leighlin to St. Lasarian, about 632. It was about a mile and a half West of the river Barrow. Burchard, a Norwegian, is reckoned among the principal benefactors to this church, he was interred in St. Stephen's priory, under a marble monument, supporting his effigies, with this inscription :

Hic jacet humatus, dux fundator Leniæ :

En Gormondi Burchardus, vir gratus ecclesiæ.

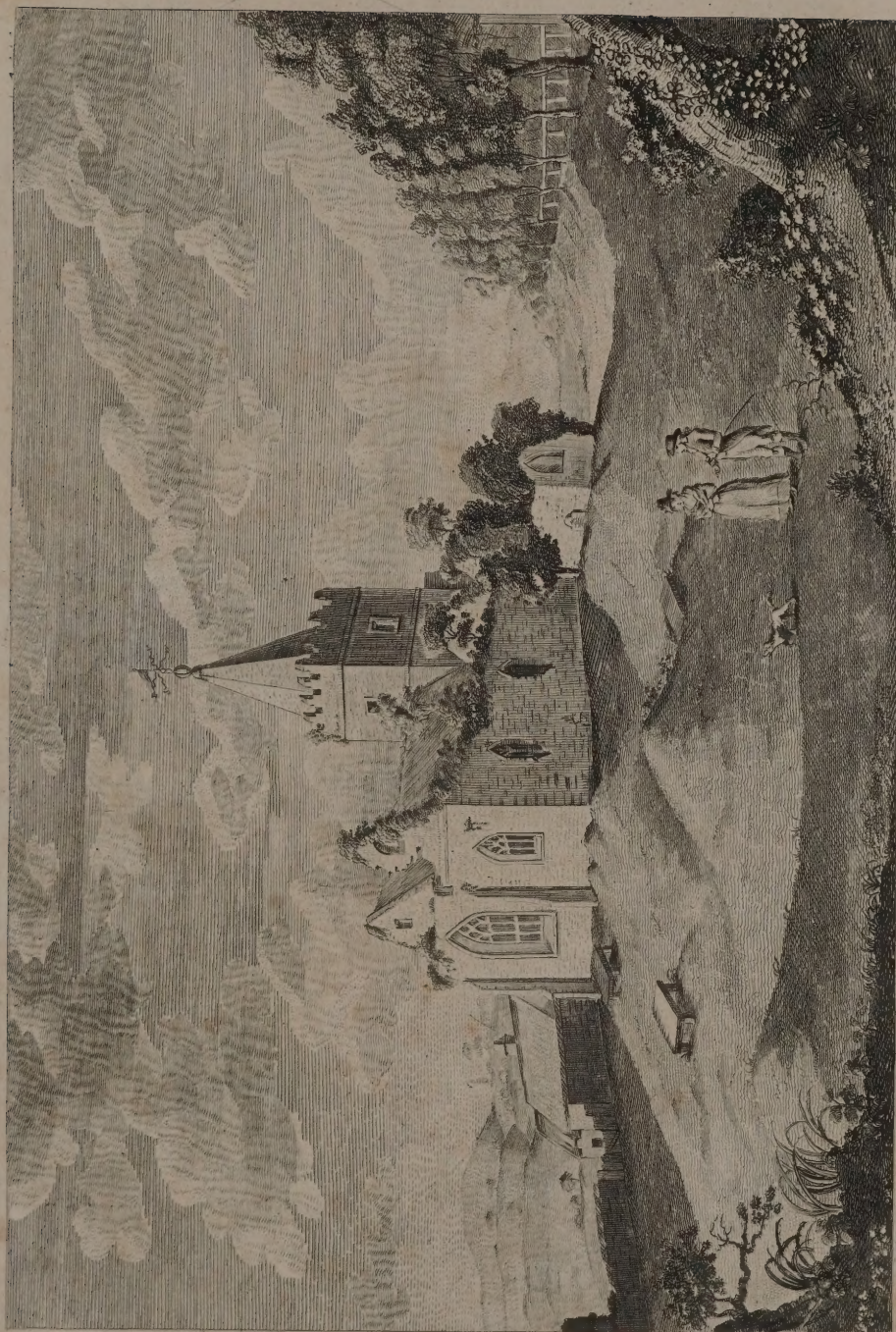
Donat, bishop of Leighlin, on the arrival of Henry II. rebuilt the cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire. Bishop Thomas bestowed prebends on his canons. Bishop Saunders erected and glazed the South window ; and Bishops Meredith and Vigors were great benefactors to the See.

The fame of St. Lasarian, patron of the church, and the attention of his successors to its improvement, collected numbers from every part, and made Leighlin anciently a considerable town. It continued a distinct see till the year 1600, when it was united to Ferns.

In 1216, Bishop Harlewin had the town incorporated, and obtained for the burghesses privileges similar to those enjoyed by the people of Bristol, with liberties extending about a mile and a half round the town. Large stones defined the extent of these liberties, and on them were these words ; " Terminus Burgens. Lechlinen. hic lapis est." One of these stones stands near Leighlin bridge, another near Wells, and a third in the mountains.

During the continual Irish wars, the town and diocese of Leighlin experienced many severe vicissitudes of fortune. In 1389 the town was laid waste, but recovered so much in 1400, as to have eighty-six burgage tenements, a Bishop's palace, a Deanery-house, a Monastery, and other buildings, none of which at present remain.

In



OLD LEIGHLIN.

Published by John Jones, A. 30 Bride Street, Dublin.

In 1320, Maurice Iakis, a canon of Kildare, constructed a bridge over the Barrow: this gave the great fouthern road a new direction, and Old Leighlin went rapidly to decay.

Except the Cathedral, kept in tolerable repair and used as a parochial church, no vestige remains of this old city: even the well, dedicated to St. Lasarian, and famous for miracles, is nearly filled up. It lies on the West side of the church, under some trees, and near it is a rude stone cross.



MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

IN plate xxix, are exhibited specimens of spear heads of flint, and stone hatchets or Celts, also a bracelet; Bishop Pococke presented one to the London Society of (1) Antiquaries. It was composed of three hoops soldered together, with a narrow rim or border somewhat ornamented, and it was about an inch and three quarters high; its longest diameter within, three inches and a half, its shortest two inches and three quarters, and the swell or bulge one quarter of an inch: it weighed three ounces and a half and twelve grains. This ornament, according to Diodorus Siculus, was common among the Belgic Gauls, and with it they (2) adorned both arms. Each of Godwyn's rowers wore on his arms two golden bracelets, each (3) weighing sixteen ounces. It was the most distinguished privilege of kings and generals to bestow them as rewards of valour, and hence they were called in the (4) Icelandic Sagas, "the bestowers of bracelets and the givers of rings." Perhaps the Northerners in this, as in many other instances, imitated the (5) Romans.

Broches, curiously elaborated, have been found in various parts of Ireland. Of all the antiquities none have created more trouble to the antiquaries to determine their use, than the semicircular implements terminating in circular cups. Bishop Pococke, from the great likeness between them and the fibulæ or broches, believes they were for similar purposes: the cups being inserted into the garment, and resting on the breast. There is given by (6) Casalius a broche dug up at Rome very much resembling those in the plate, and strengthening the Bishop's opinion.

Many

(1) *Archæologia*, Vol. V. p. 39.

(2) Bartholin. *de armillis vet.* p. 8—22.

(3) *Haberent in brachiis singulis armillas duas unamquamque sedecim unciarum auri.* Will. Malmesb. p. 77.

(4) *Chron. Sax. of Ethelstan.* Johnstone's *exped. of Haco*, and *Anecdotes of Olave the black.*

(5) *Armillas ex auro, quas viri militares ab imperatoribus donati, gerunt.* Festus. *Armillas ex virorum fortium donis* Tertull. The Danes swore on them. *Asser, vit. Ælfrid.* A. D. 876.

(6) Casal. *de profan. Rom. rit.* p. 107.

Many golden rings of considerable size and weight have been discovered in our bogs, which were too large for bracelets; they seem therefore that neck ornament described (7) by Diodorus Siculus and worn by the Belgic Gauls. The word *Krikois* usually translated chains, does not here mean links connected with each other, but collars, for that is its proper (8) force. When we reflect that though the Britons were quite naked, yet they adorned their bodies with an iron girdle and their necks with an iron collar, we need not wonder at their exchanging these for golden ones, when the latter could be obtained. Rude people seldom relinquish what they have been accustomed to. And let it be remembered, that the Anglo-Saxons, part of the same Northern swarm, wore neck-collars, which weighed more than (9) eighty mancuses, or above eight ounces of pure gold.

Upon the lands of Cairn, about seven miles from Mullingar, Bishop Pococke informs us, that a plough, cutting through a sandy hillock, turned up a flag stone seven feet long and three broad; beneath was a grave covered with this flag, the bottom, sides, and ends composed of a single slab, and within were human bones of an unusual size. On each side were two smaller graves; with the bones was an urn of yellow clay, and beside the urn lay a very valuable ring, having twenty-five table diamonds, well disposed and set in gold. (See the plate.)

The Bishop, in a vein of pleasant irony, banters the mythologic fictions of Irish antiquaries, who ascribe to every remnant an age utterly incredible. He thinks the ring in this grave could not be of a very early date, because the Swedes had no articles of jewellery among them in the fifteenth century, and he supposes the same of the other Northerns. However the learned prelate had not examined the matter attentively, for Mr. Pegge has (10) proved that the goldsmiths' and lapidaries' arts had arrived at great perfection during the Heptarchy. To these the Irish Ostmen could be no strangers. As the bones in this grave had not passed the fire it is probable the interment took place after their reception of christianity in the tenth century.

Diodorus Siculus mentions expressly the golden breast-plates of the Belgic Gauls: these also were common among the ancient Irish, as is evident from the numbers of them found. They are of a lunular or crescent-like shape, their borders and extremities adorned with chequer work. One exhibited by Bishop Pococke was of

6 s

an

(7) Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παρτοῖς καὶ τοῖς βραχίονας τεσσεῖς φέρουσι δακτυλοῖς ἀξιολογοῖς, ἐν δὲ χερσὶν ὀσσεύς. Lib. 5.

(8) Πάντα τα ἐπικαμμένη. Hesych. Κρίκιος, ἰδιὸν δὲ το, κυκλῶς. Polluc. Onomast. l. 1. c. 9.

(9) Hickee Diss. epist. p. 51. Strutt's chron. V. 2. p. 241.

(10) Archæologia, V. 4 p. 314.

an extended depth and size, and yet weighed but one ounce seventeen penny-weights. Mr. Bury's, discovered in the County of Limerick, is of excellent workmanship, and contains more than half a pound of gold. I shall not waste my own or the reader's time in retailing and confuting the (11) wild and absurd notions entertained of these gorgets, one of which is given in the last plate.

There are two brass images in the same plate. One about four inches high was found in the bog of Cullen, in the County of Tipperary, and is obviously a Cupid standing on a globe; such as may be seen in Gorlæus, Stoch, and others. The second image is about five inches and a half high, and seems to be the work of the same artist and age. They are both Abraxas or Talismans, the magical power of which was believed to be so great, as to secure the possessor from harm, and promote the success of his undertakings. Bircherod, a learned Danish antiquary, assures us, they were nearly the same as the Roman Lares; that they were denominated Dverg, and commonly joined with Thor and Odin, and were appended to the neck: nor had the (12) practice ceased in Denmark when he writ, A. D. 1701. Such idols have been (13) found in England; and that of Buserichus, a deity of this class, may be seen in (14) Tollius's travels.

(11) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 13.

(12) Nec hodie a christianorum nonnullis omittitur. Spec. rei mon. Dan. p. 23.

(13) Archaeologia. V, 6, p. 243.

(14) Tollii itinerar. p. 34.



INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
A.		Ancient notices respecting Ireland	12
ABBACOMITES , or lay Abbats, who	93	Anecdotes of early Christianity in Ireland	70
Abbats, their origin	89	Anachorets, who	89
Adamnan, a powerful advocate of the church of Rome	79	Amulets, used by the Roman Emperors and old Christians	205
———'s books, their contents	89	Anglo-Saxons, their drefs	260
Adharcaidh-Chiuil, or musical horn, described	248	——— clergy, retired to study in Ireland	356
Adelruner, who	53	Annals of the four Masters	6
Adrian, Pope, bestows Ireland on Henry 2	134	Arabians introduce literature into the west of Europe	3
Agricola destroys the Druids	40	Anthropophagi, who	39
Ages of interment described	42—43	——— in Ireland	374
Aghaboe church, Antiquities of	509	Antipodes known to the ancient Irish	358
———, Sir William Petty's survey of	512	Antiquities, Irish, from whence to be derived	7
Agriculture of the Irish	373—374	———, only from authentic records	9
Alirunæ, or wise women of the Germans	77	Antiquaries want discrimination respecting the Celtes	40
Alfred changes the title of King to that of Earl	218	Appendix of records to the antiquities of Kilkenny	498
——— King of Northumberland studies in Ireland	355	Archbishops, the title when established	65
Alice Ketyll, her history	439	Archpresbyters or rural Deans	82
Alexandria founded	15	Architecture, difference between the Roman and British	195
Alphabets, their origin obscure	334	Ard-riagh, or monarch of Ireland	307
———, several invented	335		Ardmore
Aldhelm envies the learning of the Irish	355		
Ancient history of the British Isles, dubious	1		
——— made up of popular tales	2		

INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
Ardmore, round tower described	163	Birds, which not natives of Ireland in the	
Armagh, its primacy, when first noted	80	twelfth century	369
Armorial bearings, origin of	232	Birrus, what	265
Arms of Ireland	ibid	Birred, Irish	266
Armachian bishops	129	Bishops, ancient Irish	81
Aqua vitæ, Irish	370	— elected by the sept or clan	85
Apples in Ireland, few	371	— their consecration	ibid
Athanasius introduces Monachism into Rome	88	— exercise their functions at large	106
Athassel priory described	516	— of Ossory	390
Austin, St. his opinion of the lives of saints	61	Bishopricks numerous in the Irish church	81
Augustinian abbey Kilkenny, antiquities of	492	—, ancient, of Ireland	130—131
B.		Boars, wild, in Ireland	370
Bag-pipes, ancient, described	248	Bobeloth, Irish alphabet, its origin	337
—, origin of in Ireland	249	Books, Irish, carried to the continent	362
—, modern Irish described	ibid	Booles, Irish, what	376
Balbus's commentary	21	Borlase, his account of Druidism	36
Ballymacscanlan, rath at, described	47	—, his mistakes relative to the Celtic	
—, monuments at	51	and Gothic antiquities	52
Ballynahatne, stone monuments at	50	Bonaght-bor and bonaght-beg	317
Bangor, school at	90	—s, who	286
Bards, Armoric, Welsh, and Irish, eminent		Bracelet, antique, described	524
in romantic fabling	3	Braccæ, Irish	263
Barrows, to whom erected	42	Bridget, St.	352
Battle-axe described	283	Brende-tiid, not ceased in Germany in 789	46
Bawn, what	279	Britain, slaves procured from	35
Beauford on the ancient Irish musical in-		British and Irish churches religion of, the same,	55
struments	242	— priests refuse to associate with those	
Bede, passages in, misunderstood	194	of the Anglo-Saxons	63
Belgæ settle in Ireland	21	Britons eat human flesh	39
—, the first miners in Ireland	214	— had wooden churches	143
—, subdue the Celtes	40	— and Northerns mark their skins	260
Bells, ancient use of	161—164	Brechin, round tower described	162
Bendel, Irish	272	Brehon laws	301
Benefactors to the Cathedral of St. Canice	408	— not be explained without a	
Bethluinion, an ancient Irish alphabet origin		Glossary	303—304
of	322—338	Brehons, their salaries	319
Beohrt invades Ireland	94	— consulted the canon and civil law	321
		Brog, (or brogue,) Irish, described	269

INDEX.

	Page		Page
Braker, his mistakes relative to the ancient people of Europe	51	— used tombs and temples	49
Buildings of the Irish, mean	138	— their weapons	281
Bulcaan Irish, what	371	Celtic manners described	377
Bulgarian Round Tower	166	— Inhumation, changed for cremation	49
Burke Edmund, his thoughts on Irish MSS.	10	— and Gothic Religions different	53
Butts erected in Irishtown, Kilkenny	384	— tribes no knowledge of metals	41
		— could not form stone temples	ib.
C.		Celestius, companion of Pelagius	54
Cæsar's account of the races of men in Gaul	32	Chauci settle in Ireland	23
— on the doctrine of the Druids	33	— used stone monuments	42
Callen mountain, Inscription on	328, 340	Chartres, caves under its church	72
Cambrensis on the Irish Round Towers	156	Charlemagne invites the Irish literati	360
— on the Irish Music	236	Christians, at the first, had no churches or altars	142
— on the manners of the Irish	378	Christianity, in Ireland, introduction of	54
— on the Irish Dress	263	— flourished in Ireland before	
— illustrated	365	St. Patrick	64
— history of him	ib.	— Irish ancient, agrees with the	
— accused of falsehoods	366	Greek and British	55, 56, 57
Camden thinks Ireland peopled from Britain	21	—, fabulous account of	57
— his opinion of the names of Ireland	17	— different from the Roman	126
Canterbury, Crypt origin of	201	Churches, ancient Irish, of wood	140
— its capitals described	ib.	— numerous in Ireland	141
— had a Chorepiscopus	83	Church first at Lindisfern	140
Canfinny, who, his office and power	309	Churches first dwelling-houses	48
Canons Irish	312	Church, Irish, not Roman	180
Canice, St. his history	509	Childeric's tomb	204
Cantreds, number of in Ireland	380	Chorepiscopus, or Village Bishops	82
Caracalla, Gallic	267	— their office	83
Carthag, who	190	— married, called Corbes	84
Castanemora, what	41	Chrismation	85
Cashel, antiquities of	148	Cimbri, German Celtes	22
Cassiterides Isles, where placed	13	— their altars	74
Castles in Ireland	289	Ciborium, what	198
Castle of Kilkenny	435, 479	Cistercian Order introduced into Ireland	129
Cathedral of Kilkenny, its origin	387	Clergy, British, resort to Ireland	54
Cows in Connaught, their number	380	Clogher	73
Celtes the real Gauls	35	Clonmacnois, stone cross at	75
	6 T	Clone, its origin	71
		Clerks	

INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
Clerks, ancient Irish, wore a tunic	259	Culdees, origin of the name	102
Cocula, Irish	ibid	—— retain their faith long	107
Cœnobites, who	89	—— convert the Northumbrians	110
Collectanea de rebus Hib. its character	8—9—12	—— expelled from Hy	111
College of Kilkenny, its history	428	—— in Armagh to the 17th century	113
Colman attends the council at Whitby	55	Capella, his work	351
Colonization, northern, of Ireland	22	Cuislean, or modern bag-pipes, described	249
Coins, ancient Irish	211	Counterpoint, native, its origin	244
—— found in New Grange	45	Chorus, the ancient bag-pipes	248
—— not current among the Irish	216	Crotal, a musical instrument	251
—— Roman, why found in Ireland	46	Crotalin, a musical instrument	ibid
Columba, Bede's account of him	104	Cruit, a musical instrument	ibid
—— preached to the Picts	ibid		
—— his death	107		D.
—— his festival	102	Danes, called in Irish mss. Dacians	29
—— mistakes about him	118	—— infest the western coasts of Europe	30
—— his family	84	—— castellate Ireland	31
Columbanus, his history	354	—— erect round towers in Ireland	156
—— rules	90	Danish sculptures at Glendaloch	207—208
Coign and livery described	317	—— coins found at Glendaloch	218
Coemgene, St. his history	173	—— described	221
Catholic Confederates meet at Kilkenny	465	——, their weight	226
—— their upper house	467	—— forts	278
—— supreme council	468	—— battle-axes	283
—— list of their members	470	Davis's state of property in Ireland	306
Congel, who	90	Dearmach, where	105
Cooleen, Irish	271	Devenish Priory, described	517
Corbally, chapel of	119	Division of Ireland into five provinces	379
Cormac's chapel described	149—150	Divisions, ancient, of Ireland	380
Cosherings described	317	Diodorus Siculus preserves the true name of	
Creaghts, Irish, who	376—377	Ireland	19
Crommeal, Irish, described	271	Dobdan, a Greek, probably in Ireland	358
Cronnog, Irish, what	445	Doire, its signification	71
Cross, the private mark of the primitive		Dominican Abbey Kilkenny	492
christians	123	Doulach, St. his church described	146
Culdees retard the corruption of the church	94—107	—— well	156
—— dedicate their churches to the		Dress of the ancient Irish	259
Trinity only	95	—— people in Kilkenny	446
—— married	102		

Druids,

INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
Druids, their religion	32	Eri, or Iri, the name of Ireland, from whence derived	19
— doctrine	33	Ethelred, his money coined in Dublin	225
— magical rites	38	Episcopal sees, two in Scotland	106
— sacrifices	37		
— philosophy	35	F.	
— philosophy misrepresented	37—38	Fabulous History, origin of	3
— human sacrifices	38	Fœreman, a famous moneyer of Dublin	225
— some in Germany	41	Fallin, Irish, described	267
— had not letters	317	Feadain, a musical instrument	248
Druidism professed by all the Celtes	40	Fenns, their arms	280
— little noticed in Irish MSS.	41	Finns, who	24
Druidic groves	ibid	Fine Eirion, ideal Irish militia	280
— and fanes converted into Christian churches	72	Fiodh Aongus, council of	127
Drum, an Irish musical instrument	250	Fir-bolgs, the Belgæ	22—23
Dublin made the metropolis of Ireland	121	Fleeh, Bishop of Sletty	349
— its name explained	26	Fire, holy, at Kildare	77
Dun, Din, and Daingean described	279	Fomora of the Irish, Finlanders	24
Dunamase described	293—294	Feuds, Irish, resemble those of England	320
Dungal, an Irish monk, his history	362	Fish of ancient Ireland	369
Daltins, Irish, who	284	Franks hung tapestry round their tombs	199
Drinks, Irish	371—372	Franciscan abbey, Kilkenny	493
Dwergh, what	41	Flemings settle in England	261
		Frescobald society in Ireland	262
E.		Frison Saga	261
Easter, disputes about it	55	G.	
Ecclesiastic records, few in Ireland of an ancient date	19	Galloglasses, Irish described	285
Egfrid, King of Northumberland, at the instigation of the Saxon monks invades Ireland	94	Gall-Trompa, a musical instrument	247
Egyptians took little care of their houses	142	Gauls, the first inhabitants of Britain and Ireland	21
— sculptures explained	202	Gavelkind, Irish	316
—, superstition of the	204—206	Giraldus Cambrensis illustrated	365
— in Ireland	357	Gislebert, an Ostman, first legate in Ireland	125
English money not current before the fourteenth century	216	Giants, no part of Celtic mythology	51
— colonists obliged to build castles	291	Glendaloch, antiquities of	171
— nobles sent to study in Ireland	357	— churches described	176
		— united to the see of Dublin	184
		— sepulchres their date	210

Glendaloch

INDEX.

	Page		Page
Glendaloch crypt described	207	Irish, of 28 strings	253
Glibb, Irish	271	Bardic	254
Gorfedd, Welsh, what	321	Welsh	ib.
Goshawks, Irish, much in request	368	Irish, its component parts	ib.
Gold-mines in Ireland	213	Harpers, Irish, their skill	255
Goths introduce a new superstition into Europe	42	Hettian among the Saxons, what	313
—— their various modes of interment	ib.	Hierarchy established early in England	54
Gothic and Celtic Religions, their characteristics	52	Hieroglyphics in Scotland	204
Gothic Chiefs had their treasure buried with them	44	Highlanders of Scotland, their ancient government	305
—— the mode of placing them in their tombs	45	History, romantic, of Ireland	1
Gothic Architecture, observations on	187	—— made up of popular tales	2
—— Arch, origin of	192	Hoelt-tiid, a mode of interment	43
Grace, some account of that family	436	Hofgodar, who	53
Greek mode of music used in Ireland	234	Holstein, Danish Antiquities in	74
—— taught in Ireland in the ninth century	362	Holy water used by the Goths	47
—— Encyclopedia, what	351	Holy Cross Abbey, account of	518
Greeks of Marseilles introduce Letters into Gaul	14	Honey plentiful in Ireland	372
—— knew Ireland	15	Horse-flesh eaten by the Irish	375
—— some retire to Ireland	357	Hospitals of Kilkenny described	485
Grymbald's crypt at Oxford	207	Houses in Kilkenny	432, 446
Goufli of the Russians described	252	Hy, Isle of, described	104
Guild of Merchants at Kilkenny, their regulations	452	Hyde, his account of the Persian Pyratheia	165
		Hypogea, of the Irish	49
		Human Sacrifices	39
		Hobillers, who	284
		Hy, abbats of	107
		I.	
		Jar, how it signifies the West	18
		Icelandic Annals contain some Irish names of kings	30
		Imports in Ireland in 1320	263
		Impostures literary, the age of	5
		Ina's council authentic	29
		Inscriptions found in New Grange	45
		—— in the Cathedral of Kilkenny	392
		Inchenemo Isle described	103
		Johannes Scotus, his history	306
		John,	

INDEX.

	Page		Page
John St. his Ritual	55	— Sanctology, the work of fabulists	61
Irenæus complains of the corruptions of the Church of Rome	56	— received Monachism from the East	88
Ireland, northern invasion of	29	— not pleased with the interference of the English primate	128
— possessed literary reputation du- ring the middle ages	2	Irish manners	21
— her ancient constitution, &c. not favourable to letters	ib	— exchange their wives	123
— mentioned by Eratosthenes	14	— incestuous	124
— known by the Greeks	16	— no houses of lime and stone	142
— slenderly inhabited before the in- carnation	139	— fond of swine's flesh	370
— the School of the western World	353	— eat herbs	371
— precarious state of	441	— burn their corn out of the ear, not thresh it	373
— a Map of, by the Romans	16	— eat human flesh	374
— its various names	19	— their meals	371
Iris, what	39	— drew the plough by horses tails	373
Irish originally from Gaul	21	— traffic by barter	216
— originally were Celtae	22	Irish kings, whence derived	307
— not descended from the Welsh	22	— military weapons	280
— Manners, a mixture of Celtic and Scythic in early ages	21	— Soldiery, of whom composed	284
— Troglodytes	48	— Drefs	260
— Language, ancient different from the modern	8	— same as the Belgic	265
— why derive their origin from Spain	3	— forbid to be worn	270
— Legends, romantic	4	— described in Icelandic Chronicles	268
— Church, its liturgy oriental	55	Irish Sayes	262
— the same as the ancient British	ib.	— Woollen Manufactures	261
— in what different from the Roman	122	— dye their cloth yellow	272
— fabulous account of	57	Irish Laws and Constitution	301
Irish Clergy, their revenues, whence	85	— Inheritance	306
— the only teachers amongst the Picts	169	— Feuds, specimens of	310
Irish Religion the same as the British	61	— Canons	312
— long retained their ancient religious tenets	100	— acquainted with the Civil Law	320
	6 U	Irish Letters the same as the Saxon and Welsh	345
		— Monks and Clergy teach in France, Germany, and Britain	359
		— frequented France in the sixth cen- tury	351
		Irish Music, observations on	221
			Irish Musi

[Handwritten musical notation]

Malachy,

INDEX.

	Page		Page
Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, introduces the Cistercian order into Ireland	129	N.	
Mead used by the Irish	372	Naharvali, Grove of the	40
Measures and weights in Kilkenny	445	Nani, inhabit Tombs	49
Melody of the ancient Irish Music	245	Native counterpoint, its origin	244
Menapii, settle in Ireland	23	Neig Monument, Harp on	232
----- called by the Irish Germans	ib.	Nectar Irish	371
Martyrologies in general suspicious	60	New Grange, a Danish work	43
Military Antiquities of Ireland	277	----- conjectures when erected	46
Milesius, Irish kings derive from	307	Normans depauperating the Irish Church	182
----- known to Nennius	3	----- their dress on arriving in Ireland	270
Miseltœe sacred among the Druids	38	----- Law Latin, a specimen of	304
----- day on which it was gathered	ib.	Normans, their modes of Interment, origin of	48
----- its virtues	ib.	Notation of the ancient Irish Music	240
Missionaries, Christian, yield to some Pagan rites	70	Names of Kildare	77
Monachism, origin of in Ireland	88	O.	
----- of Egyptian origin	ib.	Oaks tall, the only Deity among the Celtes	42
Monaincha, Isle of	113	Odin, directs the funeral rights of the Goths	42
----- Antiquities of	114	O'Connor Charles, his opinion of the Brehon Laws	303
----- Abbey described	115	Ogham Characters	322
----- Record	119	Oirpeam, the ancient Irish Harp	353
Monacoghan, Mote described	279	O'Flaherty, his opinion of Irish MSS. and romantic History	6
Monarchy, Irish, elective	308	Orientalism of the Irish Church	56
Monasteries, Kilkenny	488	Origin and progress of Monachism in Ireland	88
Monks succeed the Druids	72	Organic Musical Instruments of the Irish	247
----- numerous in Ireland in the sixth century	89	Ornithology ancient, of Ireland	368
----- their classes	ib.	Ormond, Earl of, taken prisoner	275
----- subject the Irish to the Church of Rome	93	Osian Preaflagh	273
Moose Deer in Ireland	369	Osborn Princes, account of the	502
Morasteen described	51	Osismen, in Ireland receive the Roman tenets	94
Monuments in the Cathedral of Kilkenny	392		
Music of the Irish	228		
----- secular	236		
----- its native technical terms	245		
Musical Instruments of the Irish	242		

INDEX

	Page		Page
Oftmen ordained their Bishops in Canterbury	95	Patrick, Saint, his name when it first appeared	80
——— introduce the Benedictine order into Ireland	ib.	——— his works forgeries	348
——— erect round towers and stone-roofed crypts	ib.	——— Saints, three of the name	68
——— persecute the clergy	ib.	Pascal controversy	108
——— drive the learned out of Ireland	ib.	Pelagius, an account of him	540
——— their attachment to the Roman See	121	Pellutier, not correct in his account of the Celtes	35
——— introduce stone buildings in Ireland	144	Philosophy among the Romans, &c. what	36
Oswald, prince of Northumberland, sent for the Culdees to preach to his people	109	Phœnician ancient voyages not credited	13
O'Tuathal, Bishop of Glendaloch	181	———'s did not come to Ireland	14
P.		Phalung, an Irish Dress	267
Pagan state of Ireland	42	Pheateadh, what	243
Paintings in the Deanery of Kilkenny	410	Picts settle in Ireland	23
——— in the Castle of Kilkenny	480	Pillar stones symbols of the Deity	46
——— at Knockmoy	520	——— Fora, used as	ib.
Palladius sent to Ireland	75	——— preserved by the first Christian Clergy	73
Palls sent to Ireland	183	——— used as Christian Churches	75
Pap r, his legation to Ireland	132	Pinkerton, his just remarks on the Goths	52
Parliaments held in Kilkenny	437, 440, 442	Piob-mala, or ancient Bag-pipes	248
Parishes Irish, their origin	443, 444, 447	Plato fond of etymology	17
Patrick, Saint, an account of	54	Plashing, what	279
——— his existence doubtful	58	Plowing by the tail	373
——— his miracles	ib.	Popes send Missionaries to Ireland	77, 78
——— his travels	65	Poitou wine common in Ireland	372
——— how and when made a Saint	66	Portaferry Chapel	148
——— his festival	67	Political Constitution of the ancient Irish	301
——— honoured with the title of Archbishop, Primate, &c.	65	Population of Ireland at the English Invasion	378
——— directed by an angel to choose Relics at Rome	79	Psalter of Cashel, its character	7
		Psalmody used early in the Church	92
		——— ancient state among the Irish	235
		Psalms and Hymns first used in Churches	234
		Ptolemy's information whence obtained	21
		——— names not Celtic	ib.

INDEX.

R	Page	S	Page
Rabbins Jewish, their fictions on the		Saints, their numbers	60
colonization of Europe	12	—— Irish orders and religious tenets	96
Rath, what,	278	Saint worship, late in Ireland and England	95
Records ecclesiastical ancient, none in		Sagum of the Irish, Germans and Belgians	260
Ireland	86	—— its derivation	262
Readan, a musical instrument, described	248	Sarabaites, who	89, 90
Reflections on public Libraries	416	Saracenic Architecture, observations on	187, 196
Review of Irish Literature, in the middle ages	347	Saxon and Gothic Architecture, observations	
Rheno, part of ancient Irish drefs	259	on	187, 196
Romans had separate Maps of countries	21	Scottish Church not governed by Monks	105
—— coins found in Ireland	46	Scots settle in Ireland	23
Romantic history of Ireland	1	—— part of the Saxon nation	23
—— origin of	2	Scots eat human flesh	39
Romish Church how established in Ireland	93	Saronides, a sect of Druids	25
—— Church persecute the Culdees	102	Sciences introduced into the west of Europe	
—— doctrine not in Ireland before the		by the Arabians	3
twelfth century	363	Scythians settle in Ireland	21
Round Towers in Ireland	155	Seven churches at Glendaloch, described	176
—— the Authors who treat of them	156	—— a mystical number	179
—— described	158	Sculptures at Glendaloch described	207, 208
—— introduced by the Danes	159	Shirts Irish, not to be dyed with saffron	271
—— served as watch towers	159	Sighe, who	41
—— of their rotundity	162	Simeon Stylites, his Pillar described	163
—— their various supposed uses	164	Simon, his account of Irish coins	218
—— list of them in Ireland	167	Simony prevalent	133
—— dimensions	168	School-house at Kilkenny, its history and	
Round tower of Kilkenny	422	statutes	422
Roman style of Architecture	196	Sihtric Danish Prince of Dublin, his coins	226
Rowlands, his account of the philosophy		Skirk, antiquities there	73
of the Druids	36	Spencer thinks Ireland peopled from Gaul	21
Rules of Monachism in Ireland, oriental	88	—— his account of the Brehon laws	319
Rûn, what among the Irish	332	Skene Irish described	287
Runes northern, their origin and species	333	Soder and man, statutes of relating to	
Runic inscriptions	45	drefs	266
Rural Deaneries erected in Ireland	82	Sorohen a tax, what	317
Rythmical musical instruments of	250		
Ryves Doctor, his doubts of St. Patrick	58		

INDEX

	Page.
Stone monuments used by the Belgæ and Celtes	40
———— not introduced into Britain in the time of Cæsar	42
———— not universal in Germany	ib.
———— among the Goths,	43
their various uses	49
Stones upright when and by whom erected	43
———— round New Grange	48
Stone Henge, its origin	50
Stone crosses, described	74
Stone roofed Churches	138
Stone Axes, described	280
Stilts used by the Irish	300
Stoccah Irish, what	285
Strabo his account of the Belgic Gauls	264
Sumptuary laws in Kilkenny	383
Swords brazen	282
Synod of Cashel, its ordinances	153
Sedulius, who and when flourished	349
Schools of the Irish clergy	351
Scholastic Theology known before the eleventh century	359

T

Talismans found in Ireland	526
Tanist Irish	309
Tanistry, law of	315
Tara Hall, a fable	376
Teutonic words found in Irish, not in English	23
Templebrien, monument at	50
———— antiquities there	73
Temples portable common among the Heathens	197
———— of the Egyptians superstition	206
Tiarnas, who among the Irish	310

	Page.
Tin among the ancients, not derived from Britain	13
Tiompán, an Irish musical instrument	250
Tithes where first mentioned	132
Town's-lands, number of in Ireland	380
Toiseach, who	310
Tributes Irish	303, 317
Tuathal; O'Brien's account of him	24
Turlogh, King of Dublin, a convert to the church of Rome	127
Turgefius, his real name and origin	30
———— his arrival in Ireland various accounts of	31
Tumuli, on what account erected	42
Tumulus at Ballymascanlan, described	47
———— at New Grange described	44

U

Urns various among the Romans	45
Urn, found in a tomb	525
Usury regulated	133
Utlaw William punished in Kilkenny for Sorcery	440

V

Vates, a sect of Druids, who	35
Victuals of the Irish	372
———— at the market Kilkenny	446
Vicars Choral, Kilkenny	411
Vines, whether planted in Ireland	372
Virgil, an Irish Scholar and Bishop	357
Vocal Music of the Irish, its name	243

W

War between the Irish and Anglo Saxons on account of religion	94
Warburton Bishop, on Saxon and Gothic Architecture	189, 190

Water

INDEX.

	Page		Page,
Water Cresses, eaten by the Irish	371	Women Irish, their dress	273
Wentworth Lord, addressed by Mayor of Kilkenny	464	Woollen manufactures in Ireland	261
Whitby, conference of	54	Wotton Sir Henry, his idea of Gothic Architecture	190
Whitby, council at	110	Wren Sir Christopher, on Gothic Archi- tecture	187
Wheathamstead John de, his thoughts on British romantic history	10		
White Crows in Ireland	369		
Whiskey, its origin in Ireland	370		
		Z	
		Zoology ancient Irish	368



DIRECTIONS

FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

Frontis Piece, St. John's, Kilkenny.			
Title-page, Castledermot Abbey.			
No.			PAGE.
I.	New Grange	—	48
II.	Section of the Gallery New Grange	—	44
III.	Skirk	—	73
IV.	Crofs at Kilcullen	—	73
V.	Crofs at Clonmacnois	—	76
VI.	Temple M'Dermot, at Clonmacnois	—	76
VII.	Islands at Monaincha	—	113
VIII.	Choir Arch at Monaincha	—	115
IX.	Western Portal at Monaincha	—	116
X.	St. Patrick's Purgatory	—	133
XI.	Dûn Aengus	—	141
XII.	Killaloe and St. Doulagh's	—	144
XIII.	View of the Rock of Cashel	—	148
XIV.	Section of Cormac's Chapel	—	150
XV.	Round Towers	—	155
XVI.	Round Tower at Brechin	—	162
XVII.	Glendaloch from the North	—	172
XVIII.	Antiquities at Glendaloch	—	177
XIX.	Glendaloch from the West	—	178
XX.	Arches from a Syriac MS	—	195
XXI.	Capitals in the French Church, Canterbury	—	201
XXII.	Ancient Sculptures at Glendaloch	—	207
XXIII.	Ancient Irish Coins	—	221
XXIV.	Irish Musical Instruments	—	228
XXV.	Taking of the Earl of Ormonde	—	276
XXVI.	Mote of Monacoghlan	—	279
XXVII.	Celts, Spear-heads, &c.	—	281—524
XXVIII.	Castle of Dunamase	—	294
XXIX.	Ground-plan of Dunamase	—	296
XXX.	Brehon's Chair	—	321
XXXI.	Alphabets and Ogums	—	329
XXXII.	Abbey and Church of Aghaboe	—	509
XXXIII.	Map of Aghaboe, from the Down Survey	—	510
XXXIV.	Abbey of Athassel	—	516
XXXV.	Isle and Abbey of Devenish	—	517
XXXVI.	Chapel at Holycross	—	518
XXXVII.	Fresco Paintings at Knockmoy	—	520
XXXVIII.	Paintings at Knockmoy	—	521
XXXIX.	Old Leighlin	—	522
XL.	Miscellaneous Antiquities	—	52

The Binder will be careful not to place the Plates before the Work is beat; and to fix Silver Paper before each.

